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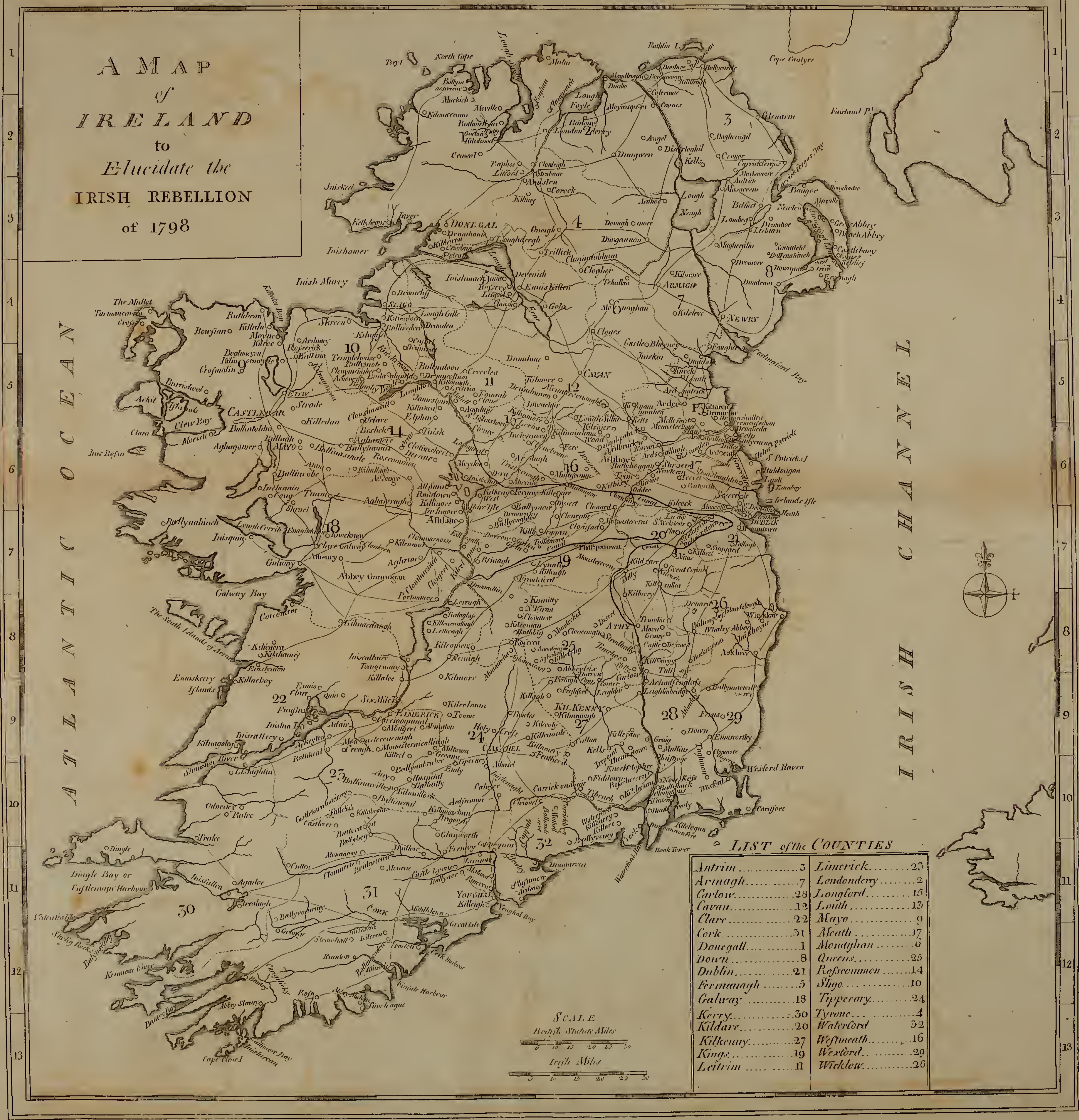

A MAP of IRELAND to Elucidate the IRISH REBELLION of 1798

LIST of the COUNTIES

Antrim	3	Limerick	23
Armagh	7	Londonderry	2
Carlow	28	Longford	15
Cavan	12	Louth	13
Clare	22	Mayo	9
Cork	31	Meath	17
Donegall	1	Monaghan	6
Down	8	Queens	25
Dublin	21	Roſcommon	14
Fermanagh	5	Sligo	10
Galway	18	Tipperary	24
Kerry	30	Tyrone	4
Kildare	20	Waterford	32
Kilkenny	27	Weſtmeath	16
Kings	19	Wexford	29
Leitrim	11	Wicklow	26

MEMOIRS

OF THE DIFFERENT

REBELLIONS IN IRELAND,

FROM THE

ARRIVAL OF THE ENGLISH:

ALSO,

A PARTICULAR DETAIL OF THAT WHICH BROKE
OUT THE XXIIID OF MAY, MDCCXCVIII;

WITH THE

HISTORY OF THE CONSPIRACY WHICH PRECEDED IT.

By Sir RICHARD MUSGRAVE, Bart.

MEMBER OF THE LATE IRISH PARLIAMENT.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

The danger of the day's but newly gone,
Whoſe memory is written on the earth,
With yet-appearing blood! SHAKSPEARE.

Hoc illud eſt precipue in cognitione rerum ſalubre ac frugiferum, omnis te exempli documenta in illuſtri poſita monumento, intueri, inde tibi, tuæque republicæ, quod imitere capias: inde fœdum inceptu, fœdum exitu, quod vites.——LIVY.

THE THIRD EDITION.

DUBLIN:

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R. FAULDER AND MESSRS. KIRBY, BOND-STREET.

1802.

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NOTICE

TO THE READER AND BOOKBINDER,

Relative to the Plates, Maps and Appendixes.

Plate I. A map of Ireland in the beginning of the work.
II. A map of the north part of the county of Wexford is to face page 393, vol. i.
III. A map of the ſouth part of Wexford to face page 395, ibid.
IV. Ground-plan of Enniſcorthy and Vinegar-hill, ſerving to illuſtrate the attack on the former the twenty-eighth of May, and the re-taking of it the twenty-firſt of June, 1798, to face page 431, ibid.
V. Elevation of it to face page 1, vol. ii. to illuſtrate the latter.
VI. Ground-plan of Wexford to face page 470, vol. i.
VII. A ground-plan of Roſs, and a map of the adjacent country, is to face page 503, ibid.
VIII. Plan of the town and battle of Arklow is to face page 541, ibid.
IX. Ground-plan of the town of Antrim, to illuſtrate the action that took place there, to face page 92, vol. ii.
X. A map to ſhew the movements of the army of the marquis Cornwallis, and general Lake, to face page 111, vol. ii.

There is annexed to every map, a lateral Index, at each ſide of it, divided into inches, and indicated by numbers from the top to the bottom of the page, which will facilitate the finding any particular place, by ſhewing its latitude. Thus, Wexford will be found in plate III. No. 6. but when a place lies between two numbers, it will be ſo ſtated. Thus Gorey is in plate II. 4, 5.

The general number of the Appendixes is expreſſed by Roman characters, with ſubordinate ones marked by figures.

☞ *The Reader is requeſted, when he is peruſing this work, to tranſcribe on a piece of paper the number and page of the plates, to ſuperſede the neceſſity, and ſave the trouble, of frequently recurring to the above notice.*

ERRATA.

Page 12, line 7, read *ſuffragan* for *ſuffregant*
58, —— 10, —— *at* for *in*
76, —— 31, —— *with whom one* for *with one*
80, —— 31, omit *of*
103, —— 3, read *pariſhes* for *pariſh*
129, —— 31, —— *Antrim* for *Down*
178, —— 24, —— *when* for *where*
198, —— 27, —— *countries* for *counties*
199, —— 33, —— *ſaving* for *ſowing*
201, —— 13, —— *Down* for *Antrim*
268, in the notes below, in Appendix XXI. read 12 for
362, line 2, read *a conſpiracy*
368, —— 33, —— *country* for *county*
411, —— 13, —— *daughters* for *daughter*
431, —— 27, put a Full Stop at Oulart
451, the note alludes to father Roche, the general, and not to Neal
486, line 1, read *New* for *Old* Roſs
539, —— 31, —— *remained* for *remain.*

MEMOIRS

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PREFACE

TO THE

THIRD EDITION.

IN the Preface to the two former editions, I inſerted the following paragraph: "Though the Author has made truth his polar ſtar in the courſe of this work, it is poſſible that ſome errors might have occurred in it; he hopes, therefore, that if the reader ſhould diſcover any ſuch, he will be kind enough to communicate them to him, and he will amend them in the next edition."

Some perſons had the goodneſs to point out a few trifling errors, ſuch as miſtakes of names or dates, which I corrected; but after the moſt ſcrupulous inveſtigation, and after the circulation of 2350 copies, in the courſe of ten months, I could not diſcover a ſingle error which affected the authenticity of any one tranſaction. On the contrary, I have received the moſt flattering aſſurances from the officers who campaigned in the late rebellion, that the military tranſactions have been faithfully deſcribed; and I have had the ſame teſtimony from the civil magiſtrates, and from thoſe who were competent to decide upon the other events.

A number of writers have attacked me with foul and acrimonious abuſe, for having publiſhed this work; but I defy the envenomed ſhafts of calumny.

I repreſented in parliament a borough, and acted as a magiſtrate, in my native county of Waterford, a great part of my life; and I can appeal to my countrymen, whether I ever miſſed an opportunity of doing publick or private good; and whether I was not as active in promoting both, as any other individual, in proportion to my fortune and abilities.*

It was to be hoped and expected, that the conceſſions made to the Roman catholicks, for above twenty years, would have attached them to the State, and would have united them, with their proteſtant fellow ſubjects, in the bonds of brotherly love and chriſtian charity: and yet, not only the late rebellion, but incidents which daily occur, afford inconteſtible proofs, that the tenets of their religion, and the conduct of their prieſts, will always make it impracticable.

During a ſeaſon of great and general diſtreſs, in the year 1801, a charity ſchool was inſtituted in the town of Wexford, in which the female children of poor people were ſupplied with clothes, and were inſtructed in reading, writing, and uſeful induſtry, in the courſe of the day; and they returned at night to their parents.

As perſons of every religious perſuaſion were invited to attend it, the governors reſolved never to interfere with the tenets of thoſe who profeſſed the popiſh faith.

In aid of the inſtitution, a charity ſermon was preached at Wexford, laſt ſummer, by the reverend doctor Butſon, dean of Waterford, when a conſiderable collection was made. Fifty-two popiſh, and twenty-eight proteſtant children reſorted to it; and every benevolent perſon rejoiced at ſeeing the good effects which were likely to ariſe from it; when ſuddenly their hopes were in ſome degree defeated, by an extraordinary inſtance of popiſh bigotry.

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* The reader will find obſervations on ſome ſcribblers who have impeached my veracity, Appendix, No. XXV. and XXVI.

Father Corrin, the popiſh prieſt of Wexford, at the inſtance of his biſhop, doctor Caulfield, as I am informed, announced from the altar, on Sunday the 24th day of January laſt, that any of his pariſhioners who preſumed to ſend their children to the ſchool, ſhould be excommunicated; and they accordingly withdrew them, in obedience to his charitable inhibition.*

Within a few days, a popiſh female child of eleven years, told a proteſtant lady of my acquaintance, in Dublin, that ſhe hated her; and being aſked for what reaſon, ſhe anſwered, becauſe ſhe was a proteſtant, and therefore muſt be damned.

Many inſtances of this kind have come to my knowledge, within theſe few months; and it is a poſitive fact, that Iriſh prieſts frequently ſwear a ſolemn oath in the preſence of their ſectaries, that a proteſtant never did, and never can, enter the kingdom of heaven.

The reader will find ſome obſervations on this doctrine, and its fatal effects, in page 22 of vol. i. of this work, and p. 202 of vol. ii.

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* In Appendix, No. XXV. 1 the reader will ſee father Corrin's defence, with obſervations thereon; and in No. XXVI. 2. the reſolutions of the governors on that procedure.

Such tenets, conſtantly, and from the earlieſt age, infuſed into the minds of the populace, render them hoſtile to a proteſtant ſtate, and to their proteſtant fellow ſubjects, and have been a fruitful ſource of diſcord and rebellion, ever ſince the introduction of the reformation.

The ſavage joy manifeſted by the popiſh multitude of Dublin, at the interment of that great and good man, the late lord Clare, and the inſults offered to his remains at the grave, afforded a melancholy indication of their malignant influence on the minds of the populace.

I mentioned in page 525 of vol. ii. that the maſs of the people were as diſaffected, and as eager to join the French, whom they expected a ſhort time before the peace was concluded, as they were in the year 1798; though the royal mercy had been extended to them in a very extraordinary manner, for the crimes committed by them during the late rebellion.

A vagabond, of the name of James Walſh, was actively employed in the county of Kerry, in organizing the people; for which he was arreſted at Tralee, on the 9th of September, 1801, and was tried and ſentenced to tranſportation at Limerick.

On being ſearched, a ſcapular, a charm, and ſome other pieces of popiſh trumpery were found on the perſon of this pious miſſionary. The firſt, and initiatory oath, which he exhibited to thoſe whom he enrolled in the ranks of rebellion, was to be true to the French and the Virgin Mary. The two ſucceeding ones were to have been ſworn in an old abbey, at Ardfert, to give them the greater appearance of ſanctity.

He acknowledged that he had been ſucceſsful in ſeducing ſome popiſh ſoldiers of the Limerick militia, whoſe religion had made them acceſſible to his arts of ſeduction.

What ſtability can any government have, and what ſecurity can it afford for the lives and property of its loyal ſubjects, where religion is made the vehicle of treaſon, and a prieſt in a few hours can ſummon, and enrol, many thouſand vagabonds under the ſtandard of rebellion? of which many inſtances occurred in the provinces of Leinſter and Connaught, in the year 1798.

In that year proteſtant property to the amount of one million was deſtroyed in leſs than three weeks, and in but a few counties; and yet there was an army of more than 80,000 men at that time in the kingdom.* At two critical junctures of the rebellion, it might have been fatal to the empire. Had the rebels ſucceeded at the battle of Roſs, the inſurrection was to have been general in the provinces of Munſter and Leinſter; and it has been diſcovered, that the day on which it was to have taken place, was to have been imparted to the populace at their reſpective chapels.

Behold the general and dreadful ſpirit of diſaffection which appeared on the landing of but 1000 French! They were on the point of baffling the marquis Cornwallis, with an army of 30,000 men.

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* See p. 206 of vol. ii.

Had they eluded his vigilance, and reached the metropolis, the maſs of its inhabitants would have riſen; and by their co-operation with the French, it would have preſented a dreadful ſpectacle of carnage, plunder, and conflagration; and then an inſurrection would have been ſo general, that, in addition to the Iriſh, it would have required the whole army of England to recover Ireland. We may then infer, how fatal a deſcent of 10,000 French would have been.

Ireland is the only part of the empire which is vulnerable; and it is ſo much ſo, that in future wars the flower of the Britiſh army muſt be maintained in it; and a large portion of the navy muſt be ſtationed off Breſt, to prevent the French from invading it; for ſhould the ſeparation of Ireland take place, and the accompliſhment of it has been the main object of the popiſh natives for above 200 years, England muſt fall.

I have ſaid a good deal in the ſecond volume, beginning at page 496, on the means by which theſe evils may be remedied; but on a ſerious inveſtigation of the ſtate of the Charter ſchools, I find myſelf under a neceſſity of retracting an opinion which I gave on them in page 500. It is moſt certain, that the fanatical ſpirit of proſelytiſm, which is inſeparable from popery, in a great meaſure defeats their beneficial effects; for the greater part of the children bred in them, who are apprenticed to individuals, relapſe into popery, as they are unremittingly teized and perſecuted till they conform to the popiſh ſuperſtition.

Government then ſhould eſtabliſh manufactories, or lay the foundation of towns, which ſhould be excluſively, and rigidly, appropriated to proteſtants.

Engliſh manufacturers with large capitals ſhould be encouraged to ſettle in them; and the Charter ſchools, the Foundling hoſpital, and the Hibernian ſchool, would ſupply them yearly with 1000 or 1200 apprentices.

Such inſtitutions, when once eſtabliſhed, would maintain themſelves, and grow like a tree, without any adventitious aſſiſtance. In the Foundling hoſpital, children of eleven years, who have been but a twelvemonth at the loom, earn fourteen ſhillings a week; but unleſs ſome proteſtant eſtabliſhments be immediately formed, to breed them up in uſeful induſtry, they will relapſe.

Derry and Bandon, two proteſtant towns eſtabliſhed in the reign of James I. evince the policy of this meaſure; for in all the rebellions kindled by popiſh fanaticiſm, they fought as bravely in defence of the conſtitution in church and ſtate, as the Iriſh proteſtants did in the year 1798. If all the charitable funds in Ireland which have been purloined or abuſed, were made productive, and converted to this plan, the moſt uſeful and exalted of all charities, proteſtantiſm, and loyalty, its inſeparable concomitant, would make ſuch rapid ſtrides, that in a few years rebellion would not dare to rear its baleful head; and Ireland would be able to defend herſelf. I have ſaid much on this in page 496 of vol. ii. and I now ſay, that it is a matter of Imperial concern, and that nothing requires ſo much the united wiſdom and attention of the Britiſh parliament.

I ſhall, with the moſt reſpectful deference, unleſs called upon, ſubmit the modification of it in detail, to perſons ſuperior to me in wiſdom and knowledge.

The Roman catholicks raiſe a great clamour about the proteſtant aſcendancy; but can they, whoſe religion makes them hoſtile to the State, expect to be put on the ſame footing with thoſe whoſe faith inculcates loyalty and obedience to it. They ſhould conſider alſo, that the proteſtants are to enjoy it only during this life, which is but a ſpan compared to eternity; that they are hereafter to be in a ſtate of damnation, and that the Roman catholicks are to be in a perpetual ſtate of beatitude; beſides, the wiſeſt nations of ancient and modern times have had a national religion which predominated over every other; and in this particular the Roman catholicks themſelves are rigidly intolerant.

I mentioned in vol. ii. page 513, the arts of deception which have been practiſed in England, to impoſe on its inhabitants, as to the real ſtate of Ireland.

I ſhall now touch on that ſubject a ſecond time. Mr. Burke, ſedulouſly and ſucceſsfully endeavoured to infuſe ſtrong prejudices into the Rockingham party, on this point, as ſoon as he was enrolled in it; and ſome of the moſt efficient members of the late adminiſtration, having imbibed Mr. Burke's deluſions, departed from thoſe wiſe leſſons which the hiſtory and experience of paſt ages uniformly afford; and adopted a viſionary ſyſtem of conceſſion, which ſhook the pillars of the throne; and at laſt, the beſt of Kings, after having, by the advice of his miniſters, tried many fruitleſs efforts to conciliate, was obliged to make a ſtand for its defence.

Though I lament that theſe great perſonages have been deceived on this point, no perſon reſpects or venerates them more than I do, for having diſplayed unparalleled wiſdom and firmneſs, in preſerving our conſtitution from foreign and domeſtick enemies, during the late war. It is very ſingular that they ſhould think of making conceſſions to the Iriſh papiſts, ſo ſoon after they had manifeſted a deſire to deprive the King of his crown.

Father O'Leary, an itinerant Iriſh friar, who had a ſmattering of learning, ſufficient to fineer and varniſh over his ignorance, with unbluſhing effrontery, publiſhed a pamphlet, in the year 1800, containing groſs miſrepreſentations on the ſtate of Ireland. It is entitled, "An addreſs to the Lords ſpiritual and temporal of the parliament of Great Britain." In page 5, he ſays, "I have taken *the oath of allegiance* to his majeſty, with the reſt of *the Catholick clergy of Ireland*. As then we are amenable to government, and fulfil our part of the covenant, we think ourſelves entitled to the protection of the laws, both as to our perſons and honour." "The habit of reſpect and ſubmiſſion to their clergy, (meaning the popiſh) was in ſuch a manner an earneſt pledge of the obedience of the common people to the State, that amidſt ſo many wars and rebellions, ſince the revolution, until the deſtruction of monarchy in France, Ireland was not one ſingle hour tainted with the ſpirit of rebellion."

In page 13, he tells us, "that the Iriſh prieſts claimed their deſcent from the moſt antient and noble families* in Ireland;" and in page 18, he ſays, "In their poverty they have birth and honour, which neither revolutions nor penal laws can affect. No immoral man is ever allowed to officiate at their altars." In page 22, he ſays, "more credit is given to a fanatical geographer called Guthrie, than to our oaths or the writings of our doctors." In page 26, he ſays, "It is painful to me, my Lords, thus to intrude on your time. It is the more painful, as after ſo many proofs of *the loyalty*, *the piety*, *the zeal, and exertions of the Catholick prelates and paſtors of Ireland*, in the critical circumſtances, when there was no room for diſſimulation, or a trimming, fluctuating conduct, threats ſhould be held out for the abolition of their prieſthood, as the nurſery of *crimes*, *felonies, and murders*."†

The candid reader muſt be ſhocked and aſtoniſhed at the flagrant impudence of this anointed impoſtor, in uttering ſuch notorious falſehoods, ſo recently after the late dreadful rebellion, in the courſe of which the popiſh prieſts and their flocks committed the groſſeſt perjury. In this pamphlet, he ſets forth the pureſt precepts of the chriſtian morality, and tell us, that they are maintained by the Romiſh church; but he is ſilent on thoſe impious and uncharitable tenets, which have often diſturbed the peace of ſociety in proteſtant ſtates. Mr. Plowden, a popiſh conveyancer of the middle temple, in a book, intitled, "The Caſe ſtated," manifeſts as much zeal as father O'Leary, to impoſe on the people of England.

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* They are in general of the dregs of the people.

† He alludes to ſir Henry Mildmay's bill.

In page 17, he ſays, "If any one ſays, or pretends to inſinuate, that the modern Roman catholicks, who are the objects of the late bounty of Parliament, differ in one iota from their predeceſſors, he is either deceived himſelf, or he wiſhes to deceive others. Semper eadem, is more emphatically deſcriptive of our religion, than of our juriſprudence." The ſpirit of treaſon and diſaffection which appeared in the late rebellion, and the maſſacres of proteſtants perpetrated in the courſe of it, unqueſtionably prove the truth of this aſſertion; we may then infer that the following poſition, which he makes in page 42, is abſolutely falſe: "As I have undertaken to ſhew, that the Roman catholick religion teaches no one point of doctrine, that does not greatly tend to render its followers loyal, dutiful, and peaceable ſubjects, I ſhould be guilty of a very capital and material omiſſion, if I did not alſo ſhew, that it teaches no one point of doctrine, which diſcourages, damps, or ſtifles that principle of love and charity, which is the bond of union, and ſoul of ſocial life." The baneful effects of popiſh doctrines, flowing from the councils of the Romiſh church, the bulls and epiſtles of the Popes, in the reigns of John, Edward VI. Mary, Elizabeth, and James I. are alone an ample refutation of this aſſertion. Mr. P. tells us in page 21, " that the Roman catholicks admit the decrees of a general council in matters of faith and morality, when approved of by the pope, and received by the church, to be abſolutely infallible and not liable to deceit or error."

When it is well known, that the decrees of ſome general councils have materially differed from others, which totally deſtroys all pretenſions to infallibility; that the thrones of princes have been proſtrated; and that the bonds of ſociety, which religion and morality preſcribe, have been diſſolved, and have been pronounced null and void by ſuch councils, of which I have given ſome ſpecimens from page 10 to page 24, of the firſt volume of this work, it is aſtoniſhing that a gentleman of education ſhould make ſuch monſtrous aſſertions.

Mr. P. ſays in page 34, " It is a matter of notoriety, that very alarming diſturbances have, within theſe few years, been quieted in Ireland, through the well-directed influence of Roman catholick miſſionaries, over their flocks, when the government had failed in every attempt to ſuppreſs them; and they have been publickly thanked by the legiſlature of that kingdom for their ſervices."*

A flimſy pamphlet, entitled, " A letter to a nobleman on the propoſed repeal of the penal laws, againſt the Iriſh Roman catholicks, by Charles Butler, Eſq. of Lincoln's inn," was publiſhed in Dublin, in the year 1801. The following paragraphs will afford the reader a ſpecimen of the author's veracity: "I need not obſerve to your lordſhip, that the Iriſh catholicks deſerve from their country a different treatment. In the late invaſions of Ireland, none were more active in repelling the invaders." See in theſe Memoirs the effects of the deſcent at Killala. As this gentleman has given the communications of certain great perſonages on the ſubject of the Roman catholick claims, I extract them from his pamphlet, and inſert them in Appendix XXVII.

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* Fathers Sheehy, Quigley, Cowley and the Murphys, afford notable inſtances of this. See the Index for their characters.

I mentioned, in page 512 of vol. ii. that even the viceroys of Ireland have miſrepreſented its real ſtate in England. The following notable inſtance of it occurred in the year 1762, and in the adminiſtration of lord Halifax: The white boys or levellers, a popiſh banditti, whom I have deſcribed in page 36 of vol. i. were committing the moſt dreadful outrages at that time, and continued to do ſo 'till the year 1784;* and yet it was ſtated in a government paper, that they were completely put a ſtop to, and that religion was in no wiſe concerned in their proceedings.†

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* See page 220 of vol. ii.

† "*Whitehall Evening Poſt, May 4th*, 1762.

'The riots and diſturbances lately raiſed in the Southern 'part of Ireland, by a ſet of people called levellers, are entirely 'put a ſtop to by the vigilance and activity of the earl of 'Halifax; and it appears, that the authors of theſe diſturbances 'have conſiſted indiſcriminately of perſons of different perſuaſions, and that no marks of diſaffection to his majeſty's perſon 'or government have been diſcovered upon this occaſion in any 'claſs of people.'

As there is a great number of prieſts at this time in England, and as they are uſing the greateſt zeal to make proſelytes, the government, and the proteſtant clergy, ſhould be very vigilant in counteracting their exertions; particularly in London and Weſtminſter, where ſchools are kept in cellars for the education of the children of poor people, and where, inſtead of paying, they receive two pence each a week, as an allurement to attend them.

I am convinced that the popiſh nobility and gentry of England are as loyal as thoſe of Ireland; but the peace of ſociety, and the ſecurity of the State, depend on the morals of the lower claſs of people; and as ignorance is the element of popery, and as the popiſh prieſts practiſe the moſt faſcinating arts of ſeduction, it is to be feared that they may make a great progreſs in perverting the populace.

What impreſſions may they not make on the credulous multitude, when they aſſure them, that they are endued with the power of ſending their ſouls to heaven or to hell!

In this reſpect the Popiſh prieſt diſcharges the duties which were aſſigned to the god Mercury in the heathen mythology; and he was therefore called ψυκοπομπος,[*] or the ſoul guider.

The Engliſh papiſts, from the paucity of their numbers compared with thoſe of Ireland, and the very great preſſure formed by the ſuperiority of the proteſtants, are deterred from diſplaying thoſe principles which they did in the 16th and 17th centuries; but it is to be feared, that they would explode, if they were more numerous, and ſhould a foreign invaſion, or any publick diſturbance that endangered the State, offer them an incitement to do ſo. Like the winds confined in the cave of Eolus, if the preſſure of the mountain was removed, they would hurl deſtruction.

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[*] This word is compounded of ψυχὴ anima, and πεμπω mitto.

> "Ni faciat, muria ac terras, cœlumque profundum,
> "Quippe ferant rapidi ſecum, verrantque per auras."

Sixtus V. ſent the papiſts of England a diſpenſation from the rigorous obſervance of a bull fulminated againſt queen Elizabeth by Pius V. They were allowed by it to appear obedient and reſpectful to her, till their party was ſtrong enough to riſe againſt her. Speed 871.*

It ſhould be recollected, that the maſs of the Iriſh Roman catholicks ſhewed the moſt decided hoſtility againſt our preſent gracious ſovereign and his government, to whoſe goodneſs they owed ſo much; and at the ſame time an enthuſiaſtick attachment to the French, the avowed enemies of their religion, and of the ſovereign pontiff; but as the latter, to whom they owe unlimited obedience, is now become a mere engine in the hands of Buonaparte, it behoves the government of England to guard more vigilantly than ever againſt the malignant ſpirit of popery.

I ſhall

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* The Iriſh traitors, ſo early as the year 1796, began to ſend miſſionaries to Lancaſhire, where papiſts are very numerous; and father Quigley was very active among them in ſwearing and organizing. Some months before the peace, there appeared in that county a ſtrong ſpirit of inſurgency, and combination cemented by oaths.

I now repeat the following obſervation, which I have made in many parts of this work: "that in the ſtrictures contained in it, I do not allude to the nobility, the gentry, the merchants, and perſons well educated of the popiſh perſuaſion, who are loyal, generous, and humane;" but they form a very inconſiderable part of the community.

I ſhall conclude, with telling the reader, that the confeſſion of faith, in page 436 of vol. ii. was written on a paper, containing a ſample of wheat, which a popiſh farmer preſented to a corn merchant in the city of Cork, in the month of December, 1801, which ſhews that this vehicle of impiety and treaſon is in circulation among the lower claſs of papiſts.

MEMOIRS

OF THE DIFFERENT

REBELLIONS IN IRELAND, &c.

INTRODUCTORY DISCOURSE.

THE antiquaries of the laſt century contended, that the Chriſtian religion was introduced into Ireland, by Roman miſſionaries, in the beginning of the fifth century; but a * learned writer clearly proves, that it was eſtabliſhed there at a much earlier period, and by miſſionaries of the Greek church.

It is moſt certain, that the Iriſh clergy had no connection with, and did not ſubmit to, the juriſdiction of the Roman pontiff, till the year 1152, when pope Eugenius ſent, by cardinal Paparon, four palls to the archbiſhops of Armagh, Dublin, Caſhel, and Tuam, when the Romiſh ritual was ſubſtituted in the place of the Greek, which was previouſly uſed in the Iriſh church; an undoubted proof that it was perfectly independent of the pope till that period.

Our excellent primate Uſher proves this in a moſt unqueſtionable manner, in a learned treatiſe on the religion of the antient Iriſh, well worth the peruſal of the natives of Ireland. Archbiſhop † Anſelm, in his

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* Ledwich's Antiquities of Ireland, p. 358, et ſeq.

† Anſelm. Epiſt. l. 3. ep. 142, 147. Uſher, Epiſt. Hib. p. 95. Lanfranc, archbiſhop of Canterbury, complained of this practice above twenty years before. Uſher, ſup. p. 73.

his letters to Muriardach an Iriſh king, complained that biſhops were conſecrated by biſhops alone, and often by one biſhop only, contrary to a canon of the Nicene council, which required two biſhops, at leaſt, to attend the conſecration of one; but the Iriſh clergy were totally ignorant of the councils of the church, and derived their knowledge of Chriſtianity, for near eight hundred years, from no other ſource but the bible, the grand charter of Chriſtians. Athanaſius allowed the conſecration of Siderius, biſhop of Palœbiſca; and the church of Alexandria that of Evagrius, though performed but by one biſhop. As to celibacy, we know, from Ware, that the four archbiſhops of Armagh who preceded Celſus, and Celſus himſelf, who died in 1129, were married; and, not until popery was eſtabliſhed at Caſhel in 1172, was marriage interdicted.

In the end of the twelfth and the beginning of the thirteenth century, a ſeaſon of midnight ignorance in Europe, the Roman pontiff, who was regarded with ſuperſtitious reverence, claimed and gradually acquired a ſuperiority, not only of ſpiritual, but of temporal power, over all the potentates of Europe, who conſidered his ſanction as neceſſary to expiate the guilt of any crime, how heinous ſoever, or to promote the ſucceſs of any adventure.

For this reaſon, Henry II. ſolicited pope Adrian for a bull to give him the inveſtiture of Ireland; and, in conſideration of it, agreed to grant him a tax of one penny on each houſe in it, called Peter Pence.

When Phocas murdered his liege ſovereign Mauritius, emperor of Conſtantinople, in the year 602, he obtained the pope's benediction, and by this varniſhed over the turpitude of that foul action; and Pepin, having depoſed king Chilperic, and ſeized the throne of France in the year 751, prevailed on pope Zachary to abſolve the French from their allegiance to their lawful prince, whom he ſhaved, and confined in a monaſtery, "Tantum religio potuit ſuadere malorum."

In like manner, when Ethelred, king of the Northumbrians, was aſſaſſinated in the year 796, Eardulph, who uſurped his throne, was anointed, and went through ſome pompous ceremonies at his coronation, to hallow his uſurpation with the odour of ſanctity.

Rebellion, uſurpation, and murder, are crimes that require extraordinary meaſures to palliate them in the eyes of the people, and to procure ſome veneration for the perſons who have been guilty of them.

Adrian, in his bull, empowered Henry II. "to* propagate in Ireland the righteous plantation of faith, and the branch moſt acceptable to God;" which meant no more, than that he ſhould ſubject that kingdom to the dominion of the pope, which it is remarkable was the laſt country in Europe that ſubmitted to the ambitious and rapacious deſigns of his Holineſs.

At this day the Roman catholicks deprecate the grant of Ireland to a foreign and not a native prince. Mc. Geoghegan, in his hiſtory of Ireland, tom. 1. p. 440, exclaims thus againſt it: "A decree pronounced againſt Ireland, by which the rights of nations, and the moſt ſacred laws are violated, under the ſpecious pretext of religion, and the reformation of manners! Could one ſuſpect the vicar of Chriſt of ſuch groſs injuſtice? Could one believe him capable of iſſuing a bull, by which an entire nation was overturned?"† If the aboriginal Iriſh lament the ſettlement of the Engliſh in Ireland, all its loyal inhabitants have to deplore, that they introduced popery into it, as it has been a conſtant ſource of diſaffection, and has produced unutterable calamities in it.

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* Unde tanto in eis libentius plantationem fidelem, et germen gratum Deo inſerimus. Uſher, ſup. p. 109.

† "Un arret prononcé contre l'Irlande, par lequel le droit des gens, et les loix les plus ſacrées ſont violées, ſous le ſpecieux pretexte de religion & de reformation des mœurs. Peut on ſoupçonner le vicaire de Jeſus Chriſt d'une injuſtice ſi criante? Peut on le croire coupable d'avoir dicté une bulle qui a bouleverſé toute une nation?" Mc. Geoghegan was a Roman Catholick.

It is not the object nor the wiſh of the writer of the following pages to diſparage Ireland, or its inhabitants; the former, in point of ſoil and climate, the latter, in their intellectual and corporeal powers, being deſervedly eſteemed among the fineſt works of the creation; but to evince the truth of the maxim, that an imperium in imperio, or two ſeparate ſovereign powers, civil and eccleſiaſtical, cannot co-exiſt in the ſame ſtate, without perpetual colliſion, producing diſcord and rebellion; and that the only remedy for the calamities attendant on ſuch a ſtate is, either the extinction of one power, or the milder procedure of incorporating it with the other. The latter mode has been adopted in Ireland: abſtract reaſoning muſt approve, and experience will demonſtrate, the meaſure to be founded in the trueſt wiſdom.

Few of the writers on the Union of Ireland with England have calmly diſcuſſed the ſubject on the grounds here ſtated; if they had, thoſe who oppoſed it would have received conviction, and thoſe who ſupported it, would have found invincible arguments in its favour, from the inſtances now adduced.

As this great political queſtion is finally ſettled, Why, it may be aſked, bring it again before the publick? The anſwer is, that the publick mind is far as yet from being reconciled to it; that a plain ſtatement of facts, in an authenticated hiſtorical detail of the various rebellions, and particularly of the occurrences of the laſt which afflicted this kingdom, and deſolated a conſiderable portion of it, muſt bring conviction to the moſt uninformed, of the inſtability of their ſafety or happineſs, while both are ſubject to the workings of bigotry, or the flagitious deſigns of the rebel and the plunderer. A mariner, who has been ſhipwrecked on a ſunken rock, does not accurately deſcribe its longitude and latitude for others to run on it, but carefully to avoid it; ſo the writer, in recounting the former and the late rebellion, does not wiſh to revive party diſtinctions and animoſities, which he ardently hopes will be for ever buried in oblivion; but to point out the neceſſity of adopting radical remedies to prevent their recurrence, which have been neglected by former governments.

In ſpeaking of the Roman catholick religion, the writer hopes he will not be miſinterpreted, when he declares, that, as far as it is agreeable to the Goſpel, he moſt highly reſpects it; but the ſuperinduced doctrines, as the Pope's infallibility and ſupremacy, his diſpenſing power, excluſive ſalvation, and other points, he knows, and the reader will perceive, are ſubverſive of ſociety; and its pliability, ſo much boaſted of by doctors Troy and Huſſey, muſt alarm every loyal ſubject, when they aſſerted in their paſtoral letters, that it was equally ſuited to a monarchy, an ariſtocracy, or a democracy, at a time that France was endeavouring to democratize every ſtate in Europe. After this explanation, I ſhall proceed to ſketch the ſtate of Ireland, on the arrival of the Engliſh, in the year 1169.

The country was divided among clans or ſepts, profeſſing ſubjection to a higher power; but, at the ſame time, exerciſing every independent right. Their numbers then, according to ſir William Petty, did not exceed three hundred thouſand ſouls, diſperſed over more than twelve millions of acres. The country, as deſcribed by Giraldus Cambrenſis, in the twelfth century, an eye-witneſs of it, was overrun with foreſts, or cankered with bogs, and in all the arts of civil life, the inhabitants were little ſuperior to the Indians of North America. Their Brehon laws were calculated to make them ſavage, and to keep them ſo; as they rendered the enjoyment of life and property inſecure. Their kings or princes did not ſucceed each other by hereditary deſcent, or any fixed principles of ſucceſſion, but by force and arms. It was a peculiar favour from heaven to ſend a civilized people among them, nor did the wiſer part ſeem inſenſible to it; for Matt. Paris tells us, that, at a council at Liſmore, they gratefully received the laws of England (gratanter receptæ) and ſwore to obey them, (juratoria cautione præſtita) which included their allegiance to the crown of England. As ſoon as Henry II. returned, they rejected the laws, violated their allegiance, and ran into rebellion: which excluded them from the benefit of them.

A few ſepts, who adhered to their oaths, were conſidered as Engliſh ſubjects, and were protected by law. Attached to their barbarous manner of living, and indulged by their own municipal laws in licentiouſneſs of every kind, they found the wholeſome reſtraint of Engliſh regimen, ſo irkſome and galling, that, by perpetual inſurrections, they endeavoured to ſhake it off; and in the reign of Henry III. 1230, they collected ſuch a force, that they flattered their party with the hope of being able totally to expel the Engliſh (omne genus Anglorum ab Hiberniæ finibus exturbare,) ſays Matt. Paris. This has been the declared purpoſe of the native Iriſh for above ſix hundred years. What alone they were unable to accompliſh, they endeavoured to effect by calling in the aid of the pope, and the king of Spain, as we ſhall ſee in the ſequel. The kings of England tried various means to civilize the Iriſh; but they were ſo blinded by diſaffection, and attached to their own barbarous cuſtoms, as to oppoſe every meaſure for that purpoſe. The ſtatute of Kilkenny, 1367, is a deciſive proof of this, for by it the Brehon law was aboliſhed; and again by the tenth Henry VII. and laſtly by a judgment of the court of King's Bench, the fifth of James I.

Speaking a different language, and obedient to different laws, it is not to be wondered at that the Engliſh and Iriſh did not cordially unite, and coaleſce into one people. Nothing was attempted which could materially conduce to effect this; for the operations of government were confined for centuries to pitiful expedients. The introduction of the reformed religion, by increaſing the antipathy of the native Iriſh to the

Engliſh, was a new ſource of calamities; for, as the Iriſh eccleſiaſticks, to whom the ignorant and bigoted people were blindly devoted, received their education in foreign ſeminaries, particularly in thoſe of France and Spain, they returned to their native country, bound ſolemnly to the pope, in an unlimited ſubmiſſion, without any bond of allegiance to the king, and full fraught with thoſe abſurd and peſtilent doctrines, which the moderate of their own communion, at leaſt, profeſſed to abominate; of the univerſal dominion of the pope, as well ſpiritual as temporal; of his authority to excommunicate and depoſe princes; to abſolve ſubjects from their oaths of allegiance, and to diſpenſe with every law of God and man; to ſanctify rebellion and murder, and even to change the very nature and eſſential difference of vice and virtue. With ſuch impious tenets, fabricated by their ſchools and councils, they filled their ſuperſtitious votaries, contrary, ſays Walſh the Iriſh franciſcan, to the letter, the ſenſe, and deſign of the Goſpel, the writings of the apoſtles, and commentaries of their ſucceſſors, to the belief of the Chriſtian church for ten ages, and to the cleareſt dictates of nature.

I hope the reader will excuſe the digreſſion which I ſhall now make, to ſhew him the origin of the Papal power, which became, in proceſs of time, from very ſlender beginnings, formidable to ſovereign princes, and fatal to the peace of Europe; as he will be able to diſcover in it, the real ſource of the various rebellions which have diſgraced and deſolated the kingdom of Ireland; ſo that I may ſay with the Roman poet,

Hoc fonte derivata clades,
In patriam populumque fluxit.

Long after the death of the apoſtles, the popes continued to be elected by the people and the clergy, and, when elected, they were conſecrated by ſome other prelates, which, as * Euſebius tells us, happened

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* He was biſhop of Nicomedia, and died in the fourth century.

pened in the caſe of St. Fabian, biſhop of Rome, in the year 236. But the biſhop, after being elected, could not be conſecrated, or confirmed in the See, without the conſent of the emperor, which was as eſſential to the ratification of it, as that of our king to the election of a biſhop, by a dean and chapter. For this reaſon, when pope Gregory I. was elected, about the year 600, he, not wiſhing to fill the pontifical chair, wrote to the emperor Mauritius, not to conſent to his election; but he refuſed, and ratified it. The emperors thus continued to watch the elections and the conduct of the popes with a vigilant and jealous eye, till the year 896, when Charles the bald reſigned to the pope all power and authority over the Roman See; and, on the extinction of the race of Charlemagne, Adrian III. made a decree, that in future the popes ſhould be elected without the emperor's conſent.

Previous to this period, the emperors maintained and exerciſed ſupreme power in eccleſiaſtical affairs:* they appointed judges for religious cauſes, preſided at councils, and often in eccleſiaſtical courts; they depoſed biſhops that were lapſed into hereſy, and determined diſputes and ſchiſms in the church. It is remarkable, that, till this æra, the councils were denominated from the emperors, and not from the popes; becauſe their canons and ordinances were invalid, till confirmed by the former. Euſebius tells us therefore, that Conſtantine the great was called the general biſhop, from his univerſal ſupremacy over all prelates.

He alſo tells us, in his life of this emperor, (lib. 3. cap. 18.) that the fathers of the council of Nice obtained the confirmation of their decrees from Conſtantine the great; and the fathers of the council of Conſtantinople from Theodoſius the great, in the year 381, as we are told by Socrates in his Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory.

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* Sphanheim's Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory, p. 1102.

The emperors foreſaw how neceſſary it was, that the civil and eccleſiaſtical powers ſhould be united in the ſupreme executive magiſtrate, to promote and ſecure the peace and proſperity of the ſtate; and the diſcord, the ſtrife, the bloodſhed, and the various calamities which their ſeparation afterwards occaſioned, in every kingdom of Europe, proved the foreſight, the prudence, and the policy of the imperial ſovereigns; and yet the Iriſh innovators, whoſe ignorance can be equalled by nothing but their diſaffection and audacity, have treated the union of the ſpiritual and temporal power as abſurd and ridiculous.

So little idea had the Roman pontiff of ſupremacy in the fifth century, that, when there was a rivalſhip between him and the patriarch of Conſtantinople for precedence, it was reſolved by the twenty-eighth canon of the council of Chalcedon,* 451, that the ſame rights and honours which had been conferred on the biſhop of Rome, were due to the biſhop of Conſtantinople, on account of the equal dignity and luſtre of the two cities, in which they exerciſed their authority. On the cloſe of the ſix century, Gregory I. was poſſeſſed of immenſe territories, and was in ſuch eſtimation for his piety that he ſtands high as a ſaint in the Roman calendar; and yet he had ſo little idea of being ſupreme head of the church, that when the biſhop of Conſtantinople aſſumed that title, he declared in a letter to the emperor Mauritius, "that it was a blaſphemous title, and that none of the Roman pontiffs had ever aſſumed ſo ſingular a one."† And in a letter to the ſame patriarch, he ſays, "what wilt thou ſay to Chriſt, the head of the univerſal church, in the day of judgment, who thus endeavoureſt to ſubject his members to thyſelf, by this title of univerſal? Who, I aſk thee, doſt thou imitate in this, but the devil?"‡ And in a letter to the empreſs Conſtantia, he ſays, his pride, in aſſuming this title, ſhewed the days of Antichriſt were at hand.* The ſame pope ſaid, "I acknowledge that a prince, having his power from God, is ſupreme over, not only the military, but the ſacerdotal power."†

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* This was a general council.

† Gregory's Epiſtles, lib. 4. Ind. 13, p. 137.

‡ Ibid. epiſt. 38.

Rome continued the capital of the weſtern empire, till the reign of Valentinian II. who, about the year 390, transferred it to Ravenna, for the purpoſe of being near the Alps, to oppoſe the incurſions of the northern barbarians; and afterwards, Theodorick, king of the Goths, did the like for the ſame reaſon.

As the dignity and authority of the biſhop of Ravenna were augmented by the ſplendor of the court, and the auguſt preſence of the emperor, he diſputed the primacy of Italy with the biſhop of Rome.‡

When this ſalutary reſtraint of the emperors over the Roman pontiffs was removed, their eagle-winged ambition ſoared above the power of ſovereign princes, and often was the means of their dethronement.

That arrogant pontiff, Gregory VII. raiſed to the popedom in the year 1073, claimed and exerciſed a right of excommunicating and depoſing ſovereigns, by invoking their ſubjects to riſe in rebellion againſt them. His ambitious efforts to gain an aſcendancy over the emperors, on the cloſe of the eleventh century, occaſioned the faction of the Guelphs and Gibellines in Germany and Italy, which produced numberleſs aſſaſſinations, tumults, and convulſions, and no leſs than 60 pitched battles in the reign of Henry IV. and eighteen in that of his ſucceſſor Henry V. when the claims of the Roman pontiff finally prevailed.

The

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[*] Gregory's epiſt. 34. [†] Lib. 2, epiſt. 94.

[‡] This rivalſhip reminds me of the following anecdote: An itinerant friar was preaching on a ſtage in the ſtreet of Florence, with a crucifix in his hand, to a numerous audience. A mountebank erected his ſtage within a few yards of him, and, by his pleaſantry and ſallies of wit, attracted to him all the followers of the friar, who was ſoon deſerted. A mountebank in Italy goes by the appellation of punchinello. The friar, having in vain exhauſted all the force of his eloquence to induce his auditory to return, cried out in a rage, pointing to the crucifix, *Ecco, il vero punchinello!* Behold, the true punchinello!

The emperor, Henry IV. with the empreſs, and his children, waited three days and three nights, barefooted, at the gates of the pope's palace, for abſolution; and after all, his Holineſs deprived him of his dominions, and gave them to Rodolphus, in the moſt * inſulting manner.

The following emperors experienced the effects of this ſcourge from the popes, whoſe names are annexed; and ſome of them loſt their thrones and their lives by it:

Gregory VII.	excommunicated	Henry III. -	1076
Calixtus II.	————————	Henry IV. -	1120
Adrian IV.	————————	Frederick -	1160
Calixtus III.	————————	Henry V. -	1195
Innocent III.	————————	Otho IV. about	1209
Gregory IX.	————————	Frederick II.	1228
Again,	————————	Frederick II.	1239
Innocent IV.	————————	Frederick II. and depoſed him,	1245

Beſides the above, a great many ſovereign princes loſt their lives and their dominions by this dreadful engine of ſuperſtition.

The popes, well knowing that they could not maintain the immenſe power, the great wealth, and the extenſive territories which they had acquired when Reaſon re-aſſumed her empire, reſolved to erect, in the boſom of every ſtate, a ſyſtem of terror, by a device, the ingenuity of which could be equalled by nothing but its monſtrous iniquity. Pope Innocent III. in the year 1215, procured the following ordinances to be paſſed by the fourth council of Lateran; and the decree of a legitimate general council, ſuch as this, has been always deemed infallible and irreverſible in the Romiſh church: "Hereticks of every kind againſt the true orthodox faith ſhall be condemned; and if they ſhall not prove their innocence by a proper purgation, they ſhall be excommunicated, and their effects ſhall be confiſcated.

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* He ſent a crown to Rodolph with this Leonine verſe;
"Petra dedit Petro, Petrus diadema Rodolpho."

cated. All ſecular powers ſhall be compelled, by eccleſiaſtical cenſures, to take an oath to extirpate * within their reſpective territories, ſuch of their ſubjects as ſhall be condemned as hereticks by the church. But if any temporal prince ſhall refuſe to purge his territories of heretical pravity, when required to do ſo by the metropolitan and his ſuffragant biſhops, let him be excommunicated; and if he ſhall not make full ſatisfaction in one year, let it be notified to the ſovereign pontiff, that he may abſolve his ſubjects from their oaths of allegiance, and transfer his territories to any other catholicks, who may enjoy them without contradiction, provided they exterminate all hereticks in them, and preſerve the purity of the catholick faith."

"All catholicks, who ſhall take up arms for the purpoſe of extirpating ſuch hereticks, ſhall enjoy the ſame indulgence, and the like holy privilege, with whoſe who viſited the holy land."

This means eternal ſalvation; and the reader will find, in the courſe of the late rebellion, that the ſanguinary fanaticks who embarked in it were ſure of enjoying happineſs in a future ſtate, for having riſen in arms againſt an heretical king; and that they regarded the extirpation of hereticks, as a ſacred duty which recommended them to the divine favour.

In conſequence of the commentaries made on this council, the following doctrines have been inculcated: Cardinal Tolet affirmed, "that the ſubjects of an excommunicated prince are not abſolved from their oaths of allegiance, before denunciation; but, when he is denounced, they are completely ſo, and are bound not to obey him, unleſs the fear of death, or the loſs of goods, excuſe them;" which was the caſe with the Engliſh catholicks in the reign of Henry VIII; and father Bridgewater, an Engliſh prieſt, commended this ſaying of the cardinal.

Father

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* Bona fide pro viribus exterminare ſtudebunt.

Father Creſwell, an Engliſh prieſt, ſaid, "it is the ſentence of all catholicks, that ſubjects are bound to expel heretical princes, by the commandment of God, the moſt ſtrict tie of conſcience, and the extreme danger of their ſouls."

Suarez, a moſt learned divine, ſays, "an excommunicated king may with impunity be depoſed or killed by any one." After the diabolical conſpiracy of the gunpowder plot was diſcovered and defeated, it became indiſpenſably neceſſary to provide as far as could be againſt ſuch horrible machinations, and therefore the oath of allegiance, ſupremacy and abjuration was enacted in the year 1605. Burke, in his Hibernia Dominicana, page 613, obſerves, that the Romiſh divines and laymen were divided into two factions; one thought the oath reaſonable and proper, the other rejected it. To ſettle this matter, pope Paul V. iſſued two bulls, in which, under pain of damnation, he orders the oath not to be taken. King James, in a very learned treatiſe, ſupported the oath; and Suarez, in a very long and laboured work, in vain endeavoured to ſubvert the arguments of the king.

Cardinal Bellarmine ſays, "though it may be a ſin to depoſe or kill an excommunicated prince, it is no ſin if the pope commands you to do ſo; for if the pope ſhould err, by commanding ſin, or forbidding virtues, yet the church were bound to believe that the vices were good, and the virtues evil."

Azorius, highly eminent in the Romiſh church, ſays, "a catholick wife is not tied to pay her duty to an heretical huſband. The ſons of an heretical father are made ſui juris, that is, free from their father's power; and ſervants are not bound to do ſervice to ſuch maſters."

According to the decree of this council, and that of Conſtance alſo, it has been held, and the doctrine has been conſtantly carried into practice, that no faith is to be kept with hereticks; in conſequence of which, no contracts, leagues, promiſes, vows, or oaths, are ſufficient ſecurity to a proteſtant that deals with one of the church of Rome, if he ſhall make uſe of the liberty, which may, and is often granted to him that ſolicits it. But it is certain, that many good and conſcientious Roman catholicks ſpurn at this infamous privilege offered by the pope, and adhere to the laws of God.

Becanus ſays, there are two diſtinct tribunals, and the eccleſiaſtical is the ſuperior; and therefore, if a ſecular prince gives his ſubjects a ſafe conduct, he cannot extend it to the ſuperior tribunal.

In a council held at Vienna, Clement V. avowed and maintained, that the power of all kings depended on him: omne jus regum a ſe pendere.

Purſuant to this doctrine, the whole council of biſhops at Conſtance determined, 1415, that John Huſs ſhould be burnt, though he had been ſummoned by the emperor Sigiſmund to appear and defend the reformed religion, and had obtained a ſafe conduct from him; but the council determined that his power was ſubordinate to theirs, and, as their concurrence had not been previouſly obtained, his grant of a ſafe conduct was null and void.

It was ſtrongly contended at Worms, by all the biſhops who attended there, that Luther ſhould be burnt; but the emperor, who had given him a ſafe conduct, would not allow his good faith to be violated. It is very remarkable, that the council of Lateran, which I have quoted, made tranſubſtantiation an article of faith, and at the ſame time, treaſon and rebellion to be the duty of ſubjects.

A council held at Toledo, contains proviſions againſt hereticks exactly ſimilar to thoſe of Lateran, "that if a temporal prince ſhall neglect to purge his territories of heretical pravity, notice muſt be given to the pope, that he may thenceforth pronounce his ſubjects diſcharged of their oaths of allegiance, and give his dominions to catholicks."

The diſſimulation and cruelty of queen Mary were the reſult of theſe councils; for ſhe gave her ſubjects

jects the ſtrongeſt aſſurance, by a declaration in council, that ſhe would permit them to purſue any ſuch religion as their conſcience ſhould dictate; but, when firmly eſtabliſhed on her throne, ſhe promoted the burning of her proteſtant ſubjects, merely on account of their religion.

Human ingenuity could not form a better device, to impoſe the ſhackles of ſuperſtition on the human mind, and that univerſal dominion over ſovereign princes, to which the pope aſpired, than this council; but his holineſs, knowing that he could not enforce the execution of this dreadful engine, unleſs he had a number of perſons attached to him in every ſtate, and that the battering ram, ſo ingeniouſly contrived by him, could not be worked without artificers of his own appointment, ſtruggled hard to obtain the inveſtiture of biſhops; and having ſucceeded, he laid them all under a neceſſity, at their inauguration, of taking an oath of allegiance to him, of which I give ſome paragraphs.

"The rights, privileges, and authority, of the holy Roman church, and of our Lord the pope, and his ſucceſſors, I will be careful to preſerve, defend, enlarge, and promote."

"All hereticks, ſchiſmaticks, and rebels againſt our ſaid Lord, and his ſucceſſors, I will, to the utmoſt of my power, perſecute and impugn."

From this time the biſhops became the ſpies and centinels of the Roman pontiff; and, in order to inſulate their affections, to detach them from the ſtate to which they belonged, and to engage them in the intereſt of the Holy See, he enjoyed celibacy to the Popiſh clergy.

The words in the biſhops' oath of allegiance are, pro viribus perſequar et impugnabo. Some Romiſh eccleſiaſticks have contended, that the word perſequar ſignifies to proſecute by argument; but the futility of that conſtruction will appear very obvious. When Paſchal II. excommunicated the emperor Henry IV. he uſed exactly ſimilar words, in a bull directed to Robert count of Flanders: Henricum caput hæreticorum, et ejus fautores, pro viribus perſequaris et impugnes. Hoc tibi et militibus tuis precipimus. "We command you, and your ſoldiers, to perſecute and impugn Henry, the head of the hereticks." It is not to be ſuppoſed that he would call upon ſoldiers to diſpel and proſtrate hereſy by ratiocination. The logick of a ſoldier lies in his arms; beſides, impûgno ſignifies to attack by argument, and is put in contradiſtinction to perſecute.

The only hereſy of which he could accuſe this innocent prince was, that he oppoſed the pope's claim to the inveſtiture of biſhopricks in his dominions.

We may conceive how obedient councils muſt have been to the pope, when he procured this ſentence to be firſt voted and ratified by a council held 1102.

Cicero, in his fourth oration againſt Catiline, uſes the words perſequar in the ſenſe which I contend for. "Atque illo tempore, hujus avus Lentuli, clariſſimus vir, armatus, Gracchum eſt perſecutus: ille etiam grave tum vulnus accepit." Perſequor and perſecutio are words appropriated by eccleſiaſtical writers to expreſs the bloody cruelties exerciſed on chriſtians by heathen princes. After enumerating thirty-four under the Roman emperors, they reckon ten under Antichriſt, to which they might have added hundreds under the popes.

Raymond, count of Thoulouſe, was the firſt ſovereign prince againſt whom this dreadful engine was levelled. Part of his ſubjects called the Albigenſes and Waldenſes, happened to obtain, about the cloſe of the twelfth century, a tranſlation of ſome parts of the New Teſtament; and becauſe they endeavoured to conform their tenets and practices to the light of the Goſpel, which was obviouſly repugnant to popery, they were excommunicated by the pope; and becauſe Raymond refuſed to perſecute them, he was deprived of his dominions by the orders of his holineſs, who invoked his ſubjects to riſe in rebellion againſt him by a promiſe of eternal ſalvation; and Simon de Mountfort, whom he nominated general of the cruſade, was inveſted with the dominions of Raymond, by Innocent III. at the council of Lateran. It is univerſally allowed, that nearly one million of theſe innocent people were extirpated by the ſword and the gibbet, in conformity to the decree of that council.

It was on that occaſion that the bloody court of inquiſition was eſtabliſhed, and the ſuperintendence of it was committed to the dominican friars, by Gregory IX. in the year 1233.

In conſequence of the oath which biſhops were obliged to take at their inſtallation, obviouſly repugnant to the fidelity which they owed their reſpective ſovereigns, William Rufus told archbiſhop Anſelm, that he could not preſerve his allegiance to the pope, and his temporal ſovereign, at the ſame time; * and cardinal De Retz tells us, in his Memoires, that the Pariſians, for the ſame reaſon, objected to the miniſtry of cardinal Mazarine.

In that ſavage ſcene of butchery, the maſſacre of St. Bartholomew, planned with all the coolneſs of deliberation, five hundred gentlemen, and ten thouſand perſons of inferior rank, were maſſacred in one night at Paris alone, and great numbers in the provinces, becauſe they were proteſtants. † The Roman pontiff, on hearing it, expreſſed great joy; announced that the cardinals ſhould return thanks to the Almighty for ſo ſignal an advantage obtained for the Holy See, and that a jubilee ſhould be obſerved all over Chriſtendom. ‡ Sixtus V. excommunicated Henry III. of France, as a heretick, becauſe he, contrary to his Holineſs's orders, ſpared the blood of his proteſtant ſubjects; and he granted nine years indulgence to ſuch of his ſubjects, as would

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* Speed, 441, 442. † Thuanus, lib. 63, ſec. 14. ‡ Ibid.

would bear arms againſt him; upon which Jacque Clement, a friar, aſſaſſinated him with ſingular treachery.

In a publick conſiſtory held at Rome, the pope, in a long premeditated ſpeech, applauded the virtue and the firmneſs of the holy friar; declaring, that his fervent zeal towards God, ſurpaſſed even that of Judith and Eleazer; and that this aſſaſſination was brought about by divine providence.*

Henry III. left his kingdom by will to Henry IV. to whom alſo it devolved by hereditary right; but the Pariſians, having conſulted the doctors of the Sorbonne on his claim, they declared that his title was inadmiſſible, becauſe he had been excommunicated, and excluded from ſucceeding to it by the Holy See. They pronounced that thoſe who ſhould aſſiſt him would be damned, and they promiſed eternal happineſs to thoſe who ſhould oppoſe him, even to the ſhedding of blood, "uſque ad effuſionem ſanguinis."†

The bull fulminated againſt this amiable prince by Sixtus V. 1585, begins thus: "The authority given to St. Peter and his ſucceſſors, by the immenſe power of the eternal King, excels all the powers of earthly kings: it paſſes uncontrolable ſentence upon them all."

Henry, though endued with the moſt ſhining virtues, was, after two attempts to murder him, aſſaſſinated at Paris by Ravaillac. He was twice depoſed by Gregory XIV. and once by Clement VIII. as a favourer of hereticks.‡

In the year 1538, pope Paul III. iſſued a bull of excommunication and depoſition againſt Henry VIII. becauſe he declared himſelf, and not the pope, to be head of the church of England; a right which both the Saxon and Norman monarchs had always aſſerted, and which had been indiſputably eſtabliſhed by various acts of parliament, from the time of

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* Thuanus, vol. 4. p. 767, 768.

† Ibid. lib. 93, ſec. 19. ‡ Spond. tom. 2. p. 868.

Edward the Confeſſor, to the reign of Henry VIII. for the laws of the latter do not contain ſtronger proviſions againſt papal encroachments, than thoſe of Edward I. and Richard II.

The bull of excommunication and depoſition which Pius V. denounced againſt queen Elizabeth begins thus: "He that reigneth on high, to whom all power is given in heaven and earth, hath committed the one holy catholick and apoſtolick church, out of which there is no ſalvation, to one alone on earth, namely, to Peter, prince of the apoſtles, and to the Roman pontiff, ſucceſſor of St. Peter, to be governed with a plenitude of power. This one he hath conſtituted prince over all nations, and all kingdoms, that he might pluck up, deſtroy, diſſipate, overturn, plant, and build." For the many conſpiracies to murder queen Elizabeth, as a heretick, and ſome of them by the expreſs orders of the pope, I ſhall refer the reader to Speed, Rapin, and Hume. I ſhall mention but one. Two prieſts of the names of Parſons and Campion, who conſpired to murder that princeſs, obtained for themſelves, and all the papiſts in England, a diſpenſation from the rigorous obſervation of the bull fulminated by pope Pius V. againſt her. They were allowed by it to appear obedient and reſpectful to her, until their party was ſtrong enough to riſe againſt her. It ends thus: "The higheſt pontiff granted the foreſaid graces to fathers Robert Parſons and Edward Campion, who are now to take their way to England, the fourteenth of April, 1586;* but theſe holy fathers, very fortunately for England, could not ſucceed in their pious deſign, for they were detected, arreſted, and hanged.

The popes, well knowing that riches are the ſinews of power, adopted the following expedient to fill their treaſury, by a conſtant and never-failing revenue. Having firſt eſtabliſhed the doctrine of purgatory,

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* Speed, 871.

tory, and the pains and torments attending it, the deluded ſectaries of the Roman pontiff had recourſe to him to be relieved from their terrors.

Fiſher, biſhop of Rocheſter, an eminent Romiſh divine, ſays, that indulgences were not neceſſary in the firſt ages of the church; and that they were not deviſed till the people were frightened with the torments of purgatory.

Moſt of the ſchoolmen confeſs, that the uſe of indulgences began in the time of pope Alexander III. towards the end of the twelfth, or beginning of the thirteenth century; and from that period, till the folly and iniquity of them occaſioned the Reformation, the ſale of them was a fruitful ſource of wealth to the popes.

They alſo inflicted penalties on the commiſſion of ſin, ſuch as rigorous faſts, bodily pains and mortifications, long and frequent prayers, and pilgrimages to the tombs of ſaints and martyrs; and as theſe penalties could be commuted or diſpenſed with for money, thoſe who choſe to lead voluptuous lives, and to continue in a courſe of licentious pleaſure, embraced this new mode of expiation. *

At length the remiſſion of ſins became ſo ſyſtematick, and ſuch a conſtant and regular ſource of revenue to the Holy See, that they were reduced to a ſchedule, in a book of rates, with the ſums corresponding for which they were to be remitted. Of this work, entitled, "The taxes of the Romiſh Chancery," different editions were publiſhed for the uſe of Roman catholick ſtates: one at Rome by Marcellus Silber in 1514: one at Cologne in 1515: three at Paris in 1520, 1545, 1625: one at Venice, in the ſixth volume of the Oceanus Juris in 1523. The proteſtant princes publiſhed one among their reaſons for rejecting the council of Trent. †

The reader may judge of this extraordinary work by the following ſhort extracts:

"A nun

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* Muratori, de redemptione peccatorum in antiqui. Italiæ medii ſeculi. † Heideggeri myſter. Babyloniæ, tom. 2. p. 350.

"A nun having committed fornication ſeveral times, ſhall be abſolved, and enabled to hold the dignities of her order, even that of abbeſs, on paying 39 livres tournois, and 9 ducats."

"The abſolution of him who has deflowred a virgin, gr. 6."

"The abſolution of a clerk for all acts of fornication with a nun, within or without the limits of the nunnery, or with his relations in affinity or conſanguinity, or with any woman whatſoever, 36 livres."*

The Roman pontiff very wiſely gave great latitude to the clergy, as they were prohibited from marrying.

I give the reader a copy and a tranſlation of an indulgence (lodged in the library of Trinity College Dublin) and obtained at Rome by Mr. Murphy, a gentleman noted for profound and elegant learning, and high mental accompliſhments, who had accompanied the late lord Charlemont for many years, during his travels on the Continent, and in Greece and Egypt: "Moſt holy father! Edward Murphy, now at Rome, but ſoon intending to leave it, humbly ſupplicates your holineſs, that you will benignly deign to grant to him and to his relations in the firſt, ſecond, and third degree of conſanguinity and affinity, alſo to fifty perſons whom he ſhall nominate, a plenary indulgence, provided they ſhall be truly penitent in their laſt moments, and ſhall have confeſſed and received the holy communion; but if they can not obtain it, provided they ſhall invoke the name of Jeſus, with their voice, and ſhould they not be able to accompliſh it, on condition that they ſhall devoutly do ſo in their hearts.

"The ſaid indulgence is granted as a plenary one in the hour of death, as it is petitioned for according to the uſual form." †

This

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* Every crime that human depravity can commit, is inſerted in this book.

† BEATISSIME PATER!

EDVARDUS MURPHY,

Romæ preſens, ac brevi diceſſurus, humillime ſupplicat S. V. ut dignetur benigne concedere ſibi, et omnibus ſuis conſanguineis, ac affinibus in primo, ſecundo, et tertio gradu, necnon quinquaginta

perſonis

This indulgence was ſigned by a ſecretary whoſe name is not very legible; and it appears that the price of it was three Roman crowns.

Doctor Secker, archbiſhop of Canterbury, in his third ſermon on popery, ſays, "I have now in my cuſtody a plenary indulgence, granted for a ſmall piece of gold, at Rome, this very year, (1745) to an abſolute ſtranger, for himſelf, for his kindred in the third degree, and to thirty perſons more, for whoſe names a proper blank is left in the inſtrument."

When celibacy, (a doctrine juſtly reprobated in the ſcriptures, and refuted by the practice of the apoſtles, all of whom were married men, except Paul and John; a doctrine peculiarly unfit for the church of Rome to teach, their founder, as they term him, and prince of the apoſtles, as they ridiculouſly call him, having exploded it by his example, *) was firſt enforced in England, the biſhops conſtantly granted licenſes to the parochial clergy to keep concubines, leſt they might run into licentiouſneſs with the wives and daughters of their pariſhioners.

Excluſive ſalvation, a doctrine invented by the artful policy of the Roman pontiff, for the purpoſe of encouraging proſelytes to his church, and for ſecuring thoſe who were already within its pale, has been a fruitful ſource of diſcord and rebellion in many countries in Europe.

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perſonis nominandis, indulgentiam plenariam in articulo mortis, dummodo tunc vere pœnitentes, et confeſſi ac ſacra communione refecti, vel quatenus id facere nequiverint ſaltem contriti nomen Jeſu ore ſi potuerint, ſin minus, corde devote invocaverint, quam, &c.

INDULGENTIAM

Sinuel annuit pro indulgentia plenaria in articulo mortis, ut petitur in forma conſueta.

J. LINCIANI, Sec.

* Peter's *wife*'s mother was ſick of a fever. Matt. viii. 14. And Simon's *wife*'s mother was ſick of a fever. Mark i. 30. And Simon's *wife*'s mother, &c. Luke iv. 38.—See alſo, on this ſubject, St. Paul's epiſtle to 1 Timothy iii. 2. and 8, 11, and Hebrews xiii. 4.

It is not only contrary to the doctrine of the ſcriptures, but repugnant to the moral and phyſical perfections of the Deity, ſubverſive of his attributes of wiſdom, juſtice, and mercy, which are the main pillars of the divine adminiſtration; and it is likely to end in atheiſm, and has already produced all its baneful effects; for any perſon who can be brought to debaſe and diſparage the Almighty ſo much, as to aſſert that he is ſo unwiſe, ſo unjuſt, and ſo unmerciful, as to ordain, that a very ſmall portion of his creatures ſhall enjoy eternal happineſs, and that the remainder ſhall be doomed to eternal puniſhment, becauſe they differ from them in a few trifling ceremonies and tenets, will ſoon probably become atheiſts.

This doctrine, which narrows the channels of infinite mercy, ſets bounds to omnipotence, and teaches that there is but one road that leads to the heavenly city, engenders in the lower claſs of people an uncharitable averſion, a cruel and unrelenting ſpirit of perſecution, againſt proteſtants, which manifeſted itſelf in a moſt flagrant manner during the late rebellion. In ſhort, nothing but fanaticiſm, kindled by this doctrine, could have enabled the leaders of rebellion, and the Iriſh prieſts, to invoke the popiſh multitude to riſe againſt their ſovereign and their proteſtant fellow ſubjects, which they did with as much zeal as the Cruſaders ſhewed againſt the Saracens. We ſhall find the pope's ſupremacy, and excluſive ſalvation, with all the ramifications of new-fangled doctrines which have branched out from them, eminently conſpicuous in the late rebellion.

Boniface VIII. in the year 1294, boldly aſſerts the latter. "We declare, ſay, define, and pronounce it to be neceſſary to ſalvation, for every human creature to be ſubject to the Roman pontiff." *

Human vanity has been ſuch in all ages, that ſtateſmen, warriors, poets, hiſtorians, and divines, have thought their own works and achievements the

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* In extrava. v. com. lib. 1. tit. 38.

the beſt. Cicero in his epiſtles to Atticus makes the following obſervation on this, Καθολικον θεορημα, nemo unquam, neque poeta neque orator fuit, qui quenquam meliorem ſe arbitraretur. Epiſt. 14. 20. Adhuc neminen cognovi poetam, et mihi fuit cum Aquinio (id eſt) deterrimo amicitia, qui ſibi non optimo videretur. Tuſcul. 5. 22.

Juvenal, the latin poet, mentions two towns in Arabia, near the iſthmus of Suez, Ombos and Tentyra, between the inhabitants of which this ridiculous doctrine maintained mutual and implacable hatred.

"Dira quod exemplum feritas produxerit ævo,
"Inter finitimas, vetus atque antiquà ſimultas,
"Immortale odium et nunquam ſanabile vulnus,
"Ardet huc Ombos et Tentyra. Summus utrinque,
"Inde furor vulgo, quod numina vicinorum,
"Odit uterque locus; cum ſolos credat habendos,
"Eſſe deos, quos ipſe colit."

Eternal hate, unmitigated rage,
And bigot fury, burn from age to age;
Each ſcorns his neighbour's god, aſſerts his own,
And thinks ſalvation works for him alone.

Mahomet inculcates the ſame doctrine in the Koran; and it produces the moſt intolerant and ſanguinary principles between his votaries and other religioniſts.

Plutarch, in his life of Pericles, cenſures the poets for being guilty of the ſame abſurdity; "for though, at times, they aſcribe to the gods that degree of happineſs and ſerenity which is agreeable to their divine and immortal nature, yet, on other occaſions, they aſſert that they are ſubject to anger, enmity, and other paſſions, which are unworthy even of men, who have any underſtanding." *

When theſe doctrines occaſioned the dethronement, and the murder of ſo many princes, the maſſacre of the

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* Gods partial, changeful, paſſionate, unjuſt,
Whoſe attributes were rage, revenge, or luſt. POPE.

the Albigenſes and Waldenſes in the thirteenth century, that of the proteſtants at Paris in the ſixteenth, the extermination of many thouſands of them in the Low Countries, the expulſion of the Moors from Spain, the perſecution of the Vaudois in the king of Sardinia's dominions, we cannot be ſurpriſed that they ſhould have produced ſo many rebellions in Ireland, as her inhabitants have been plunged in the moſt abject ignorance, and have been blindly devoted to their prieſts.

Accordingly we find that kingdom involved in one ſcene of inteſtine diſorder during a period of forty years, from the year 1567, to the year 1607, occaſioned by the interference of the Roman pontiff, and the fermentation of popery. The rebellions of that period may be divided as follow:

1ſt. In 1567, Shane O'Neil raiſed a notable one in Ulſter, merely in hatred to the Engliſh; and he erected a caſtle on Loughneagh, which he named Feogenall, which ſignifies, in Iriſh, the hatred of the Engliſh. His forces were routed and diſperſed by ſir Henry Sidney.

2d. In 1569, the Fitz-Geralds of Munſter raiſed one, in which the Byrnes, Tooles and Cavenaghs joined; but they were ſubdued by ſir William Drury, and were all attainted the twenty-ſeventh and twenty-eighth of Elizabeth.

James Fitz-Gerald publiſhed a manifeſto in juſtification of this rebellion, in which, he ſaid, it was for the glory of God, and of Chriſt, whoſe ſacraments the hereticks deny; for the glory of the catholick church, which the hereticks falſely aſſert was not known for many ages.

3d. In 1595, Hugh O'Neil raiſed a rebellion, which laſted till the end of Elizabeth's reign.

It was called Tyrone's rebellion, and branched out into three different civil wars, according to Borlaſe.

4th. On the acceſſion of James I. the citizens of Cork, Waterford, Limerick, Kilkenny, and Wexford, denied his title, and attacked ſo furiouſly the perſons who went to proclaim him, that they narrowly eſcaped with their lives. They openly avowed, that they oppoſed his acceſſion for no other reaſon, than that he was not a catholick; but they were ſoon brought to obedience by lord Mountjoy.

5th. Within four years after, Tyrone and O'Donnell conſpired with Maguire, Cormack O'Neil, lord Delvin, O'Cahan, and others, to raiſe a rebellion, but were prevented by the lord deputy Chicheſter, in 1607, and an act of attainder paſſed againſt them.

6th. In 1608, ſir Cahir O'Dogherty's civil war, raiſed principally by the prieſts, laſted no longer than five months; but it was bloody and deſtructive while it continued, and was accompanied with ſhocking inſtances of cruelty and treachery on his part.

Previous to the reign of queen Elizabeth, the aboriginal Iriſh bore a moſt unrelenting hatred againſt thoſe of Engliſh blood; but on the Reformation, popery became a firm bond of union amongſt them, and inſpired them with inextinguiſhable rancour againſt proteſtants in general; and it is remarkable, that the natives of Engliſh blood became more ſtubborn and inveterate rebels after that period, than the primitive Iriſh.

Francis I. deſirous to embarraſs Henry VIII. reſolved to raiſe ſome commotions in Ireland; and for that purpoſe he, in the year 1523, opened a negociation with the earl of Deſmond, whom he found ready to co-operate with him againſt his liege ſovereign.

In 1539, the popiſh clergy engaged O'Neil as their champion, and to this he was encouraged by pope Paul. This rebellion was ſubdued by lord Grey. In 1545, O'Neil, O'Donnell, and the other Iriſh chiefs, offered Ireland to the French king, provided the pope conſented to it; and the propoſal was ſo flattering, that the king ſent over John de Montluc, biſhop of Valence, to enquire more minutely into the buſineſs. In 1568, the confederate rebels of Munſter implored the aid of the pope and the king of Spain, through their ambaſſadors, the titular biſhops of Caſhel and Emly. In 1570, they prevailed on pope Paul V. to iſſue a bull, declaring queen Elizabeth deprived of her crown, and abſolving her ſubjects from their oaths of allegiance; which bull was confirmed by the popes Gregory XIII. and Sixtus V.

But the ſovereign pontiffs contributed ſomething more ſubſtantial than bulls to ſeparate Ireland from England; for in 1579, the two jeſuits, Allen and Saunders, diſappointed in their application to the king of France, obtained large ſums of money from the pope and the king of Spain, with which they excited a rebellion in Munſter. In 1595, O'Neil, otherwiſe Tyrone, made an offer of Ireland to the king of Spain, if he aſſiſted him with men and money, and began an alarming rebellion. The lords juſtices wrote to queen Elizabeth, "that an univerſal Iriſh rebellion was intended, to ſhake off all Engliſh government." To the ſame purpoſe the earl of Eſſex, in his letter to the queen declares, that, "in their rebellion they have no other end but to ſhake off the yoke of obedience to her majeſty, and to root out all remembrance of the Engliſh nation in this kingdom: I ſay this, adds he, of the people in general."

In her reign, a declaration of the divines of Salamanca and Valladolid was diſperſed through Ireland by O'Sullivan, a Spaniſh prieſt; in which they maintained the pope's ſupremacy, both in temporals and ſpirituals; and that no oath could bind the faithful to hereticks. They approved of the former rebellions which had been raiſed in Ireland, and encouraged the Iriſh to oppoſe the title of an heretical prince; yet the Roman catholicks of England in the year 1789, obtained, and publiſhed the opinions of thoſe univerſities, and thoſe of Paris, Douay, Louvain, and Alcala, that they did not admit ſuch to be doctrines of the Roman catholick church.*

This was done with a deſign of clearing themſelves from the odium of maintaining ſuch infamous tenets; and it is moſt certain, that they deſerved the admiration and the applauſe of every Britiſh ſubject, for the bold and unequivocal manner in which they renounced them, and vindicated the purity of their principles, notwithſtanding the inhibitions and menaces of their biſhops. In the reign of Charles I. 1626, pope Urban VIII. exhorted the Iriſh, by a bull, to loſe their lives, ſooner than ſubmit to the wicked and peſtilent oath of ſupremacy, by which the ſceptre of the Catholick church was wreſted from the vicar of God Almighty; and yet ſuch blaſphemy had the deſired effect on the ignorant and ſuperſtitious multitude!

In the diſtracted reign of Charles I. the popiſh lords, prelates, and clergy, and popiſh deputies, choſen by ſeveral counties and towns in the different provinces, aſſembled at Kilkenny, regulated all their proceedings with the forms and ſolemnity of parliament, and bound themſelves by oath, "that they would obey and ratify all the orders and decrees made, or to be made, by the ſupreme council of the confederate catholicks of the kingdom; that they would not ſeek directly or indirectly any pardon or protection for any act to be done touching the general cauſe; and that they would not accept or ſubmit unto any peace, made or to be made, with the ſaid confederate catholicks, without the conſent thereof;" and by the preamble to ſaid oath it appears, that it muſt have been adminiſtered univerſally.

"Whereas it is requiſite, that there ſhould be an unanimous conſent, and real union, between all the catholicks of this realm."†

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* The Iriſh Roman catholicks publiſhed the opinions of theſe univerſities in Dublin in 1792.

† Their combination cemented by an oath reſembled that of the united Iriſhmen.

Their prelates enjoined all the prieſts to adminiſter an oath of aſſociation to their pariſhioners, and to raiſe ſubſcriptions amongſt them.

The chief object which they profeſſed, was, to maintain inviolable the rights and immunities of the Roman catholick faith; and they ſo far ſucceeded in reſtoring popery, on the ruins of the proteſtant church, that the confederates wrote to the pope in 1644, " that their religion was publickly practiſed according to the Romiſh ritual; that moſt of the biſhops were in poſſeſſion of the cathedrals, the prieſts of the pariſhes; and that many of the convents were reſtored to the monks."*

After various negotiations they made peace with the duke of Ormond, but not until they had obtained the free exerciſe of their religion, and many other important privileges.

Rinuncini, the pope's nuncio, a turbulent fanatick, who was then in Ireland, exclaimed loudly againſt the peace, and denounced the terrors of excommunication againſt ſuch perſons as ſhould adhere to it, unleſs it was framed and approved of by the pope, and unleſs they obtained an immediate, a complete and ſplendid eſtabliſhment of the Romiſh worſhip and hierarchy.

But finding them determined not to comply with his very unreaſonable wiſhes, and that they were reſolved to accept of the indulgent and conciliating offers of the duke, he, in a ſpeech to the confederates at Kilkenny, recommended fidelity, firſt to God and their religion,† and next to the king, by which they meant the pope and their own clergy; and they were always taught, that their attachment to them ſhould ſuperſede and predominate over their allegiance to a proteſtant ſtate.

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* Burke Hibernica Dominicana, appendix, page 876.

† By this doctrine the prieſthood have made the temporal power ſubſervient to the ſacerdotal, and we find it ſtrongly inculcated in the paſtoral letters of doctors Troy and Huſſey. According to this, John Huſs was burnt in 1415, contrary to the emperor's wiſhes; and James II. was induced to violate his coronation oath, in attempting to overturn the proteſtant religion.

He ſent a copy of his ſpeech to Rome, and in return was ſeverely reprimanded by cardinal Pamfilio; and the following reaſons were aſſigned for it: "That the Holy See never would, by any poſitive act, approve the civil allegiance which catholicks pay to an heretical prince; and the diſpleaſure of the court of Rome was the greater, as he had depoſited a copy of his ſpeech with the council of Kilkenny, which, if publiſhed, would furniſh hereticks with arguments againſt the papal authority over heretical princes, when the pope's own miniſter ſhould exhort catholicks to be faithful to ſuch a king."

Rinuncini, after he had ſeparated from, and excommunicated the confederates, put himſelf at the head of a body called the general aſſembly, conſiſting of ſome of their biſhops, peers and commoners, and a number of the common herd of papiſts, who were entirely at the devotion of this furious fanatick; and ſuch was the religious rancour which he infuſed into them, that they offered to treat with the members of Cromwell's government, ſooner than ſubmit to the royal authority. Nicholas French, the titular biſhop of Ferns, a zealous partizan of the nuncio, and a virulent enemy of a proteſtant government, was earneſt for this treaty, which had been entered upon with ſome of Ireton's agents. How exactly do the circumſtances of the preſent times reſemble thoſe of that period, when the Iriſh Roman catholicks ſhewed an earneſt deſire to renounce their allegiance to, and overturn the government of their preſent amiable ſovereign, through whoſe interceſſion almoſt the whole of the penal laws have been repealed, and a college has been erected for the education of their clergy; and this with a deſign of connecting themſelves with a ſet of blood-ſtained monſters, who murdered their king, and would wiſh to dethrone their God!

At laſt, ſuch was their enthuſiaſtick virulence againſt the government of a proteſtant king, that they ſent Nicholas French to the duke of Lorraine, to invite him to accept of the ſovereignty of the kingdom, and they ſigned a treaty with him, by which he was, in effect, completely inveſted with it, as far as their power could extend.

Carte, in his life of the duke of Ormond, b. 3. 155, mentions another conſpiracy for a general riſing in the year 1634. It was diſcovered by Emer Mac Mahon, afterwards titular biſhop of Clogher, to ſir G. Radcliffe, on a general aſſurance of pardon; and he acknowledged, that the conſpirators were to have received aſſiſtance from abroad, and that he had been employed many years in ſoliciting aſſiſtance from foreign courts to carry on the buſineſs for the good of religion.

The earl of Strafford, viceroy at that time, a great and wiſe miniſter, without alarming the nation, or driving the party concerned in it by their fears into open rebellion, engaged the Engliſh miniſters abroad to watch the practices of the Iriſh in foreign courts, and to baffle their ſchemes.

Carte imputes the rebellions in Ireland to the Iriſh prieſts on the ſcore of religion, and to the hopes of the old proprietors to recover the forfeited eſtates; * and it muſt be allowed, that while the latter have this in contemplation, and the maſs of the natives retain their hatred to England, *no parallel can be drawn between the Roman catholicks of Ireland, and thoſe of any other ſtate.*

When James II. arrived in Ireland, the popiſh parliament which he aſſembled, propoſed, by an act, to make it independent of England; but having a ſtrong hope of remounting the Engliſh throne, he heſitated to give his aſſent to it, on which they reſolved to renounce him and his cauſe; for they ſent to him, Nagle, a rigid papiſt, whom he had made attorney general, to inform him, that they could do without him.

In ſhort, ſuch was their inextinguiſhable hatred to a connection with England, that, though he attempted

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* Life of the duke of Ormond, b. 3.

tempted a complete extirpation of proteſtantiſm, by attainting every proteſtant landholder in Ireland, and by reſtoring their property to the old proprietors, and promiſed that the popiſh religion ſhould predominate there, they would not be ſatisfied, without a total ſeparation from England. Mr. Macpherſon very properly obſerves, "that James ſoon found, that he was not maſter of his own kingdom."

Some perſons have endeavoured to palliate the horrors and atrocities committed during the rebellion of 1641, by imputing it to various cauſes of provocation, without conſidering that the pope's interference was the chief cauſe of inciting it. For, beſides the bull iſſued by pope Urban in 1628, the ſame pontiff during the exiſtence of that dreadful civil war, the better to inflame his votaries, fulminated another, containing the following paragraphs: "In imitation of their godly and worthy anceſtors, to endeavour, by force, to deliver their thralled nation from the oppreſſions and grievous injuries of the hereticks, wherewith this long time it hath been afflicted and heavily burthened; and gallantly do in them what lieth, to extirpate, and totally root out thoſe workers of iniquity, who, in this kingdom of Ireland, had infected, and were always ſtriving to infect, the maſs of catholick purity, with the peſtiferous leaven of heretical contagion."

Mr. Edmund Burke ſeriouſly intended to have written a hiſtory of that rebellion, for no other purpoſe but to vindicate the Roman catholicks from the odium which they brought on themſelves by it.

Lord chief juſtice Lowther, in his ſpeech at the opening of the court, on the trial of ſir Phelim O'Neil, one of the leaders of rebellion in 1641, ſtated that the following privileges were enjoyed by the Roman catholicks previous to its eruption: "That beſides the licentious freedom of their Romiſh ſuperſtition, they had their titular archbiſhops for every province, their titular biſhop, with his dean and chapter, for every dioceſe, and their ſecular prieſt for every pariſh in the land; beſides their abbots, priors, monks, nuns, jeſuits, friars, monaſteries, nunneries, and other religious houſes, and convents in the principal cities and towns of the land, even in the city of Dublin, the reſidence of the ſtate; ſo that father Harris, a ſecular prieſt of their own, publiſhed in print, "that it was as hard to find what number of friars were in Dublin, as to count how many frogs there were in the ſecond plague of Egypt."

"Beſides the exerciſe of their ſuperſtitious rites and ceremonies, they had alſo papal juriſdiction, as by law they had vicars general, and kept their provincial courts and conſiſtories, and excommunicated the people, delivering them unto ſatan. Their lawyers, ſheriffs, and juſtices of the peace were not required to take the oaths of allegiance and ſupremacy, which were not diſpenſed with as to proteſtants; and all theſe popiſh lawyers, prieſts, jeſuits, and friars, were the principal incendiaries and fire-brands in the rebellion; and the publick burthens and charges of the commonwealth were more borne by the proteſtants than by them, in proportion to their numbers, and the quality of poſſeſſors of inheritance."

"And of the ſubſidy granted in the tenth Charles I. whereof the Roman catholicks raiſed ſo great a clamour, both in England and Ireland, the proteſtants paid above one-third part of the whole, beſides the clergy; though neither the quantity or quality of lands of inheritance, then holden of them in the land, did amount to more than a fifth part; and beſides all this, the proteſtants had contributed to the charge of their committees, towards the obtaining grace, in bounties, in ſending commiſſioners for them. They were made earls, viſcounts, lords, baronets, and knights; enjoying all this and much more, without any provocation to riſe up ſuddenly to this height of cruelty, and to murder many thouſand proteſtants, that lived peaceably and friendly with them, before they could take up arms for their defence, made the ſins of murder, violence, and cruelty, unmeaſurably ſinful and deteſtable."

Borlaſe adds, "that they were elected knights, citizens, and burgeſſes, in parliament: they enjoyed their religion without control, while proteſtants, diſſenting from the church of England, were often ſummoned before the biſhop's court: juſtice was equally adminiſtered to the Britiſh and Iriſh; duties and taxes were levied without diſtinction; all private animoſities were ſuppreſſed; all antient grudges were removed; and, in all outward appearance, they lived ſo affectionately intermixed together, that they could not be eſteemed two nations in one kingdom."

But we cannot be at a loſs for the real ſource of the rebellion, when Walſh, the franciſcan friar, tells us at large, of a printed book, written by Mac Mahon an Iriſh jeſuit, inculcating the lawfulneſs of killing, not only all the proteſtants, but even ſuch of the Roman catholick Iriſh, as ſhould ſtand for the crown of England, and the rights of the king to Ireland.

There have been various opinions as to the number of proteſtants maſſacred in the rebellion of 1641. Mr. Carte, an able and judicious hiſtorian, after examining them with the utmoſt candour, coincides with ſir William Petty, who makes them amount to thirty-ſeven thouſand, in his Political Anatomy; and as he was well ſkilled in calculation, and had ſurveyed the whole kingdom, ſoon after that dreadful event happened, it is probable that his account was accurate.

In the year 1729, the popiſh biſhops of Ireland applied for, and obtained, a bull from the pope, to raiſe money by the ſale of indulgences, to be ſpeedily applied to reſtore James III. to his right, and to put his majeſty George II. and all the royal family to the ſword. The whole of this plot is to be found in the ſixth volume of the firſt edition of the journals of the houſe of commons, page 342.

It appears that a number of popiſh prelates and other eccleſiaſticks, being aſſembled at the houſe of Teigue Mc. Carthy, alias Rabagh, titular biſhop of Cork, Conner Keefe, biſhop of Limerick, preſented a letter to the ſaid Mc. Carthy, from doctor Butler, titular archbiſhop of Caſhel, informing him, that his Holineſs the pope, had at laſt complied with the requeſt of the Iriſh archbiſhops and biſhops, in granting them an indulgence for the above purpoſe.

The purport of the bull was this: "That every communicant duly confeſſing, and receiving the ſacrament on the patron days of every reſpective pariſh, and every Sunday, from the firſt day of May to September, having repeated the Lord's prayer five times, and once the apoſtles creed, and upon paying two pence each time, was to have a plenary indulgence for his ſins; and all approved confeſſors had full power to abſolve in all caſes, with intent that God would ſpeedily place James III. on the throne of England. Every pariſh prieſt was to pay 5l. towards this fund, and was to account upon oath for the collection of it; and the pretender had an agent in each province to collect it."

Some of the papers of theſe traitors were diſcovered, and ſeized, by which the conſpiracy was detected. *

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[*] See the journals before cited.

ORIGIN OF THE WHITE BOYS.

IN the year 1759, and under the adminiſtration of the duke of Bedford, an alarming ſpirit of inſurgency appeared in the South of Ireland, which manifeſted itſelf by the numerous and frequent riſings of the lower claſs of Roman catholicks, dreſſed in white uniforms, whence they were denominated white boys; but they were encouraged, and often headed, by perſons of their own perſuaſion of ſome conſideration. They were armed with guns, ſwords, and piſtols, of which they plundered proteſtants, and they marched through the country, in military array, preceded by the muſick of bag-pipes, or the ſounding of horns. In their nocturnal perambulations, they enliſted, or preſſed into their ſervice every perſon of their own religion, who was capable of ſerving them, and bound them by oaths of ſecreſy, of fidelity and obedience to their officers; and thoſe officers were bound by oaths of allegiance to the French king, and prince Charles the pretender to the crown of England, which appeared by the confeſſion and the informations of ſeveral of the inſurgents, ſome of whom were convicted of high treaſon, and various other crimes. The pretext they made uſe of for riſing and aſſembling was, to redreſs the following grievances: The illegal encloſure of commons, the extortion of tythe proctors, and the exorbitant fees exacted by their own clergy, though it appeared that they were deeply concerned in encouraging and fomenting them, in the commiſſion of outrages.

They committed dreadful barbarities on ſuch perſons as heſitated to obey their mandates, or refuſed to join in their confederacy; they cut out their tongues, amputated their noſes or ears; they made them ride many miles in the night on horſeback, naked or bare-backed; they buried them naked, in graves lined with furze, up to their chins; they plundered and often burned houſes; they houghed and maimed cattle; they ſeized arms, and horſes, which they rode about the country, and levied money; at times even in the day. I ſhall refer the reader to Appendix, No. I. for their deſigns and practices.* They reſembled the modern defenders in every reſpect, except in the title which they aſſumed; and their object was exactly the ſame, that of ſubverting the conſtitution, and ſeparating Ireland from England, with the aſſiſtance of France.

Theſe miſcreants became ſo formidable in many parts of the provinces of Leinſter and Munſter, that many laws, which I ſhall explain in the ſequel, were enacted for their ſuppreſſion.

In the year 1762, the marquis of Drogheda was ſent to command a large diſtrict in the province of Munſter, and made Clogheen in the county of Tipperary his head-quarters, at that time much diſturbed by the white boys, who uſed to aſſemble in bodies of from five hundred to two thouſand.

On the night of the day on which he arrived at Clogheen, a number of white boys, well armed and headed by father Nicholas Sheehy, aſſembled cloſe to that town, and were on the point of attacking it, which induced his lordſhip to double the guard. From this, the inhabitants of it, having a ſuſpicion that he was going to march out againſt the inſurgents, father Doyle, pariſh prieſt of Ardfinnan, (alluded to in the information of David Landregin, Appendix, No. I. 2.) after having expoſtulated with them on the danger of aſſaulting the town, went to lord Drogheda, pale and trembling with fear, aſſured his lordſhip that his garriſon was in no danger, and beſought him not to march out againſt the inſurgents. I received this information from the marquis himſelf, and it correſponds exactly with the depoſition of Landregin.

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* There is a groſs miſrepreſentation of theſe inſurgents in the Encyclopædia Britannica, under the title of Ireland, printed for James Moore in College-green, in the year 1792.

His lordſhip's regiment killed great numbers of them in that and the adjacent country; and he aſſured me, that French money was found in the pockets of ſome of them.

His lordſhip, during his reſidence there, took the famous father Nicholas Sheehy, who was afterwards hanged at Clonmel. He had been a noted leader of the white boys, and incited them to commit murder, and various outrages; and yet his memory is held in ſuch veneration by the popiſh multitude, and the clay of his tomb is ſuppoſed to be endued with ſuch ſupernatural powers, that various miraculous cures are imputed to it; in conſequence of which, it is in ſuch requeſt among the popiſh rabble, that the ſexton of the church, where his body is interred, is obliged very often to renew it.

To inſpire the ſuperſtitious rabble with an opinion that all thoſe, who were concerned in bringing this traitor to juſtice, incurred the divine anger, it has been ſaid, that all the jurors, who convicted him, died premature and ſudden deaths, which is a notorious falſhood. I have extracted their names from the crown-office; and it is well known that they died in their beds. *

The marquis of Drogheda took, in the caſtle of Cahir, the domeſtick chaplain of the then lord Cahir, who conſtantly reſided with his lordſhip, on ſerious charges againſt him for high treaſon.

It is moſt certain, that the white boy ſyſtem was at firſt formed to co-operate with the French, who meditated an invaſion of Ireland under Conflans; but when that was defeated, and even during a time of profound peace, the barbarous rabble, free from all moral reſtraint, elate with the hope of plunder, and fraught with diſaffection to a proteſtant ſtate, continued to commit

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* William Minchin, John Andrews, John Short, Jonathan Willington, Philip Going, William Woodward, Solomon Cambie, John Domville, Robert Going, Edward Vize, Simon Foulks, John Hayman. March 19th, 1766.

commit the moſt horrid enormities in many parts of Leinſter and Munſter, for above twenty-five years after.

John Twohy ſtates in his information, that they began to enliſt men for the French ſo early as the year 1756. See Appendix, No. I. 7.

At firſt they were headed, marſhalled, and diſciplined, by officers who had ſerved in the Iriſh brigades, in the French ſervice; but when peace was concluded, their leaders conſiſted of popiſh farmers and perſons in a mean ſituation.

Mr. Conway, an Iriſh Roman catholick gentleman reſident at Paris, uſed to remit money to them, on the part and by orders of the French government; and ſome popiſh merchants of the province of Munſter, who received and diſtributed it among the inſurgents, were afterwards members of the Catholick committee in 1792.

In the year 1762, they committed ſuch dreadful exceſſes in the South of Ireland, that ſir Richard Aſton, lord chief juſtice of the common pleas, was ſent down with a ſpecial commiſſion to try them; and the miſtaken lenity which he ſhewed them in the courſe of his circuit was ſuch, that it encouraged them to perſevere in the commiſſion of enormities for ſome years after.

The late earl of Carrick and the reverend Mr. Hewetſon in the county of Kilkenny, ſir Thomas Maude, baronet, afterwards lord De Montalt, William Bagwell and John Bagenall, eſquires, of the county of Tipperary, took a very active part in ſuppreſſing the white boys, for which they were as much traduced and vilified, as the orangemen, yeomen, and all loyal ſubjects who endeavoured to put down the defenders.

The grand jury of the county of Dublin were ſo much incenſed at this, that they voted an addreſs of thanks, Appendix I. 6. to the earl of Carrick and thoſe gentlemen, for their ſpirited and laudable exertions. It appears by the examination of David

Landregin, (Appendix, No. I. 2.) that a party of white boys took a ſolemn oath, in the town of Clonmel, to aſſaſſinate the earl of Carrick and the other gentlemen.

As Mr. Edmund Burke, who always ſhewed a decided attachment to popery, manifeſted it for the firſt time on this occaſion, I ſhall, in touching on it, relate a few of the early circumſtances of his life.

In doing ſo, I muſt premiſe, that I do not mean to diſparage him. I had the honour of being acquainted with him; and I was ſo ſenſible of his exalted moral and intellectual excellence, that I gave the following character of him in a pamphlet publiſhed by J. Stockdale in 1794, which was noticed in the Monthly Review of April, 1795:

" His book on French affairs contains more political wiſdom, and more profound knowledge of practical government, than any that ever appeared; and in future ages will tend to endear the Britiſh conſtitution to its ſubjects.

" The bright effulgence of his genius, like the ſun, raiſed up ſome buzzing inſects, who cavilled at the doctrines which he advanced; but the ſtate of France proves the futility of their aſſertions, and that he ſpoke prophetic truth.

" His long and luminous life, devoted to the cauſe of wiſdom and virtue, was more bright in its ſetting, than the meridian blaze of moſt other genuiſes."

He was the ſon of a popiſh ſolicitor in Dublin, at the univerſity of which he received his education; but I have been aſſured by his contemporaries, that he did not, in the courſe of it, diſplay any ſymptoms of thoſe ſhining abilities, which afterwards made the progreſs of his life ſo brilliant.

Soon after he went to the Temple to ſtudy the law, he married a daughter of doctor Nugent, who had been bred at Douay in Flanders, and was a moſt bigoted Romaniſt. A year after he had gone to the Temple, Mr. Griffith, who was at that time ſerving his apprenticeſhip to Mr. Burke's father, informed me, that his maſter ſent him to London, relative to ſome law buſineſs, and that Mr. Edmund Burke detained him many days longer than he had permiſſion to remain there: that during his ſtay, he ſeemed much agitated in his mind, and that, when they were alone, he frequently introduced religion as a topick of converſation, and ſaid, that he had ſtrong reaſons for thinking more favourably of the Romiſh perſuaſion than he formerly did. For theſe reaſons, this gentleman aſſured me, he verily believed, that he was become a convert to popery.

Soon after this gentleman's return, Mr. Burke, ſenior, having heard a report that his ſon had really changed his religion, was much concerned at it; becauſe he had entertained the moſt ſanguine hopes that he would acquire great wealth and fame at the Iriſh bar, from practiſing at which Romaniſts were excluded by law.

He therefore employed Mr. Bowen, his brother-in-law, who, as a linen merchant, had a very extenſive correſpondence in London, to make ſtrict enquiry about the converſion of his ſon.

Some days after, Mr. Bowen entered his office, and in the preſence of the gentleman who gave me this information, threw him a letter, ſaying, There, your ſon is moſt certainly become a Roman catholick. On reading the letter, Mr. Burke became furious, lamenting that the riſing hope of his family was blaſted, and that the expence he had been at in his ſon's education was now thrown away.

As ſome of the greateſt men, even at an advanced period of life, have become ſlaves to the paſſion of love, it is very poſſible that Mr. Burke, in the ſpring of life, when its influence is irreſiſtible, and endued with a lively imagination, and all the tenderneſs of ſenſibility, might have conformed to the exterior ceremonies of popery, to obtain miſs Nugent, of whom he was very much enamoured; but it is not to be ſuppoſed, that a perſon of ſo vigorous and highly cultivated an underſtanding, could have continued under the ſhackles of that abſurd ſuperſtition.

At laſt, when he had ſerved a ſufficient number of terms to be called to the bar, he refuſed to return to his native country, declaring, that the climate of it diſagreed with him ; and that he expected to get ſome employment in the line of his profeſſion in America, through one of the Grenville family. He therefore remained in London, where he ſubſiſted chiefly by his pen ; and he ſoon acquired a conſiderable degree of celebrity, as a writer, and a man of genius, by the publication of his Treatiſe on the Sublime and Beautiful, and by his Vindication of Natural Society, in imitation of lord Bolingbroke, which introduced him to the notice and acquaintance of Mr. Hamilton. When that gentleman came to Ireland, as ſecretary to the earl of Halifax, he, wiſhing to avail himſelf of Mr. Burke's talents, ſolicited him to attend him, but in no official capacity ; and he accordingly complied.

He accompanied him a ſecond time to Dublin, when Mr. Hamilton was ſecretary to the earl of Northumberland, and was rewarded with a penſion of 300l. a year.

When they returned to England, Mr. Hamilton intended to have ſpoken a ſpeech on the peace in the year 1763, which he had prevailed on Mr. Burke to compoſe.

It unfortunately happened, that as he was about to riſe, Mr. Charles Townſhend entered the houſe ; and as his wit and eloquence had been always terrifick to him, his appearance palſied his exertions and ſtruck him dumb. Mr. Burke, enraged at this, (as they had united their talents in a kind of partnerſhip) ſaid, with ſome warmth, What ſignifies my making ſpeeches for you, when you cannot ſpeak them ?

A warm altercation enſued, in the courſe of which Mr. Hamilton informed Mr, Burke, that he had been overpaid ; on which Mr. Burke, with becoming ſpirit, reſigned his penſion, which was afterwards given to a gentleman who enjoys it at this time. Mr. Mc. Cormick in his life of Mr. Burke is miſtaken in this circumſtance. Their quarrel became a matter of curioſity and debate in the ſuperior circles of ſociety, in which the partizans on each ſide were very warm.

The diſcuſſion of this affair introduced Mr. Burke to the notice of lord Rockingham, who having formed a friendſhip for him, made him an under-ſecretary in the treaſury ; but having loſt that employment in ſix months, the period of his lordſhip's adminiſtration, he brought him into parliament, where the eloquence and the great intellectual powers diſplayed in his ſpeeches will remain a ſtriking and an eternal monument of his genius.

When the enormities committed by the white boys were about to draw on them the vengeance of the law, and ſome time before ſir Richard Aſton proceeded on his commiſſion to try them, Mr. Edmund Burke ſent his brother Richard, who died recorder of Briſtol, and Mr. Nagle, a relation, on a miſſion to Munſter, to levy money on the popiſh body, for the uſe of the white boys, who were excluſively papiſts.

Some Roman catholicks complained bitterly of the ſums of money which they extorted from them.* The deſpotiſm which the Romiſh prelates have over their own body is ſuch, that they can at any time levy large ſums of money on them, to promote the intereſt of their church, which is a moſt dangerous engine in a well-governed ſtate. The open and general exerciſe of it in the years 1792 and 1793, and again in 1794 and 1795, was ſufficient to create an alarm in the government. At thoſe periods ſome of the lower claſſes of people in Munſter complained loudly of the exactions practiſed on them; and on being aſked, for what purpoſe they were, they anſwered, that they had made that enquiry, and were informed, at one time, that it was to obtain for them the elective franchiſe; at another, to procure the privilege of ſitting in parliament for perſons of their own perſuaſion. It is well known that Mr. William Todd Jones was their warm partizan while in the houſe of commons; * and, from the intemperate zeal which ſome members of that body ſhewed in promoting their deſigns, it was univerſally believed that they were actuated by ſiniſter motives.

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* I have no other proof that theſe gentlemen were employed by Mr. Burke, than that they declared ſo without reſerve to the perſons from whom they obtained money.

It was ſtrongly ſuſpected, that a perſon in an elevated ſituation in England, from his ſingular pertinacity in adhering to their cauſe, when in actual and open rebellion, had received ſome of their contributions; and the debates which took place in the Romiſh convention in the year 1792, and which the reader will ſee in the ſequel, and the ſudden, ſucceſsful, and unexpected turn which their affairs took in the year 1793, left very little room to doubt, but that ſome extraordinary ſecret influence was exerted in England.†

In the year 1757, there appeared a very ſingular and unqueſtionable proof that thoſe doctrines of the Romiſh church, which had diſturbed the peace of all proteſtant countries ever ſince the Reformation took place, exiſted in full force in Ireland.

In that year, a bill was introduced into the houſe of lords, to ſecure the proteſtant ſucceſſion, in which there was an oath of allegiance.

Thomas Burke, titular biſhop of Oſſory, and publick hiſtoriographer to the dominican order in Ireland, made the following obſervations on that oath. After animad-

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* It is well known that Mr. Jones afterwards accuſed, in the publick prints, the Catholick committee, of not giving him the whole of the money which they had promiſed to pay him.

† It cannot be ſuppoſed that I allude to any of his majeſty's miniſters, whoſe honour and integrity are far above my praiſe.

animadverting on the ſeverity of ſetting aſide the different foreign branches of the Stuart family, he ſays, "would it not exceed the greateſt imaginable abſurdity, that a Catholick prieſt, who inſtructs his Catholick people in the will of God, from ſcripture and tradition, by his diſcourſe and actions, and nouriſheth them with the ſacrament of the church, ſhould ſwear fidelity to king George, as long as he profeſſeth a heterodox religion, or has a wife of that religion? that then, and in that caſe, the ſame Catholick prieſt ought inſtantly to abjure the very king to whom he had before ſworn allegiance." Impiety moſt horrible! *

Thomas Burke was made titular biſhop of Oſſory in 1759, and died at Kilkenny in September, 1776. He was, as he frequently tells us, a favourite of pope Benedict XIV. was a man of reſpectable learning, and perfectly well acquainted with the doctrines of the Romiſh church, the bulls and epiſtles of the popes, and the ſentiments of the Iriſh Roman catholicks; and yet ſome of the heads of the Iriſh clergy have had the effrontery and duplicity to vilify the talents and information of this writer, and to repreſent him as a dotard, haunted with dreams of pontifical omnipotence; but ſuch perverſion of truth, and ſuch varniſhing of odious doctrines are only calculated to deceive, and can impoſe on no rational man; for all the tenets contained in his book were carried into practice during the late rebellion.

Burke, after reciting part of pope Paul V.'s bull, encouraging the Iriſh in their rebellion, exclaims, Quid celebrius? Quid inſignius? †

On the flight of king James II. he ſays, that he ſeaſonably left the Britiſh nation, whom he brands as perjurers and traitors, who conſpired againſt his life, ſubject to the ſlavery of this new Cromwell (meaning king William,) viliſſimi novi hujus Cromwelli ſervitute.

The

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* Hibernia Dominicana, page 725.

† What can be more famous? What more illuſtrious?

The firſt part of his Hibernia Dominicana was printed at Kilkenny in the year 1762, the ſecond in 1772, both by Edmund Finn; but it was ſtated to have been publiſhed at Cologne, Coloniæ Agrippinæ.

In ſpeaking of the gun powder plot, he ſays, it was an invention, and that the gun powder was ſecretly put under the parliament houſe, by the order of William Cecil, to afford a ſpecious pretext for extirpating all the catholicks of England.

Again, in the year 1768, when an oath of allegiance, to be taken by the Roman catholicks of Ireland, was in the contemplation of parliament, Thomas Maria Ghillini, the pope's legate at Bruſſels, who had a complete control and ſuperintendance over all the northern churches, and ſpoke ex cathedra, made the following animadverſions on that oath, in four letters to the titular archbiſhops of Ireland; and theſe letters are ſtyled by Thomas Burke, who publiſhed them in his Hibernia Dominicana, literæ vere aureæ, cedroque dignæ.

The legate treats the clauſes in the propoſed oath, containing a declaration of abhorrence and deteſtation of the doctrines, "that faith is not to be kept with hereticks; and that princes, deprived by the pope, may be depoſed or murdered by their ſubjects, as abſolutely intolerable; becauſe, he ſays, thoſe doctrines are defended, and contended for by moſt Catholick nations, and the Holy See has frequently followed them in practice. On the whole he decides, that, as the oath is in its whole extent unlawful, ſo in its nature it is invalid, null, and of no effect, inſomuch that it can by no means bind or oblige conſciences." *

It is well known, that ſimilar deciſions have been uniformly made by the Roman pontiffs, on the validity of oaths any way detrimental to the Holy See. In the late rebellion, the popiſh multitude, and

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* Page 925. This was in the ſupplement of that work publiſhed in the year 1772.

and many of the Romiſh clergy and gentlemen, paid no regard whatever to an oath of allegiance.

When the emperor and the Roman catholick princes of Germany concluded a peace called the treaty of Weſtphalia, in the year 1648, with the proteſtant princes, they mutually bound each other by a ſolemn oath, to the obſervance of it; on which the pope publiſhed a flaming bull, in which he pronounced the oath to be null and void, as no oath could bind them to hereticks. This bull was expoſed by Hornbeck, a famous German divine, in a work entitled, "Examen bullæ papalis, qua Innocentius X. abrogare nititur pacem Germaniæ."

The conduct of the parliament of Ireland, from the beginning of his preſent majeſty's reign till the end of the year 1793, preſents the reader with an uninterrupted ſeries of blunders in politicks.

All our diſgraces and misfortunes are to be found in the hiſtory of our penal laws, and in the feeble execution of them, beginning with the third of Geo. III. cap. 19. for indemnifying all ſuch perſons as have been, or ſhall be aiding in the diſperſing of riots, and apprehending the rioters, which was enacted for the ſuppreſſion of the white boys. As the boldneſs and temerity of theſe inſurgents continued to encreaſe, the fifth of Geo. III. cap. 8. paſſed, and was entitled, "An act to prevent the future tumultuous riſings of perſons within this kingdom." The want of enforcing the ſalutary proviſions of theſe laws tended to encourage the white boys in the commiſſion of atrocities for above twenty years after. About the year 1773, that ſyſtem of conciliation and conceſſion, which laid the foundation of the late rebellion, began; for, while this popiſh banditti, encouraged by their clergy, were committing the moſt dreadful enormities, the thirteenth and fourteenth of Geo. III. cap. 35, to enable Roman catholicks to teſtify their allegiance to his majeſty by oath, was enacted; but the folly and abſurdity of that law were fully proved by the neceſſity of paſſing, ſoon after, the thirteenth and fourteenth of

Geo. III. cap. 45. to prevent malicious cutting and wounding, and to puniſh offenders, called chalkers; for the aſſaſſin in the morning teſtified his allegiance to his king, and at night, with his chalking knife, renounced his allegiance to his God, by mangling and maiming his fellow creature, and houghing his cattle.

As the barbarous exceſſes committed by the white boys continued to encreaſe, the fifteenth and ſixteenth of Geo. III. cap. 21. was enacted againſt them. It recites that the fifth of Geo. III. cap. 8. was inſufficient for ſuppreſſing them; and it ſtates, "That they aſſembled riotouſly, injured perſons and property, compelled perſons to quit their abode, impoſed oaths and declarations by menaces, ſent threatening and incendiary letters, obſtructed the export of corn, and deſtroyed the ſame." This is an exact deſcription of the defenders.

As their turbulence and ferocity continued to encreaſe, and as they made a conſtant practice of houghing ſoldiers in a wanton and unprovoked manner, the chalking act was extended, and amended by the ſeventeenth and eighteenth of Geo. III. cap. 49.

Conceſſion and conciliation holding pace with an encreaſe of the enormities committed by thoſe ſavages, a law paſſed ſoon after, the ſeventeenth and eighteenth of Geo. III. cap. 49. to enable Roman catholicks to take leaſes for nine hundred and ninety-nine years, or five lives, at any rent; and by it, all lands of which a Roman catholick was at that time ſeized, were made deſcendible, deviſable, and transferable, as fully as if the ſame were in the ſeiſin of any other perſon.

The preamble of this act recites, "That for their uniform peaceable behaviour, for a long ſeries of years, it appears reaſonable and expedient to relax ſeveral of their incapacities and diſabilities." The falſity and inconſiſtency of this aſſertion will be an eternal ſtain on the parliament of Ireland.

There is not a doubt, but that the Romaniſts had ſome hired agents in that aſſembly at this period. A ſtrong argument in favour of an Union!

As a mark of gratitude for theſe indulgences, this infamous banditti proceeded to commit greater enormities than they had practiſed before, in conſequence of which the legiſlature were obliged to paſs the eighteenth and nineteenth of George III. cap. 37. and the title of it will ſhew how neceſſary it was: "An act to prevent the deteſtable practice of houghing cattle, burning houſes, barns, haggards, and corn; and for other purpoſes."

Though they continued to commit their uſual exceſſes, the legiſlature, actuated by what was called liberality of ſentiment, put the Roman catholicks on the ſame footing with proteſtants, as to property, in the year 1782; and almoſt the whole of the reſtrictive laws were repealed. The volunteers checked, in ſome degree, the barbarous outrages committed by the white boys from the year 1780 to the year 1784, when the inſtitution began to languiſh, and then we find them as furious as ever in the province of Leinſter. This proves how neceſſary a numerous and well-armed police, conſiſting of proteſtants, is to the proſperity of Ireland.

In December, 1784, a body of white boys broke into the houſe of John Maſon, a proteſtant, in the county of Kilkenny, in the night, placed him naked on horſeback, and having carried him in this manner five or ſix miles from his houſe, they cut off his ears, and in that ſtate buried him up to his chin; they alſo robbed him of his fire arms.*

This year they were ſo outrageous in the province of Leinſter, particularly in the county of Kilkenny, that a denunciation was read againſt them in all the popiſh chapels in the dioceſe of Oſſory, on the ſeventeenth of November, 1784.

This was a ſtrong proof of the returning loyalty and obedience to the laws of the popiſh clergy of that dioceſe; or, if they were inſincere and ſecretly en-

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* See Appendix, No. I. 8. for a few ſpecimens of white boy atrocity.

couraged the white boys as much as formerly, of their extreme duplicity.

As doctor Butler, brother of Mr. Butler of Ballyragget, and of the noble houſe of Ormond, was at that time titular archbiſhop of Caſhel, a gentleman who was ſincerely loyal, it is very likely that he prevailed on his clergy to adopt this procedure. He ſhould not be confounded with doctor Butler who was in that See when the white boys began their exceſſes.

All theſe privileges were granted with a good grace by parliament, and they met with no oppoſition from the conſtituent body, who were at that time excluſively proteſtants.

Notwithſtanding ſuch liberality on the part of the proteſtant ſtate, the white boys ſtill continued to commit nocturnal depredations in different parts of Leinſter and Munſter; but in the latter they were ſucceeded by a ſet of inſurgents called right boys in 1786, who reſembled them in every reſpect, except in the title which they aſſumed. Their proceedings, chiefly directed againſt the proteſtant clergy, were not the wild and extravagant efforts of raſh and ignorant peaſants, but a dark and deep-laid ſcheme, planned by men ſkilled in the law and the artifices by which it might be evaded. Such men ſuggeſted to the farmers to enter into a combination, under the ſanction of an oath, not to take their tythes, or to aſſiſt any clergyman in drawing them.

Some of the proteſtant gentlemen, hoping to exonerate their eſtates of tythes, by the machinations and enormities of theſe traitors, ſecretly encouraged them; and others connived at their exceſſes, till they began to oppoſe the payment of rent, and the recovery of money by legal proceſs, and then they came forward in ſupport of the law.

A form of a ſummons to the clergy to draw their tythe, penned with legal accuracy, was printed at Cork, and circulated with great diligence through many parts of Munſter. In order to make the combination univerſal, ſome of the moſt active and intelligent members of it adminiſtered oaths to all the lower claſs of people, at the Romiſh chapels and market towns.

To varniſh over the knavery and turpitude of their deſigns, they publiſhed a tything-table, according to which they pretended that they would pay the clergy, but to which they did not adhere, and, if they had done ſo, it would not have afforded them a ſubſiſtence; beſides, by ſwearing not to hire horſes to them, and by a great number of them combining to ſever the tythe, and draw their corn on the ſame day, they completely robbed them of their property; and the proteſtant clergy would actually have ſtarved, but that an act of parliament paſſed in the year 1787, to enable them to recover the tythes of which they had been defrauded in this manner.

At laſt, the proteſtant clergy in the county of Cork were ſo much intimidated by the menaces and inſults which they received from them, that many were obliged to fly to the city of Cork for protection. Theſe traitors ſoon proceeded from one act of violence to another, and eſtabliſhed ſuch a ſyſtem of terror, that landlords were afraid to diſtrain for rent, or to ſue by civil proceſs for money due by note. They took arms from proteſtants, and levied money to buy ammunition. They broke open gaols, ſet fire to hay and corn, and even to houſes, eſpecially to thoſe occupied by the army. At laſt they had the audacity to threaten the cities of Limerick and Cork, and the town of Ennis, the capital of Clare, with famine; and took meaſures to prevent farmers and fiſhermen from conveying ſupplies of proviſions to them. They proceeded by ſuch a regular ſyſtem, that they eſtabliſhed a kind of poſt-office, for communication, by which they conveyed their notices with celerity for the purpoſe of forming their meetings, which were frequent and numerous.

This ſpirit of riot and inſurrection occaſioned the paſſing of a law in the year 1787, drawn by the preſent lord Clare, entitled, " An act to prevent tumultuous riſings and aſſemblies, and for the more effectual puniſhment of perſons guilty of outrage, riot, and illegal combination, and of adminiſtering and taking unlawful oaths ;" and in the formation of that law, he ſhewed the ſame political wiſdom, and firmneſs of mind, which he evinced on all ſubſequent occaſions. By that law government were empowered to raiſe an armed police in any county they choſe ; and the introduction of it into the counties of Kilkenny, Tipperary, Cork, and Kerry, occaſioned ſuch a revolution in the morals and manners of their inhabitants, and was ſo efficient in preſerving ſocial order, that ſome of the principal landholders in them declared openly in parliament, that their eſtates were encreaſed two years purchaſe in value by that ſalutary ſtatute.

An ingenious foreigner obſerved to me, that he never ſaw a country in which ſo many proclamations were iſſued againſt malefactors, and the commiſſion of crimes, as in Ireland ; a ſure proof of the feeble execution of the laws!

At laſt, doctor Woodward, biſhop of Cloyne, ſhocked and alarmed at ſeeing his clergy driven from their houſes to the city of Cork, whither they went for an aſylum, and that a conſpiracy was formed for the deſtruction of the proteſtant church, wrote a very able pamphlet, ſtating the origin and progreſs of the inſurrection in Munſter, hoping thereby to rouſe government to take meaſures for its defence.

Nothing marked ſo ſtrongly the depravity of the times, as the malignant attacks, attended with ſcurrility and abuſe, which were made on this amiable prelate, for this ſeaſonable and ſpirited diſcharge of his paſtoral duty. I had the honour of being well acquainted with him, and I never knew a perſon more profoundly and elegantly learned, or ſo well verſed, not only in every thing that concerned the eccleſiaſtical department, but in the various duties of every line of ſocial life. Having viſited every part of the Continent, he ſpoke the modern languages with great fluency and purity, and had uncommon eaſe and affability of manner.

He had the moſt exalted piety, and was not only very charitable himſelf, but an active promoter of publick charities. His eloquence in the pulpit was irreſiſtible, as his ſtyle was nervous and elegant; his voice was loud and harmonious, and he had great dignity of manner.

With all theſe exalted qualities and endowments, he poſſeſſed the moſt brilliant wit, and ſuch a happy vein of humour, as enlivened ſociety wherever he happened to be.

This neceſſary and important duty, the neglect of which would have been criminal, drew on him a hoſt of foes, conſiſting of popiſh biſhops, prieſts, friars, and preſbyterian miniſters, who abuſed and vilified him with ſingular malignity; and even ſome members of parliament had the hardened audacity to arraign him with much ſeverity.

This amiable prelate made a moſt eloquent ſpeech in ſupport of the privileges granted to the Roman catholicks in the year 1782.

This ſpirit of inſurrection ſpread over moſt parts of Munſter. The conſpirators bound each other by oath to reſiſt the laws of the land, and to obey none but thoſe of captain Right; and ſo ſtrictly did they adhere to them, that the high ſheriff of the county of Waterford * could not procure a perſon to execute the ſentence of the law on one of theſe miſcreants who was condemned to be whipped at Carrick-on-Suir, though he offered a large ſum of money for that purpoſe. He was therefore under the neceſſity of performing that duty himſelf, in the face of an enraged mob.

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* The writer of theſe pages was high ſheriff at that time.

ORIGIN OF THE VOLUNTEERS.

IN the year 1779, when England was involved in a war with the French, Spaniards, and Americans; when the combined and naval armies of the enemy were ſuperior in point of number to the channel fleet; when conſtant and well-grounded apprehenſions were entertained that Ireland would be invaded, the loyalty of her parliament, trembling for the fate of the empire, left the kingdom almoſt deſtitute of any military force for its defence. At the ſame time, what little commerce ſhe then enjoyed, was completely ſtagnated by privateers, which conſtantly hovered on her coaſt. In this critical juncture, ſome maritime towns, dreading that they might be plundered by the latter, applied to government for a military force for their defence; but received in anſwer, that they muſt arm and defend themſelves.

This gave riſe to the volunteers, of which numerous bodies were immediately raiſed, who at firſt ſupplied themſelves with arms at their own expence; and government, wiſhing to encourage the laudable ſpirit which the Iriſh nation ſhewed, diſtributed immenſe quantities among them.

It is moſt certain, that theſe military aſſociations deterred the French from attempting an invaſion of the kingdom, which they meditated at that time; and they completely preſerved the police of the country.

To their immortal honour be it ſpoken, that, though ſelf-embodied, armed, and diſciplined, they not only ſhewed the greateſt reſpect for the laws, but the utmoſt zeal in enforcing the execution of them.

Without attempting to detract from the inſtitution, or queſtioning the important advantages derived from it, every perſon acquainted with the ſcience of civil polity muſt acknowledge, that no power ſhould be allowed to exiſt within a ſtate, capable of overawing or of overturning it.

Government were ſoon ſo much intimidated by the volunteers, that they ſhewed a degree of obeiſance and deference for their officers, bordering upon puſillanimity; and popularity among that order became a certain ſtep to preferment.

It was a common practice to obtain adulatory addreſſes from the volunteers, of which great numbers conſtantly appeared in the publick prints; and he who could procure the greateſt number of them, was ſure to ſucceed in his ambitious deſigns. It was to be lamented, that they ſoon began to deviate from the end of their inſtitution, and to form provincial meetings, for the purpoſe of new-modelling the ſtate; of which a notable inſtance occurred on the fifteenth of February, 1782; when delegates from one hundred and forty-three corps of the province of Ulſter aſſembled at Dungannon, and entered into reſolutions of that tendency, which were ſoon adopted by all the volunteer corps and grand juries of the kingdom.

It is far from my intention to cenſure that aſſembly, who were actuated by the generous deſign of improving the conſtitution, and of diffuſing the bleſſings of civil liberty as extenſively as poſſible; but every moderate and rational perſon muſt allow, that it was incompatible with the principles of ſound policy, that an armed body ſhould take upon them to dictate to the government. It is to be lamented that ſuch aſſemblies and their diſcuſſions taught the maſs of the people to ſpeculate upon politicks, and as they cannot diſtinguiſh ſophiſtry from truth, prepared their minds for the reception of thoſe deleterious doctrines which produced the rebellion.

On the ninth of October, 1783, delegates from all the corps of the province of Leinſter aſſembled at the Royal Exchange of Dublin, when a reform of parliament, and the admiſſion of Roman catholicks to the elective franchiſe, were propounded.

On Monday the tenth of November, 1783, the grand national convention of volunteers, conſiſting of delegates from every county in the kingdom, met at the Royal Exchange in Dublin, marched in regular proceſſion to the Rotunda, where they opened their ſeſſion, and entered into deliberation, on new-modelling the conſtitution. Some men, diſtinguiſhed in parliament for wiſdom, virtue, and eloquence, were ſo much heated with the frenzy of innovation which then prevailed, that they took the lead in that ſingular aſſembly, which was ſaid in moſt of the publick prints to conſiſt of the real repreſentatives of the people.

On the twelfth of that month, father O'Leary, an Iriſh friar, who had announced himſelf as chaplain to the Iriſh brigade, a popiſh corps of volunteers, entered the convention; and ſuch was the folly of the times, that the volunteer guard at the gate received him with a full ſalute of reſted arms; and many members of the convention paid him the moſt flattering compliments.

On the twenty-fifth of November, the committee of the convention reported their plan of reforming the conſtitution; and one of its members, the right honourable Henry Flood, attempted, on the twenty-ninth, to introduce it into the houſe of commons, in the ſhape of a bill; but it was ſcouted with a degree of indignation which did honour to that aſſembly.

On the firſt inſtitution of the volunteers, ſome low perſons, who turned out notorious traitors in the late rebellion, aſſumed the rank of officers; and many gentlemen of rank and fortune, who headed them at firſt, having retired, were ſucceeded by men deſtitute of both, and well known to be diſaffected.

Of this deſcription were James Napper Tandy, Bacon the tailor, Matthew Dowling, and many others concerned in the late rebellion, whom the lenity of government has ſaved from the vengeance of the law.

Such men having acquired popularity and influence among the volunteers, ſome of the firſt of our nobility and gentry, who offered themſelves candidates for a ſuperior command among them, courted theſe miſcreants for their intereſt, with all the meanneſs of ſervility; for they elected their own officers.

There is not a doubt, but that numbers of unprincipled men, enrolled among the volunteers, formed ſchemes for ſubverting the conſtitution; and their invitation to the Roman catholicks to take up arms, and their earneſt deſire that they ſhould be admitted to a participation of the elective franchiſe, were made with the hope of procuring their co-operation for that purpoſe.

That amiable nobleman the earl of Charlemont, who had very great influence among the volunteers, well knowing that ſuch propoſitions flowed from ſiniſter deſigns, ſucceſsfully oppoſed them in the year 1784.

There is no doubt, but that the flirtation between John and Peter was formed during the exiſtence of the volunteer inſtitution.*

Mr. Edmund Burke alluded to this heterogeneous coalition between Roman catholicks and preſbyterians, in the following paſſage of his letter to ſir Hercules Langriſhe in the year 1792, on the claims of the former to the elective franchiſe: "As to the low, thoughtleſs, wild and profligate, who have joined themſelves with thoſe of other profeſſions, (meaning the preſbyterians) but of the ſame character, you are not to imagine, that, for a moment, I can ſuppoſe them to be met with any thing elſe than the manly and enlightened energy of a firm government, ſupported by the united efforts of all virtuous men. If ever their proceedings ſhould become ſo conſiderable as to demand its notice, I really think that ſuch aſſociations ſhould be cruſhed in their very commencement."

Mr. Burke did not know that the maſs of the Roman catholicks were infected with revolutionary deſigns at ſo early a period, not only in Dublin but in many other parts of the kingdom, as we ſhall find in the ſequel. A corps called the Iriſh brigade was raiſed in the city of Dublin, of which nineteen out of twenty were Roman catholicks, and they appointed father O'Leary, an obſcure itinerant friar, their chaplain. I have been aſſured, that they exceeded in number all the other volunteer corps in the city. From the principles which ſome of its members diſplayed during the late rebellion, we may infer that they harboured treaſonable deſigns even in that early period.

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* This alludes to St. Peter and John Calvin.

On the fifteenth of May, 1784, the Belfaſt firſt volunteer company reſolved and agreed to inſtruct, in the uſe of arms, perſons of all ranks and religious perſuaſions, who ſhould preſent themſelves for that purpoſe; and they offered them the uſe of their own arms.

On the ſixteenth of May, 1784, the builders corps in Dublin reſolved, that their drill-ſerjeant ſhould attend at Marlborough-green, three days in the week, to teach perſons of all ranks and religious perſuaſions the uſe of arms.

They reſolved alſo, to have annual parliaments, and to impart the elective franchiſe equally to perſons of every mode of religious worſhip.

On the twentieth of May, 1784, delegates from all the volunteer corps in the city and county of Dublin reſolved unanimouſly, that the training to the uſe of arms every honeſt and induſtrious Iriſhman, however moderate his property, or depreſſed his ſituation, was a meaſure of the utmoſt utility to this kingdom, and would produce a valuable acquiſition to the volunteer arms and intereſt. Similar reſolutions were entered into in different parts of the kingdom.

In the ſummer of the year 1783, the Iriſh brigade, and the Dublin independent volunteers, commanded by James Napper Tandy, Matthew Dowling, and Bacon the tailor, formed an encampment between Roebuck and Dublin, under the pretext of ſtudying tacticks, and learning camp duty; though it was well known, that they were hatching revolutionary projects. It is to be obſerved, that the war, the only pretext for their arming, was now at an end; yet many corps in different parts of the kingdom reſolved not to lay down their arms, but with their lives.

The volunteer inſtitution occaſioned much idleneſs and diſſipation among the induſtrious part of the community, and deſtroyed ſubordination, ſo eſſential to the exiſtence of ſocial order; for perſons of low rank, aſſociating with their ſuperiors, loſt that reſpect which they had entertained for them, and were inſpired with levelling principles.

The immenſe quantity of arms, which government had imprudently diſtributed among the volunteers, fell into the hands of traitors in the late rebellion, and made it more terrifick.

It is ſtated in the report of the ſecret committee, and it is ſtrictly true, that the national guards, who, in the year 1792, meditated the ſubverſion of the conſtitution, ſprung from the volunteers.

The principal argument uſed againſt the Union by the gentlemen who oppoſed it was, that the conſtitution, as ſettled in the year 1782, was perfect and therefore concluſive: How came it then, that a repreſentative body of the whole nation in arms, and many of them conſiſting of the very firſt of our nobility and gentry, aſſembled for the expreſs purpoſe of remedying the defects of that very conſtitution, the year after it was eſtabliſhed? and it is very remarkable, that many members of both houſes of parliament, who were conſtituent members of that mock parliament, were the moſt ſanguine oppoſers of the Union.

In ſhort, it will appear, that, from the year 1782, when our conſtitution was ſuppoſed to have arrived at the ſummit of perfection, an immoderate and alarming ſpirit of innovation, which ultimately produced the rebellion, never ceaſed to break forth in and out of parliament; and that Mr. Grattan and his adherents, who piqued themſelves on being the chief authors of the conſtitution of 1782, were the principal promoters of that very ſpirit of innovation, which ſhook the pillars of the throne in 1798, deſolated ſome of the moſt fertile portions of Ireland, and aimed at its ſeparation from England.

ORIGIN OF THE DEFENDERS.

AS a great conflagration is often kindled by a ſmall ſpark, ſo the feuds and altercations between the peep-of-day boys and defenders, the former preſbyterians, the latter Romaniſts, which occaſioned much ſtrife and bloodſhed, has been aſcribed to a trifling diſpute between two individuals.

On the fourth of July, 1784, two men of the former perſuaſion had a quarrel and fought near Market-hill, a ſmall town in the county of Armagh, when one of the combatants became victórious by the advice and aſſiſtance of a Roman catholick peaſant, and his brother, who happened to be preſent, for which the vanquiſhed hero vowed vengeance againſt the latter.

A ſecond challenge took place, but the two Romaniſts would not attend the combat, having been informed, that the preſbyterians, who had been defeated, reſolved to be revenged of him and his party.

At laſt the vanquiſhed preſbyterian publiſhed, that a horſe-race would take place on a certain day at Hamilton's-bawn, where the combatants met and fought a ſecond time; when the conqueror became victorious by the aſſiſtance of ſome Romaniſts who fought on his ſide. Both parties began to raiſe recruits, and to collect arms; but preſbyterians and papiſts mixed indiſcriminately, and were marked for ſome time by the diſtrict to which they belonged, and not by any religious diſtinction. Each body aſſumed the ſingular appellation of fleet, and was denominated from the pariſh or town-land where the perſons who compoſed it reſided.

The Nappack fleet was at firſt headed by a Roman catholick; and the people in the neighbourhood of Bunker's-hill, (in the road from Newry to Armagh,) entered into an aſſociation to defend themſelves againſt the Nappack fleet, choſe a diſſenting miniſter for their leader, aſſumed, for the firſt time, the title of defenders,* and were joined ſoon after by the Bawn fleet, in order to protect themſelves againſt the Nappack fleet. On Whitſunmonday, in the year 1785, the two parties met, and were to have had a deſperate engagement.

The Nappack fleet, 700 in number, were all armed with guns, ſwords, and piſtols. The Bunker's-hill defenders, and the Bawn fleet, though much more numerous, were not ſo well armed. When they were on the point of engaging, Mr. Richardſon, of Richhill, member for the county of Armagh, and two more gentlemen, interpoſed, and induced them to ſeparate, which prevented a great effuſion of blood.

From the inveterate hatred which has ever exiſted between the two ſects, they ſoon began to ſeparate, and to enliſt under the banners of religion; and as the Roman catholicks ſhewed uncommon eagerneſs to collect arms, the preſbyterians began to diſarm them.

The former aſſumed the appellation of defenders, the latter that of peep-of-day boys, becauſe they viſited the houſes of their antagoniſts at a very early hour in the morning, to ſearch for arms; and it is moſt certain, that in doing ſo, they often committed the moſt wanton outrages, inſulting their perſons, and breaking their furniture.

The paſſions of both parties being very much inflamed, they never miſſed an opportunity of exerciſing hoſtilities againſt each other, which frequently terminated in the commiſſion of murder.

A detail of their battles would be as unintereſting as that of the kites and crows.

To exaſperate the defenders, and to induce them to embody themſelves from motives of fear, prophecies were frequently made, that the Scotch (meaning the preſbyterians) would riſe on a certain night, and maſſacre the Romaniſts, who, being credulous and timorous, poſted watches all night to give the alarm. As ſuch reports were conſtantly made, ſome time previous to, and during the rebellion, as devices to inflame the popiſh multitude againſt the proteſtants, we may reaſonably conclude, that the authors of them, at this early period, had the ſame ſiniſter deſigns.

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* There are different opinions as to the time and occaſion of their aſſuming this title. I have been decided by the beſt and moſt authentick.

By a ſeaſonable exertion of government, this ſpirit of combination and outrage might have been eaſily extinguiſhed; but I have been aſſured, that it was fomented by the improper interference of country gentlemen, who eſpouſed one party or the other, for electioneering purpoſes; and it happened, that one perſon, who had popiſh tenants, was partial to the defenders, and another, whoſe eſtate was chiefly occupied by preſbyterians, protected the peep-of-day boys.

In the year 1785, ſome preſbyterians, proſecuted by one Keegan, a papiſt, whom they had beaten in a moſt cruel manner, were ſentenced to be impriſoned for a certain time; but they were immediately liberated at the inſtance of a gentleman of influence. In the ſame manner, one Mc. Quone, a defender, who was ſentenced to die at Armagh, in the year 1787, for the murder of one Donaldſon, a preſbyterian, obtained his pardon by the interference of an individual of conſiderable weight.

In the year 1787, the diſturbances roſe to ſuch an alarming pitch, in the county of Armagh, that two troops of dragoons were ſent to the city of Armagh to quell them, as infantry were found inadequate for that purpoſe.

At laſt it became a downright religious war, and the fanaticks of one ſect exerciſed the moſt barbarous revenge on the innocent members of the other, for the crimes of the guilty; but the proteſtants of the eſtabliſhed church were no way concerned in their diſputes at that time.

On the trials of ſome of the inſurgents, at the ſummer aſſizes of 1786, it was proved by ſome reſpectable witneſſes, that, in a riot at Tanderagee, the defenders, who were then arraigned, had offered 5l. for the head of a proteſtant.

In the year 1788, the defenders combined among themſelves, not to purchaſe any goods from a proteſtant, which turned many perſons of the eſtabliſhed church againſt them, who had formerly been rather friendly to them, and induced them to retaliate.

The people of Lurgan, and its vicinity, were remarkably quiet during the heat and frenzy of the inſurgents, becauſe it abounds with proteſtants of the eſtabliſhed church; the only ſect uniformly attached to the conſtitution.

In the year 1788, ſome volunteer corps were raiſed, for the purpoſe of checking the ſpirit of turbulence and outrage that prevailed, by ſtrengthening the arm of the civil magiſtrate.* They completely put an end to the perambulations, and the domiciliary viſits of the peep-of-day boys, and very wiſely entered into reſolutions, that they would not ſhew favour or affection to any deſcription of men who ſhould diſturb the publick tranquillity; yet the defenders ſhewed the moſt decided averſion to this inſtitution, began to collect arms with more zeal than ever, and even to learn the manual exerciſe.

Theſe volunteer corps were very uſeful in preventing tumultuous meetings, riots, and diſturbances. In conſequence of a challenge given by the defenders and peep-of-day boys, there was a numerous meeting of both within two miles of Liſmadil, in the county of Armagh, in the year 1788; and the conſequences might have been very fatal, had not eighteen of the firſt volunteer Armagh company repaired there, and declared that they would fire on the firſt perſon who would reſiſt the lawful commands of the magiſtrate, and they took ſome arms from both parties.

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* In the ſame manner aſſociations of armed men were neceſſary to put down the white boys.

In the ſame year, the defenders, emboldened by their numbers and the arms they had procured, ſent ſome challenges to the volunteers, of which a notable inſtance occurred at Granemore in the ſame county, when they ſent a challenge to a party of the latter, after they had fired their laſt cartridge in their evolutions, preparatory to a general review. The volunteers, thus circumſtanced, being unable to defend themſelves, were obliged to retire to a place of ſafety, till they procured a reinforcement for their protection; and then they proceeded to their reſpective homes.

The Benburb corps of volunteers, in the county of Tyrone, having proceeded, without arms, to hear divine ſervice at the church of Armagh on a Sunday, headed by Mr. Young, one of their officers, paſſed by a Romiſh chapel, the congregation of which abuſed, and threw ſtones at them. The volunteers, having procured ſome fire-arms at Armagh, the altercation was renewed at their return, and ended in a conflict, in which two of the popiſh congregation were killed, and ſome perſons were wounded on both ſides. It was conjectured that the former were prepared for the combat, as they had five muſkets.

The volunteers were very much cenſured for having returned by the ſame road, when they might have taken another.

The open hoſtility which the defenders diſplayed againſt the volunteers, raiſed for no other purpoſe but to maintain ſocial order, and their intemperate zeal to furniſh themſelves with fire-arms, alarmed all loyal and peaceable ſubjects; in conſequence of which the earl of Charlemont, governor of the county, and the grand jury, publiſhed a manifeſto in the year 1788, againſt all papiſts who ſhould aſſemble in arms, and againſt any perſons who ſhould attempt to diſarm them without legal authority.

It appears then, that the fears of the preſbyterians were not groundleſs; and as they were prevented from diſpoſſeſſing them of arms, which they were collecting in great numbers, they ſought for legal redreſs, and indicted ſome of the defenders in the year 1788; but baron Hamilton quaſhed the indictments, and diſmiſſed both parties, with a warm and impreſſive exhortation to live in peace and brotherly love.

The following diſcovery, made in the year 1789, clearly proved that the defenders were ſyſtematically organized, and that their uncommon eagerneſs to procure arms and ammunition, aroſe not from defenſive, but offenſive deſigns. One of their plans or conſtitutions was found in the year 1789, by a magiſtrate of the county of Armagh, on one of their leaders of the name of Sharky, and dated the 24th of April of that year, at Drumbanagher.* It is very evident that their views muſt have been hoſtile, as one eſſential required in a member of the order was, to be poſſeſſed of a muſket and a bayonet. Defenderiſm prevailed alſo in the county of Louth, and it could not be pleaded in excuſe for introducing it there, that it was done for protection againſt the preſbyterians, as none of that perſuaſion, and but few proteſtants of the eſtabliſhed church, compared to the Roman catholicks, exiſted there. It muſt have taken up ſome time to bring this ſyſtem to maturity, and they were probably numerous in the county of Armagh, as Sharky's lodge is number 18. There muſt have been an intercourſe, and a communication between the lodges of different counties; for, in this plan, there appears a certificate, that Michael Moor was a brother defender, and he is recommended to the committee of Carrickarnan, number 1, in the county of Louth. Sobriety, ſecreſy, the accumulation of arms, and the giving aſſiſtance to each other on all occaſions, ſeem to have been leading objects with them. They were excluſively of the Roman catholick religion. They knew each other by ſecret ſigns: They had a grand maſter in each county, who was elected at a general annual meeting, and they had alſo monthly meetings.

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* See Appendix, No. II.

For the following reaſons, it unqueſtionably appears, that they had treaſonable deſigns:

The defenders oath found in every other part of the kingdom, correſponds in general with this;* and it has one peculiarity which is worth obſervation. They are required to take an oath of allegiance, which ends thus, *While we live under the ſame government.*

Weldon, a noted defender, who was tried in the year 1795, in Dublin, and afterwards hanged, for various treaſonable practices, but particularly for having adminiſtered this oath, obſerved, on the laſt paragraph of it, "If the king's head were off to-morrow, you would not be under the ſame government."† Weldon dated the origin of the order in 1790, but I ſuppoſe he alluded to the introduction of it into Dublin. It appeared afterwards, on the trials of all the noted defenders, particularly on thoſe of Weldon, Hunt, and Brady, in Dublin, that the extirpation of proteſtants was one of the chief objects of the inſtitution. Some intelligent magiſtrates in the county of Armagh have aſſured me, that they were organized at an early period, with ſuch a degree of art and ingenuity, as the low people of which they were compoſed could not have poſſeſſed; and the ſame obſervation is made in the report of the ſecret committee of the houſe of lords of 1793.

We cannot be ſurpriſed at this, when it is very well known, that the famous father Quigley‡ was very active among the defenders. As he intereſted himſelf very much in their concerns, it is not improbable that their organization was on the French plan, as it has been diſcovered, that he made a practice of going often to France.

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* But after the war broke out, they were univerſally bound to join and aſſiſt the French.

† I give this man's trial in the year 1795.

‡ He was afterwards hanged at Maidſtone, in Kent, in 1798.

They had parochial and baronial committees, and a ſuperior one to which they appealed; and from a connection which appeared afterwards to have ſubſiſted between them and the Catholick committee in Dublin, we may infer that they were much influenced by it.

The diſturbances excited by them in the counties of Armagh, Antrim, Down, Louth and Monaghan, were ſuch, in the year 1789, that general Euſtace received orders to repair to theſe counties, and to take the command of a body of troops for ſuppreſſing them.

At Rathfriland, in the county of Down, and its vicinity, he found that the papiſts and preſbyterians harboured ſuch mutual enmity and ſuſpicion, that a body of each, under arms, conſtantly kept watch and ward. On being aſked their reaſons for ſo doing, each ſaid they were afraid of being murdered by the other.*

At Loughbrickland, their animoſity was ſo great, that the general recommended to a Mr. White, of the Popiſh perſuaſion, to quit it, as it would be unſafe for a proteſtant or a Roman catholick gentleman to reſide there; and he followed his advice.

Many gentlemen of the North have aſſured me, that the origin of the defenders, and the exceſſes which they committed, may properly be imputed to the ſavage and ſanguinary ſpirit of the lower claſs of Romaniſts in the county of Armagh, where they are peculiarly barbarous.

The following tranſaction will fully prove this, and that fanaticiſm was one of the principal ſources of defenderiſm:

Richard Jackſon, of Forkhill, in the county of Armagh, eſquire, who died on the 11th of January, 1787, deviſed an eſtate of about 4000l. a year to the following charitable purpoſes: That his demeſne, conſiſting of 3000 acres, ſhould be colonized by proteſtants; and that four ſchoolmaſters ſhould be eſtabliſhed on it, to inſtruct, *gratis*, children of every religious perſuaſion. Till the above period it had not been occupied by any tenants.

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* The origin and the title of defender have been imputed to this: That no jury in the county of Armagh would convict a peep-of-day boy, and therefore that they united in their defence; but it appears, that they had exiſted in many other counties beſides Armagh, before this is ſuppoſed to have taken place.

In the year 1789, the truſtees obtained an act of parliament, to carry the proviſions of the will into execution; and they appointed the reverend Edward Hudſon, rector of Forkhill, who was alſo one of the truſtees, agent to tranſact the buſineſs of the charity. The papiſts, who lived in the neighbouring country, a ſavage race, the deſcendants of the rapparees, declared, without reſerve, that they would not ſuffer the eſtabliſhment to take place; and they ſoon put their menaces into execution. They fired twice at Mr. Hudſon. On one occaſion, an aſſaſſin was ſent from a popiſh chapel, when the congregation was aſſembled, to the road ſide, where Mr. Hudſon was paſſing by, and he deliberately fired at him with a muſket, from behind a buſh, and killed his horſe. The new coloniſts were hunted like wild beaſts, and treated with ſavage cruelty: Their houſes were demoliſhed, and their property was deſtroyed.

The treatment of Alexander Barclay, one of the ſchool-maſters, in February, 1791, will ſhew the reader the ferocious diſpoſition of theſe ſavages; and he muſt ſhudder with horror at hearing, that they openly exulted in the perpetration of theſe enormities, many of which they committed by torch light. They burned the manor mill, and would have murdered the miller, but that he made his eſcape, naked, acroſs a river, in the night.

A REPORT of ſome of the TRUSTEES of the charity at Forkhill, deviſed by RICHARD JACKSON, eſquire, of the maſſacre of the Barclay family, to the biſhop of DROMORE.

" My lord, Forkhill Lodge, 1ſt Feb. 1791.

" We, whoſe names are hereunto ſubſcribed, having aſſembled at Forkhill, purſuant to act of parliament, to ſuperintend the execution of the charities of the late Mr. Jackſon, are much concerned to acquaint your lordſhip, that a moſt horrid outrage was committed on Friday laſt, on the perſon of one Barclay, one of the ſchool-maſters appointed by us, in this pariſh, (the particulars of which we encloſe to your lordſhip,) in conſequence of which, we think it abſolutely neceſſary to ſuſpend all operations of the charity, until the opinion of a general board can be had, which we requeſt your lordſhip will ſummon with all convenient ſpeed, and take ſuch further ſteps as the circumſtances may require. We beg leave to remind your lordſhip, that at the laſt general board, it was unanimouſly reſolved, that the eſtabliſhment of a barrack * at Forkhill, for a company of foot, would be of general utility, and that your lordſhip agreed to recommend it to the lord lieutenant. The late event ſhews the expediency of ſuch an eſtabliſhment; and we greatly fear, that if ſome means are not immediately uſed to reſtore the peace of the country, the objects of the charity can never be fulfilled.

PERCY JOCELYN.
RICHARD ALLOTT.
E. HUDSON.

" On

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* From the time of the laſt rebellion in Ireland, in 1689, there had been a ſmall barrack there, in which troops were cantoned, till within 30 or 40 years before this period, to repreſs the ferocious ſpirit of the rapparees.

“ On Friday evening at ſeven o’clock, a number of villains aſſembled at the houſe of Alexander Barclay, one of the ſchool-maſters in the pariſh of Forkhill, near Dundalk, appointed by the truſtees of the late Richard Jackſon’s charities, to inſtruct indiſcriminately the children of the poor of ſaid pariſh. They rapped at the door, he enquired who was there, and one man of the name of Terence Byrne, his near neighbour, (whoſe voice he well knew, and had before at different times admitted upon knowing it,) told him it was he was there; he opened the door, and a number of men ruſhed in, threw him on his face, and three of them ſtood on him, and ſtabbed him repeatedly. They then put a cord round his neck, which they tightened ſo, as to force out his tongue; part of which, as far as they could reach, they cut off. They then cut off the four fingers and thumb of his right hand, and left him on the floor, and proceeded to uſe his wife in the ſame manner. To add to their barbarity, they cut out her tongue, and cut off her four fingers and thumb, with a blunt weapon, which operation took them up above ten minutes, one or two of them holding up her arm, while they committed this inhuman action. They then battered and beat her in a dreadful manner. Her brother, a boy of 13 years of age, had come from Armagh that morning to ſee her. They cut out his tongue, and cut off the calf of his leg, and left them all three in that ſituation.

“ No reaſon can be aſſigned for this moſt inhuman tranſaction. The man was a proteſtant, a peaceable decent man; he taught above 30 of their children *gratis*, being allowed a ſalary by the truſtees for 40 more. He aſked them, whether he had ever offended them? They ſaid not; but that was the beginning of what he and thoſe like him * ſhould ſuffer.

“ Shocking as this account is to human nature, it is publickly exulted at in the pariſh; and no perſon ſeems to think, that any puniſhment will follow the commiſſion of this moſt atrocious wickedneſs. So far were they from wiſhing to conceal it, that they proceeded on the road with torches, publickly, and in defiance of every body.

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* Meaning proteſtants.

"There is every reaſon to dread the moſt alarming conſequences from the effects of this tranſaction. The proteſtants are every where in the greateſt terror; and unleſs government affords them aſſiſtance, muſt leave the country; as this recent inſtance of inhumanity, and the threatenings thrown out againſt them, leave no doubt upon their minds of what the intentions muſt be againſt them.

"The man and the boy can ſpeak a little, the woman † cannot, and fortunately they are all likely to die; as, if they live, they are incapable of earning their ſubſiſtence. Terence Byrne is ſince fled."

One Devitt, who was privy to it, turned approver, and charged a man of the name of Murphy, with being concerned in it. The watch of Alexander Barclay was found in his houſe; and all the family having identified him, he was convicted at Armagh, and hanged at Forkhill. In his way thither, he ſhewed ſtrong ſigns of deſpondency, ſobbing, ſighing, and bewailing his fate. But when near Forkhill, he met a prieſt, who whiſpered a ſhort time in his ear; after which his countenance brightened up, he advanced to the place of execution with firmneſs, and was launched into eternity with ſingular reſignation. The barbarous treatment of this colony by the Romaniſts, and their ſavage cruelty towards the Barclays, convinced the preſbyterians that the extirpation of proteſtants of every denomination was the main deſign of the defenders.

As their zeal to collect arms ſtill increaſed, and as a large quantity of them was imported into Newry for their uſe, which occaſioned a general alarm, the grand jury and high ſheriff of the county of Armagh entered into the following reſolution, at the ſpring aſſizes of 1791:

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† She was a handſome young woman.

Reſolved, "That a rage among the Roman catholicks, for illegally arming themſelves, has of late taken place, and is truly alarming: In order then to put a ſtop to ſuch proceedings, and to reſtore tranquillity, we do pledge ourſelves to each other, as magiſtrates and individuals; and do hereby offer a reward of five guineas, for the conviction of each of the firſt twenty perſons, illegally armed and aſſembled as aforeſaid."

Though the origin of the defenders has been imputed to a particular quarrel, and dated from a certain period, we may fairly conclude, that they had treaſonable and revolutionary ſchemes, which were inſpired by miſſionaries from France, probably ſome of their own clergy; and what corroborates this opinion is, that the fermentation among them increaſed, and kept pace with the diſturbances of that kingdom.

When Spain was the moſt potent ſtate in Europe, the Iriſh maintained a connection with her, and ſought her aſſiſtance to make war againſt their liege ſovereign, and to ſeparate their native country from England; for which purpoſe they brought two Spaniſh armies into Ireland, in the reign of queen Elizabeth, which produced two dreadful civil wars.

When France roſe to unrivalled wealth and power, on the declenſion of the Spaniſh monarchy, under the auſpices of Richlieu and Mazarine his elêve, the Iriſh began, and have never ceaſed, to attach themſelves to her, hoping, through her aid, to accompliſh their treaſonable deſigns; and the popiſh clergy, many of whom have been bred in France, never fail to inſpire their flock with admiration of the Gallic nation, and with the moſt inveterate hatred towards the Engliſh, whom they brand with the odious appellation of hereticks. For this reaſon, we find father Quigley, an active agitator among the defenders, and afterwards among the United Iriſhmen.

In the years 1792 and 1793, they broke out into open rebellion, and attacked, with deſtructive rage, proteſtants of every denomination, in the counties of Dublin, Louth, Meath, Cavan, Monaghan, Roſcommon, Weſtmeath, Donegal, Leitrim, Down, Mayo, Sligo, Derry, Limerick and Wexford, and even in the county of Kerry. In ſhort, we may venture to aſſert, that before the end of the year 1793, they had ſpread the ſeeds of combuſtion over moſt parts of Ireland. Not to interrupt the courſe of the narrative, I have annexed, in Appendix, No. IX. ſome of the principal outrages committed by them that year.

In the year 1792, they plundered one hundred and eighty proteſtant houſes in the county of Louth, though the proteſtants in it are not numerous; and they never experienced any enmity or oppoſition from them, till they were 'rouzed to come forward in defence of their lives and properties. The depriving proteſtants of their arms and ammunition ſeemed to have been one of their principal deſigns.

In ſome places, landlords were obliged to reduce their rents, and the clergy to relinquiſh their tithes, to calm the ſtorm of licentious turbulence, but without effect. Many proteſtant families abandoned their houſes, and fled to the capital for protection.

In the autumn and winter of 1792, ſo many barbarous outrages were committed by them, in the county of Louth, that at the ſpring aſſizes following, held at Dundalk, twenty-one defenders were ſentenced to die, twenty-five to be tranſported, twelve to be impriſoned a certain time, for having conſpired to murder different perſons, thirteen indicted for murder put off their trials, and bench warrants iſſued againſt eighty perſons who abſconded. *

They would have completely deſolated the county of Louth in the year 1792, but that the right honourable John Foſter, ſpeaker of the houſe of commons,

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* In the reign of queen Elizabeth, before England had completely experienced the bleſſings of the Reformation, we find frequently as many, nay more delinquents, at an aſſizes.

mons, whoſe activity as a uſeful country gentleman, could be equalled by nothing, but the zeal and wiſdom which he ever diſplayed in parliament, for the improvement of its trade, manufactures and finances, gave them a complete overthrow, by the moſt vigorous and unabated exertions, in the courſe of which his life was often endangered.

In the county of Louth, they marched in great numbers, and in regular array, to their maſs-houſes, to fairs and patrons, and were at times heard to declare, that they would not ſuffer any proteſtant to live in the country.

In the year 1788, Mr. Camac employed a number of maſons to build an inn between Dundalk and Drogheda. Some carriers, who were conveying linen from Dromore to Dublin, were ſtopped by the maſons, who required them to croſs themſelves, and ſay their Ave Maria. Such of them as were papiſts of courſe complied; and one preſbyterian, who living much with Romaniſts knew all their tricks and manœuvres, was permitted to paſs unmoleſted; but a proteſtant of the eſtabliſhed church, who unfortunately happened to be ignorant of them, was moſt grievouſly beaten by them.

Many people have been led into the following error, as to the origin and the title of the defenders:

That they often, and particularly in the year 1786, indicted ſome of the peep-of-day boys, who were acquitted, though their guilt was evident: That finding no redreſs from the laws of their country, they united, collected arms for their defence, and aſſumed the name of defenders.

Some perſons of both parties were frequently convicted and puniſhed. Two peep-of-day boys at the ſpring aſſizes of 1788, at Armagh, were ſentenced to be fined and impriſoned for ill-treating a Roman catholick. Baron Power, in the year 1795, hanged three defenders, and two peep-of-day boys. In the year 1797, government ſent the attorney-general, now lord Kilwarden, to Armagh, to diſpenſe juſtice equally to both parties. He tried alternately two of each party, and ſome of both were found guilty, and puniſhed.

As the defenders were committing the moſt dreadful outrages in the county of Louth, in the year 1792, and the Roman catholick gentlemen did not ſhew any inclination to aſſiſt in ſuppreſſing them, the following query appeared in the Dublin Journal of the third of January, 1793: Have the Roman catholick gentlemen and landholders of the county of Lóuth ſtepped fairly forward, in conjunction with the proteſtant gentry and landholders, in repreſſing the outrages of the banditti, called defenders? Or do they keep back, ſilent and inactive, pretending to diſapprove, yet really acquieſcing in, their conduct? This query demands an anſwer.

On the third of January, 1793, a few perſons, who called themſelves the Roman catholick inhabitants of the county of Louth, aſſembled at Greenmount, near Caſtle Bellingham, entered into ſtrong reſolutions againſt the defenders, and exhorted all perſons, of their perſuaſion, to abſtain from their combinations, and their unwarrantable practices; and they publiſhed them in the Dublin Journal. It was ſigned by ſixty laymen, moſt of them in very low ſituations, and by eighteen popiſh prieſts, and doctor Reilly, the titular primate of Ireland.

The following perſons were among the laymen who ſigned it: One Coleman of Dundalk, with one Sweetman, ſecretary of the Catholick committee, correſponded in the month of Auguſt, 1792, relative to protecting the defenders then in priſon, and for whom he employed counſel in their defence, as ſtated in the report of the ſecret committee of the houſe of lords: *

Another man of the ſame name, convicted of lying in wait, and conſpiring with others, to murder Parker M'Neil, eſquire, a magiſtrate, becauſe he had taken an active part againſt the defenders:

Patrick

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* This is given at large in the origin of the Catholick committee.

Patrick Byrne of Caſtletown, eſquire, a man of fortune but very ſeditious, who was fined 1000l. and impriſoned two years, for having publiſhed an inflammatory pamphlet, and who has ſince abſconded, having been deeply engaged with the defenders:

John Hoey and Anthony Marmion, convicted of treaſonable practices, as defenders, and hanged at Dundalk, in the ſummer of 1798:

Thomas Marky, condemned to die, but his ſentence was mitigated to tranſportation: Bartholomew Mc. Gawley tranſported for defenderiſm:

One Mc. Alliſter, deeply concerned with the defenders: John Conlon, a defender, who afterwards became an approver; and it is moſt certain, that the majority of thoſe who ſigned that paper were defenders.

On the ſeventh of November, 1792, Mr. Mc. Neil was fired at in the night, when at a window in his houſe, on account of the active part which he had taken againſt the defenders.

In the year 1793, the grand jury and high ſheriff of the county of Cavan entered into ſtrong reſolutions againſt them, at the ſpring aſſizes.

The magiſtrates, gentlemen, and landholders of the county of Meath, viſcount Headfort in the chair, did the like.

The landholders in the Queen's county, duly aſſembled by the ſheriff on the twenty-ninth of June, 1793, alarmed at the outrages committed by them, reſolved to unite and exert themſelves for their ſuppreſſion.

The inhabitants of the barony of Demiſore, in the county of Weſtmeath, adopted ſimilar reſolutions on the twenty-ſeventh of January, 1793.

At laſt, they became ſo furious and alarming, that the lord lieutenant and council iſſued a proclamation on the thirteenth of February, 1793, offering a reward of 100l. to any perſon who would proſecute them, in the counties of Louth, Meath, Monaghan, Cavan, Dublin, and the county of the town of

Drogheda, where they aſſembled in large bodies, with arms and other offenſive weapons, adminiſtered illegal oaths, ſent threatening letters, plundered houſes of arms and other things, and burned both houſes and offices.

It has been ſaid, in their excuſe, that they acted in their own defence, in the counties of Armagh and Down, having been attacked by the preſbyterians; but in the other counties, which I have mentioned, their aggreſſion on the proteſtants was wanton, ſpontaneous, and offenſive, as there were but few, if any, preſbyterians in them, and they met with no provocation whatſoever. Some gentlemen in the North, of great ſagacity and ſolid judgment, have aſcribed the origin of the defenders to the following cauſe:

During the American war, when volunteering was in its meridian, ſome preſbyterians, who had revolutionary projects, invited the Roman catholicks to join them in arms, from the uſe of which they were prohibited by law.

They meant to avail themſelves of their aſſiſtance to ſubvert the conſtitution, knowing that they, on all occaſions, had evinced a decided hoſtility to the proteſtant ſtate.

When the reſtoration of peace had defeated the hopes of the preſbyterians, they reſolved to diſarm the Roman catholicks, who, animated by the poſſeſſion of arms and a knowledge of diſcipline, not only refuſed to ſurrender them, but proceeded to collect large quantities of them, and even boaſted that they would not lay them down, until they obtained a further extenſion of their privileges, in addition to thoſe which had been recently conceded. Such boaſting alarmed the fears, and rouſed the indignation of the preſbyterians, who proceeded in large bodies to diſarm them, which produced mutual hoſtility.

From the envenomed hatred with which the popiſh multitude are inſpired from their earlieſt age by their clergy to a proteſtant ſtate, their proteſtant fellow-ſubjects, and to a connection with England, and which has appeared in various ſhapes, ſuch as levellers, white boys, right boys, united Iriſhmen, and defenders, we cannot be at a loſs to account for the origin of the latter; they are but a link of the ſame chain; they, like the white boys, cement their union by oaths, plunder or burn houſes, cut out the tongues, and cut off the ears of their fellow creatures; mangle, maim, or murder them, and hough cattle; —a barbarous practice, which is peculiar to the ſavages of Ireland!

In the year 1795, the Romaniſts, who aſſumed the name of maſons, uſed frequently to aſſemble in the neighbourhood of Loughgall, Charlemont, Richhill, Portadown, Lurgan, the Ban-foot and Blackwater-foot, and robbed proteſtants of their arms.

In the month of September of that year, they aſſembled in arms, in the day time, marched into the pariſh of Tentaraghan, in the county of Armagh, and fired into the houſes of proteſtants.

Next day the latter aſſembled in arms for their defence, and a conſtant diſcharge of muſketry was kept up at each other from diſtant hills, but no lives were loſt.

On the eighteenth of September, ſome magiſtrates of the neighbouring country, prevailed on the leaders of the proteſtants and the defenders, to repair to the houſe of one Winter, near Portadown, where articles of amneſty and mutual reconcilement were drawn up, and ſigned by both parties; who alſo entered into recogniſances of 50l. on each ſide, to keep the peace, which were alſo ſigned by two popiſh prieſts on the part of the defenders.

Mr. Atkinſon was one of the gentlemen who ſigned the articles on the part of the proteſtants; yet the defenders way-laid and fired at him, as he was returning to his houſe, at Crowhill, on the ſame day.

The defenders, in violation of theſe articles, aſſembled next day, in arms, and attacked the proteſtants, who again propoſed peace and mutual forgiveneſs, but in vain.

The defenders, elate with their numbers, having ſent for reinforcements to the mountains of Pomeroy and Ballygawly, in the county of Tyrone, made an attack on the proteſtants, near a village called the Diamond; and were heard to declare, that they would not ſuffer a perſon of their perſuaſion to remain in the country.

The ſhouts and the firing of the defenders alarmed the proteſtants, who aſſembled from all quarters; and an engagement having enſued, forty-eight of the defenders were killed, and a great number were wounded, on the twenty-firſt of September, 1795.

It was univerſally allowed, that the defenders were, at leaſt, ten to one in this conflict, ever ſince known by the name of the battle of the Diamond.

During the three days that the defenders continued under arms, proviſions were ſent to them in abundance, on cars, from remote parts; ſo ſtrong was the ſpirit of their party!

As the paſſions of both parties were now ſo much inflamed, that they ſeemed mutually to think of nothing leſs than extermination, as the defenders were in the proportion of ſix to one to the proteſtants; and as the former had been ſupplied clandeſtinely with large quantities of arms and ammunition from Dublin, and various other quarters, the former proceeded, immediately after the victory, to ſearch their houſes for them, and wherever they found them concealed, they demoliſhed both of them and the furniture; in conſequence of which their inmates emigrated to the province of Connaught, particularly to the counties of Mayo and Sligo, where they were well received and protected; but it will appear in the ſequel, that their protectors had reaſon to repent of the reception which they gave them.

The reader may form ſome idea of the animoſity of both parties in the county of Armagh, from the following circumſtance: A reſpectable gentleman of that county aſſured me, that the proteſtant inhabitants of the pariſh of Sego, were ſo much afraid of being murdered by the Romaniſts in the year 1795, that they would not venture to go to Lurgan or Portadown, market towns in the neighbourhood, unleſs they were well armed, and in conſiderable numbers.

All the emigrants to Connaught did not go from Armagh, or in conſequence of feuds or quarrels. Some gentlemen in the county of Tyrone aſſured me, that many popiſh families emigrated from it to Connaught, in conſequence of prophecies frequently uttered, that civil wars would ſoon take place on the eaſt ſide of the Shannon; that the rivers would be crimſoned with blood; and that there would be a deſtructive plague, occaſioned by the number of putrid carcaſes unburied. The proteſtants in the county of Armagh, finding that it was neceſſary they ſhould unite for their defence, inſtituted Orange clubs, of which I ſhall now proceed to give an account.

But I think it neceſſary to obſerve, that the ſpirit by which the defenders were actuated, appeared in a moſt deſperate and outrageous manner in four of the moſt remote counties of the kingdom, in the year 1793, in Kerry and Donegal, in Wexford and Limerick, and in many of the intermediate ones; which clearly proves that their plans were not defenſive.

ORIGIN OF THE ORANGEMEN.

AS the defenders not only became terrifick to individuals, in moſt parts of the kingdom, by the conſtant perpetration of nocturnal robbery and aſſaſſination; as they formed a ſyſtematick combination, and ſupplied themſelves with arms, for the obvious purpoſe of ſubverting the conſtitution in church and ſtate; and as they were encouraged and directed by the Catholick committee, and the united Iriſhmen, the proteſtants of the eſtabliſhed church, to defeat their malignant deſigns, found it neceſſary to excite and cheriſh a ſpirit of loyalty, which began to languiſh and decline, in a very alarming degree, and to rally round the altar and the throne, which were in imminent danger.

The battle of the Diamond, in the county of Armagh, in the month of September, 1795, and the duplicity and treachery of the Romaniſts, on that occaſion, convinced the proteſtants, that they would become an eaſy prey to their enemies, from the paucity of their numbers, unleſs they aſſociated for their defence; particularly, as the fanatical vengeance, which they diſplayed on that and other occaſions, convinced the members of the eſtabliſhed church, that they meditated nothing leſs than their total extirpation.

In commemoration of that victory, the firſt Orange lodge was formed in the county of Armagh, on the twenty-firſt of September, 1795, though the name of orangeman exiſted ſome time before.

They were merely a ſociety of loyal proteſtants, aſſociated and bound together, ſolely for the purpoſe of maintaining and defending the conſtitution in church and ſtate, as eſtabliſhed by the prince of Orange, at the glorious Revolution, which they regarded as a ſolemn and ſacred duty. It confers diſtinguiſhed credit on its members, that they united and ſtood forward for this truly-patriotick purpoſe, unſupported and unprotected by the great and the powerful, to whom their motives were miſrepreſented by traitors, who knew that the inſtitution would form a firm barrier againſt their nefarious machinations.

I have univerſally obſerved, that the diſaffected, who arraigned with the utmoſt ſeverity the Orange ſocieties, never uttered any cenſure on the committees of aſſaſſination, to which ſo many loyal men fell a ſacrifice.

Plutarch, in his life of Solon, tells us, that he procured a law to be paſſed at Athens, by which any perſon ſhould be branded as infamous that remained neuter when any diſturbance or commotion took place, which endangered the exiſtence of the ſtate. Should not, on the ſame principle, thoſe who did not aſſiſt in oppoſing the rebellious deſigns of the defenders and the united Iriſhmen, be deemed diſloyal, or even traitors?

The lower claſs of proteſtants of the eſtabliſhed church, actuated by an invincible attachment to their king and country, ſtood forward at this perilous criſis, in the ſpirited defence of both, and avowed their unalterable determination to ſtand or fall with them.

As they encreaſed, a ſpirit of loyalty encreaſed with them, and ſtrength and confidence ſucceeded to the place of ſupineneſs and deſpondency, in the breaſts of loyal men. Supported by a conſciouſneſs of the goodneſs of their cauſe, and by the protection of Providence, they perſevered through every difficulty in their generous reſolution; rapidly encreaſed in numbers, and became an irreſiſtible obſtacle, wherever the inſtitution got a footing, to the progreſs of the ſeditious ſocieties. Leſt its members, rouſed by wanton and unprovoked outrages, might have been ſtimulated to retaliate, and from retaliation to commit any exceſſes, gentlemen, highly reſpectable, not only by birth and fortune but by moral excellence, put themſelves at its head, to regulate its motions; whoſe characters were alone ſufficient to refute the many falſehoods and calumnies uttered againſt the inſtitution. As a further refutation of them, they publiſhed a declaration of their principles in the newſpapers, which will convince the reader of the purity of their intention;* and this was done at an early period in many parts of the north.

The members of the Orange inſtitution being thus inſtrumental in uniformly reſiſting the progreſs, and contributing to defeat the revolutionary deſigns of confederated traitors, became of courſe objects of their moſt pointed and vindictive reſentment. Every means were uſed to traduce and vilify them. The nature of their aſſociation was miſrepreſented, and oaths, which they abhorred, were fabricated and impoſed upon the publick as the obligations of orangemen.

With equal virulence, and from the ſame motives, the eſtabliſhment of the militia, and the formation of the yeomanry, were oppoſed by them.

The following circumſtance unqueſtionably proves that the inſtitution was perfectly defenſive: It never was introduced into any county or diſtrict, till it had been ſome years diſturbed or deſolated by the defenders or united Iriſhmen.

It was not eſtabliſhed in the metropolis, though many years threatened with open rebellion, till the month of January, 1798; and many gentlemen of high character and conſiderable talents placed themſelves at its head, to give the inſtitution a proper direction, and to ſilence the calumnious clamours of traitors againſt it.

It is well known, that the Revolution in England could not have been effected, if combinations of perſons, attached to the conſtitution, had not been made for its accompliſhment; and it is univerſally acknowledged, that it could not have been maintained againſt the many conſpiracies formed for the reſtoration of king James, but by the ſame means.

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* See Appendix, No. V.

As the Jacobites vilified and maligned thoſe aſſociations from the ſame motives that the diſaffected did the orangemen, the houſe of commons of England reſolved in the year 1695, "That whoever ſhould affirm an aſſociation was illegal, ſhould be deemed a promoter of the deſigns of king James, and an enemy to the laws and liberties of the kingdom."

From the year 1792, to the year 1797, the county of Monaghan had been diſturbed by the defenders, who at that time became terrifick by the aid and co-operation of the united Iriſhmen.

In the beginning of that year, the loyal ſubjects, alarmed for their ſafety, began to form Orange clubs, againſt the combination of traitors, who were conſtantly committing nocturnal robbery and aſſaſſination; but ſome of the leading gentlemen of the county oppoſed the inſtitution.

In conſequence of this, the diſaffected diſſeminated their doctrines ſo rapidly, and with ſo much ſucceſs, that many loyal ſubjects were obliged to compromiſe with them from motives of fear, to take their oaths, and to enter into their ſyſtem.

At laſt, thoſe very gentlemen, who at firſt oppoſed the Orange inſtitution, perceiving that their oppoſition muſt ſoon terminate in a total ſubverſion of ſocial order, and the deſtruction of their lives and properties, encouraged with infinitely more zeal, than they had before reſiſted, its eſtabliſhment; in conſequence of which, the loyal ſubjects, animated by their united ſtrength, ſtruck the combined traitors with terror and diſmay, and reſtored energy to the execution of the laws. The ſame thing occurred in the counties of Fermanagh, Donegal, Derry, Tyrone, and Armagh, where it was obſerved it had a peculiar good effect in detaching the preſbyterians from the union.

I have been aſſured by a very reſpectable gentleman of the county of Tyrone, that its inhabitants were ſo much intimidated by anonymous threatening letters, and by the aſſaſſinations committed there, that in the lordſhip of Caledon, containing ten thouſand people, the whole of them, except about ſix or eight perſons, were ſworn; but the loyal ſubjects having entered into the Orange ſocieties, and having gained courage and confidence by their united ſtrength, renounced with indignation theſe traitorous combinations, invigorated the arm of the civil magiſtrate, and completely checked the progreſs of treaſon. The honourable general Knox,* a gentleman whoſe ſagacity is not inferior to his courage and military ſkill, which he has diſplayed in Europe, Aſia, and America, commanded at Dungannon, in the ſummer of 1798; and he aſſured government, that the inſtitution of Orange lodges was of infinite uſe, and that he would reſt the ſafety of the North on the fidelity of the orangemen who were enrolled in the yeomanry corps.

I think it right to mention, that the Orange aſſociation ſhould not be confounded, as it has often invidiouſly been, with the mutual and diſgraceful outrages which prevailed in the county of Armagh many years preceding, between the loweſt claſs of preſbyterians, under the denomination of peep-of-day boys, and the Roman catholicks, as defenders; for it was not inſtituted till the defenders manifeſted their hoſtile deſigns againſt proteſtants of every deſcription, in moſt parts of the kingdom.

In the month of May, 1797, a numerous body of delegates from the ſeveral Orange lodges in the province of Ulſter, waited on Holt Waring, eſquire, of Waring's-town, near Banbridge, and authorized him in their name to addreſs general Nugent, then commanding at Liſburn, and to inform him, that, ſhould an inſurrection or an invaſion take place, they would aſſemble to the number of twenty thouſand at four days notice, and march under his command to any part of Ireland, where their ſervices might be required.

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* It is much to be lamented, that this gentleman, who was an honour to his family and his country, has been loſt in going to the Weſt Indies.

The general gave them a moſt gracious anſwer, ſaying, that he thought himſelf highly honoured by ſuch an offer; but that he truſted, the loyal ſpirit which they manifeſted would prevent any inſurrection; and that he hoped, we ſhould ſoon ſit down in peace, with this pleaſing reflection, that the orangemen have been true to their profeſſions, notwithſtanding the falſe inſinuations of the diſaffected to the contrary, and their artifices to ſeduce them from their duty.

In the year 1798, the 12th of July, 1691, was celebrated by a general proceſſion of orangemen at Lurgan, which, from their numbers, conſiſting of between fifteen and twenty thouſand, continued for more than three hours and a half.

Generals Lake and Nugent attended there to view them, and expreſſed their aſtoniſhment at their numbers. This proceſſion, in which there were eighty-nine ſtands of colours, with many elegant devices, was carried on in a moſt peaceful manner, without the ſmalleſt irregularity. On the ſame day general Lake reviewed a numerous body of orangemen near Belfaſt.

Borlaſe tells us, that in the year 1641, the lords juſtices invited the Roman catholick lords and gentlemen of the pale to come to Dublin, and aſſiſt them in preventing ſtrife or ſedition; but they refuſed, under a pretext that every perſon of their order was to be maſſacred, which was done merely to alarm the lower claſs of Roman catholicks, and inſpire them with vengeance againſt proteſtants; and for the ſame reaſon the diſaffected aſſerted, in the years 1797 and 1798, that all perſons of that order were to be murdered by orangemen.

James Beaghan, executed on Vinegar-hill the twenty-fourth of June, 1799, for various murders, which, he ſaid, he was inſtigated by popiſh prieſts to commit, confeſſed, that "every man that was a proteſtant was called an orangeman, and every one was to be killed, from the pooreſt man in the country. They thought it no more ſin to kill a proteſtant than a dog." See his confeſſion at large in Appendix, No. XIX. 8.

However uſeful the Orange inſtitution may be in a country where the members of the eſtabliſhed church are numerous, it muſt be allowed that it muſt have been injurious where there are but few, becauſe it only tended to excite the vengeance of the Romaniſts againſt them; and they could not unite with celerity, and in ſufficient numbers, for their defence. It ſhould not be admitted in our regular army, or militia, conſiſting of both, as it would be likely to create party zeal and diſcord.

As ſoon as the maſſacres perpetrated at Vinegar-hill and Scullabogue were known in the North, numbers of preſbyterians, of whom ſome had been diſaffected, and others lukewarm, in the counties of Armagh, Tyrone, Fermanagh, and Donegal, trembling for their ſafety, became orangemen; and general Knox, depending on their zeal and ſincerity, embodied them, and procured arms for them from government.

In the year 1792, when the diſſemination of treaſon and the formation of ſeditious clubs, in London, threatened the immediate deſtruction of the conſtitution, Mr. Reeves, by ſeaſonably encouraging loyal ſocieties, checked the progreſs and the baneful effects of their doctrines. The inſtitution of orangemen did not differ from them in the ſmalleſt degree.

I give the following extracts from Harris's Life of king William, to ſhew that the Iriſh Roman catholicks in the year 1689, propagated reports of the malevolent deſigns of the proteſtants towards their order, ſimilar to thoſe which were ſet on foot of the orangemen, and for the ſame purpoſe:

"In the mean time, the Iriſh papiſts throughout the kingdom, proceeded in impeaching the proteſtants of traitorous deſigns; but their plots were ſo ridiculouſly contrived, and made up of ſuch palpable contradictions and incongruities, that they ſerved only to demonſtrate the innocence of the accuſed, and inveteracy of the informers. Theſe impeachments failing of the intent, they applied themſelves to other courſes, many turned tories and highwaymen, houſebreakers, and ſtealers of cattle, and were guilty of ſo many enormities to the Engliſh, that thouſands were forced to deſert the kingdom, and paſs into England, under as great fears and jealouſies as if there had been an open rebellion, and five hundred together tranſported themſelves to the Engliſh foreign plantations." *

"The Iriſh pretended, that the proteſtants aſſembled in great numbers in the night time; and, to gain the more credit, the vulgar Iriſh were inſtructed to forſake their houſes, and to hide every night in the bogs, pretending a fear, that the Engliſh would, in that dead ſeaſon, cut their throats; a practice, as notorious among them, as unheard-of among proteſtants, and for which there neither was, nor could be, the leaſt foundation; for their infinitely-ſuperior numbers to the Engliſh, in ſome parts an hundred families to one, ſhewed how ridiculous the invention was; and they were convinced, both by the practice of the proteſtants, and the principles of their religion, that they were not men of blood. Whoever conſiders the genius of the Reformed and Romiſh churches in this particular, muſt needs acknowledge a ſtrange oppoſition between them. However, with what malice and injuſtice ſoever the Engliſh were repreſented as nightwalkers, with deſign of murdering the Iriſh, yet examinations of thoſe charges were taken by juſtices of the peace, calculated for the purpoſe, and tranſmitted to the lords juſtices and council; upon which, by the king's directions, a proclamation was iſſued, forbidding all night meetings, though the lords juſtices well knew there was no ſuch practice." †

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* Harris's life of King William III. edit. of 1749, Dub. folio. p. 107. † Ibid. p. 105.

ORIGIN OF THE CATHOLICK COMMITTEE.

THE Abbé O'Connor ſays, in the life of his grandfather Charles O'Connor, the Iriſh antiquary, page 330, "that he, doctor Curry, and Mr. Wyſe of Waterford, firſt thought of eſtabliſhing a Roman catholick committee in the city of Dublin, in the year 1757."

"The firſt meeting was held at the Globe coffee-houſe, in Eſſex-ſtreet, and only ſeven gentlemen attended: Mr. O'Connor, Mr. Wyſe of Waterford, doctor Curry, doctor Jennings, Anthony Mc. Dermott, Mr. James Reynolds of Aſh-ſtreet, and another gentleman, whoſe name I could not find among the original letters now in my poſſeſſion."

Their numbers ſoon increaſed, and they aſſembled and determined with the greateſt ſecreſy on the beſt and moſt likely means of procuring a reſtoration of thoſe privileges which they had been formerly deprived of.

They, at ſome period, which I cannot aſcertain, aſſimilated to the confederate catholicks, aſſembled at Kilkenny in the year 1641; for members duly elected and returned by towns and diſtricts, in almoſt every part of the kingdom, ſat in it; gentlemen of landed eſtate had a right to a ſeat there; and they ſoon began to regulate their proceedings according to the form and ſolemnity of a parliament.

Theſe particulars are fully proved by the following reſolution, which they entered into the fifteenth day of November, 1783:

"Sir Patrick Bellew, in the chair.

"Reſolved, That we feel ourſelves particularly called upon to declare, that this committee conſiſts of every Roman catholick nobleman and gentleman of landed property, and of other gentlemen, choſen by their fellow-ſubjects of that perſuaſion in Dublin, and other principal parts of the kingdom."

"Reſolved, That thus conſtituted, we have, for *ſeveral years paſt*, been the medium through which the voice of the Roman catholicks of Ireland has been conveyed, and the only one competent thereto."

At a ſeſſion held by them on the tenth of February, 1791, ſtyled a meeting of the general committee of the Roman catholicks of Ireland, they reſolved, "That the ſeveral papers now read, containing reſolutions and inſtructions from this city, and from the principal cities and towns of Ireland, be referred to a committee of eight, who ſhall report thereon to this committee, on Friday the eighteenth inſtant."

They aſſembled again on the eighteenth of February, the late earl of Fingal in the chair, when the report was received, and the committee of eight produced a petition, which was to have been preſented to parliament, praying a repeal of ſome of the reſtrictive laws; but after different interviews with Mr. Hobart, the lord lieutenant's ſecretary, it was reſolved not to preſent it that ſeſſion.

In a report, made the eighteenth of April, 1791, by the committee of eight, after ſtating the interviews and diſcuſſions which they had held with the lords Fingal and Kenmare, and Mr. Hobart, they caſt ſevere cenſures on thoſe noble lords, as if they had, by their conduct, thrown obſtacles in the way of preſenting the petition, which, however, lord Kenmare preſented to the lord lieutenant, on the twenty-ſeventh of December, 1791, as the addreſs of the Roman catholicks of Ireland, which contained ſtrong expreſſions of loyalty and of attachment to the conſtitution.

They reſolve in it, to apply to parliament in the next ſeſſion, for a further repeal of the reſtrictive laws; and they ſay, that they do not preſume to point out the meaſure or extent to which ſuch repeal ſhould be carried, but leave it to the wiſdom and diſcretion of parliament, confiding in their liberality and benevolence.

It breathed that ſpirit of mildneſs and moderation which appeared in all their proceedings, while they were regulated by the nobility and gentry of the Roman catholick perſuaſion.

It was ſigned by the lords Fingal, Gormanſtown, Kenmare, doctor Troy, titular archbiſhop of Dublin, and by moſt of the landholders and reſpectable gentlemen of their perſuaſion in the kingdom.

On the ſixth of January, 1792, the general committee of the Roman catholicks in Dublin publiſhed reſolutions, condemning the addreſs preſented by the late lord Kenmare on the twenty-ſeventh of December, 1791, as ſurreptitiouſly obtained, and not containing the real ſenſe of the Catholick body; and they reſolved to addreſs the lord lieutenant, to ſignify to his majeſty their reaſons for withdrawing their ſignatures from ſaid addreſs. They reſolved, that lord Kenmare had entirely forfeited their confidence, by his late conduct in procuring, by his own exertions, and thoſe of his emiſſaries, certain ſervile and inſidious addreſſes, calculated to divide the catholicks of Ireland, and eventually to defeat their juſt applications for relief from the grievous oppreſſions under which they laboured. They alſo ſtruck out his name from the liſt of the committee of eight.

The turbulent leaders of that aſſembly were very much enraged againſt his lordſhip, becauſe he had preſented a loyal addreſs in the name of the Roman catholicks of the county of Kerry, containing expreſſions of concern, that certain inflammatory writings had appeared, and that aſſociations had been attempted to be formed, which might poſſibly ſow the ſeeds of diſcontent among the lower claſſes of their perſuaſion. *

Parochial meetings were held in different parts of the kingdom, in which addreſſes were voted to the general

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* Such ſeditious publications frequently appeared at that time in the publick prints, and aſſociations were formed in many parts of the kingdom, in order to agitate the popiſh multitude.

general committee, reflecting on the lords Fingal and Kenmare, and recommending their expulſion.

The Catholick ſociety, compoſed of ſome diſcontented members of the Catholick committee, ſeceded from them in the year 1791, and continued to act as a ſeparate body.

They announced that their object was to obtain a repeal of the popery laws; they invited their fellow-ſufferers throughout the kingdom to unite with them for that purpoſe; and they aſſerted, that it is the intereſt of every man in the kingdom, that the entire ſhould be aboliſhed.

The lords Fingal and Kenmare, and ſir Patrick Bellew, were at the head of the committee, till the beginning of the year 1792, when they, and above ſixty reſpectable Roman catholick gentlemen, diſguſted and alarmed at their intemperate proceedings, ſeceded.

Some of its demagogues, who had revolutionary deſigns, fearing that the moderation and loyalty of theſe noblemen and gentlemen would check them in their furious career, made the committee ſo unpleaſant to them, that they prudently reſolved on retiring from it. Lord Fingal was voted out of the chair, in rather a tumultuous manner, and Thomas Braughall was voted into it; on which his lordſhip ſaid, "Sir, I wiſh you luck with it."

I have been aſſured, that lord Fingal declared, ſoon after this event, that he ſhould be very ſorry to ſee the members of his church put on an equal footing with thoſe of the eſtabliſhed religion; dreading, I preſume, the effects of their fanatical zeal.

A writer of their own perſuaſion, doctor Mc. Kenna, made the following ſtrictures on their intemperate conduct at that time, in which he depicted the committee as it then ſtood: "If ever there ſhould ariſe among us a ridiculous cabal of men, ambitious of rule, without abilities to regulate, who, actuated by vanity and jealouſy, will endeavour to eſtrange from our cauſe the men of rank, and diſguſt its natural leaders, and diſcountenance men of letters, its natural auxiliaries; ſuch perſons may mean well, but their good intentions will only retard, not avert, what they well deſerve, the execration of the body, whoſe opinions they caricature, and whoſe intereſt they injure."

"I am obliged reluctantly to expreſs, (what the entire nation muſt perceive,) that the few gentlemen of the metropolis, the ſub-committee of catholicks, who have hitherto aſſumed the direction of buſineſs, ſtand in need of coadjutors. I queſtion their prudence, not their zeal, not their intentions; but their reflection, foreſight, and political ſagacity. It is time the cauſe of a great people ſhould aſſume the appearance of ſyſtem. For the laſt ten months it has fluctuated before the publick in the hands of unſkilful managers, without even the dignity of ſteadineſs, advancing and retreating, aſſerting and retracting, with the giddineſs of ſchool boys, and the random of a game of nine pins."

The proceedings of the committee were then governed by Edward Byrne, John Keogh, Randal Mc. Donnell, Thomas Braughall, John Sweetman,* and Richard Mc. Cormick. They had three ſecretaries, the two latter and Theobald Wolfe Tone, who turned out to be notorious traitors, and whoſe characters I ſhall deſcribe in the ſequel.

The claims of the committee were moderate as yet, compared to thoſe which they made a few months after; for at a meeting held the fourth of February, 1792, Edward Byrne in the chair, they declared that they expected no more than,

1ſt, Admiſſion to the profeſſion and practice of the law.

2d, Capacity to ſerve on county magiſtracies.

3d, A right to be ſummoned and ſerve on grand and petit juries.

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* He was eſteemed in publick life for unſullied integrity, and in private, for every domeſtick virtue; but he yielded to the prejudices of his religion on this occaſion.

4th, A right of voting in counties only, for proteſtant members of parliament, in ſuch a manner however as that a Roman catholick freeholder ſhould not vote, unleſs he either rents or cultivates a farm of 20l. per annum, in addition to his 40s. freehold, or that he ſhall be in poſſeſſion of a freehold of 20l. a year.

They ſaid, that they thus publiſh their expectations, in vindication of themſelves; as their enemies, to injure them, aſſert that they expect more.

In the beginning of the year 1792, there was a correſpondence between Sinclare Kelburn, a preſbyterian miniſter at Belfaſt, as chairman of a town meeting of its republican inhabitants, held in a meeting-houſe, and Edward Byrne, as chairman of the Roman catholick committee, at that time ſitting in Dublin.

The ſudden union and fraternity of two ſects, who were formerly as hoſtile to each other as they were to the ſtate, muſt have had a queſtionable appearance in the eyes of every perſon intereſted in its preſervation. *

Kelburn was an active demagogue at Belfaſt, the maſs of whoſe inhabitants are preſbyterians; and his conduct as an agitator was ſo flagrant, that government found themſelves under an indiſpenſable neceſſity of having him committed on charges of a ſerious nature, in the year 1797.

This man, as chairman of the town-meeting at Belfaſt, wrote to Edward Byrne, then at the head of the Catholick committee, to ſend him a declaration of the religious tenets of Roman catholicks, that he might read and explain them to the members of the town meeting, uſually held in his meeting-houſe.

The leaders of the conſpiracy for ſubverting the conſtitution, well knowing the antipathy which had always exiſted between the preſbyterians and papiſts, and that they could not indulge the moſt diſtant hope

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* This flirting between John and Peter, began during the American war, as I before obſerved.

hope of effecting a revolution without the concurrence of the former, uſed their moſt ſtrenuous exertions to reconcile and unite the two orders, who were well inclined individually to ſubvert the conſtitution, and they began with the factious demagogues of Belfaſt, the focus of republicaniſm, as they had very great influence over the preſbyterians of the North.

Edward Byrne having aſſembled the leading Roman catholicks of Dublin on the twenty-third of March, 1792, they framed a declaration of their tenets, which their chairman forwarded to Kelburn, and he read it in his meeting-houſe to his levelling ſectaries, who expreſſed their approbation of it by acclamation.

This declaration was ſigned by doctor Troy, titular archbiſhop of Dublin, Edward Byrne, and Richard Mc. Cormick.*

In the rebellion which broke out in the year 1798, the Romaniſts violated every principle which they pretended to maintain in it, and followed and reduced to practice the old deleterious doctrines which they affected to renounce.

The popiſh inhabitants of Belfaſt and its vicinity, in imitation of thoſe in Dublin, aſſembled on the ſixth of April, 1792, James Mooney in the chair, adopted their declaration, and ſent it to Edward Byrne, Theobald Wolfe Tone, and Todd Jones. Tone, the ſecretary and agent of the Catholick committee, was detected in a conſpiracy with the reverend Mr. Jackſon, in the year 1794, for bringing the French into Ireland; but was permitted, through the miſtaken lenity of government, to tranſport himſelf, and even obtained a ſum of money for that purpoſe.

He was afterwards taken by ſir John B. Warren, in a French ſquadron, on the northern coaſt of Ireland, on the twelfth of October, 1798, being attached as an officer to a body of French troops, who were coming to invade Ireland. He was tried and convicted of high treaſon; but put a period to his exiſtence, before the ſentence of the court could be executed.

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* Tranſported for being a traitor.

When the Roman catholick committee aſſembled on the twenty-third of March, 1792, to frame a declaration of their tenets, a debate took place, which ſhewed the deſigns and the raſhneſs of that body.

A Mr. O'Sullivan ſaid, "That they did not lament the abſence of the landholders, nor did they wiſh for their preſence, till they had repented of their political ſins. If they were preſent, the aſſembly would be contaminated by a ſet of ſelf-intereſted hypocrites, who preferred their private advantage to the good of the community to which they belonged; hypocrites, who had not courage to act right, and who were afraid to ſpeak the truth."

Many groſs untruths were uttered there, to impoſe on the publick, and to inflame the popiſh multitude.

John Keogh, who had chief ſway in the committee, and guided all their movements, ſaid, that a gentleman of high rank told him a few days before, that he was obliged, with great regret, to tranſport whole villages,* to prevent his loſing his election: Now I will take upon me to ſay, that no inſtance can be proved of a papiſt being deprived of his farm, for the purpoſe of ſubſtituting a proteſtant.

Mr. Mc. Laughlin ſaid, "By this declaration, ſanctioned by our moſt reſpectable prelate, will our proteſtant brethren be reſcued from *fears and ſuperſtitious* prejudices, which, however ill-founded, muſt have made too deep an impreſſion on their minds, as having imbibed them from their earlieſt education."

In the month of February, 1792, a petition was preſented to the houſe of commons, on behalf of the Roman catholicks, ſtating, that they expected no other extenſion of their privileges, than what was announced by their committee on the fourth of February.

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* Meaning of Roman catholicks.

February. It was conceived in ſuch diſreſpectful and indecorous terms, that the gentleman who preſented it requeſted permiſſion to withdraw it.

The committee was ſo much aſhamed of it, that they attempted to ſubſtitute another petition, more decent and temperate, in its place, which they had printed in many newſpapers and magazines; but the original was publiſhed in the Northern Star of the twenty-eighth of April, 1792.

Another petition, preſented ſoon after, was rejected. The numbers for its rejection were 202, for receiving it 25.

The honourable Denis Browne, who gave it the warmeſt ſupport, expatiated largely on the loyalty and the peaceable deportment of the Roman catholicks, whom he and his family vindicated and panegyrized on all occaſions; but in the rebellion which broke out in the year 1798, they experienced an extraordinary degree of ingratitude from them.

On the third of March, 1792, at a poſt aſſembly held in Dublin, conſiſting of the lord mayor, the ſheriffs, commons, and citizens, they voted their thanks to the 202 members of the houſe of commons, who rejected the petition of the Roman catholicks, for obtaining the elective franchiſe.

On the twelfth of the ſame month, the Catholick ſociety, Theobald Mc. Kenna in the chair, Thomas Braughall, ſecretary, condemned, in rather ſevere language, the reſolutions of the poſt aſſembly; and thanked the minority in parliament, who ſupported their claims. Not only the grand juries at the ſubſequent aſſizes, but the Proteſtant and Roman catholick inhabitants of many counties and towns aſſembled, and followed their example; the former, thanking the majority in parliament, and declaring their determination to maintain the conſtitution as it then ſtood; the latter, the minority, and reſolving that they would perſevere in aſſerting their claims; by which the paſſions of both parties were very much inflamed.

About the ſame time, parochial meetings were held in different parts of the kingdom, where the loweſt orders of Roman catholicks aſſembled, debated on their rights, cenſured the conduct of the grand juries, and applauded that of their delegates in the Catholick committee, which engendered univerſal diſcontent and diſſatisfaction among the popiſh multitude.

The reader may form an opinion of the ſpirit of commotion which their leaders endeavoured to excite among the popiſh multitude, ſo early as the month of January, 1792, when their warm and uniform advocate, ſir Hercules Langriſh, ſaid, in the houſe of commons, "That, notwithſtanding my prepoſſeſſions in favour of the Roman catholicks, I was checked for ſome time in my ardour to ſerve them, by reading of late a multitude of publications and paragraphs in the newſpapers, and other publick prints, circulated *gratis* with the utmoſt induſtry, purporting to convey the ſentiments of the catholicks. —What was their import?—they were exhortations to the people never to be ſatisfied at any conceſſion, till the ſtate itſelf was conceded; they were precautions againſt publick tranquillity; they were invitations to diſorder, and covenants of diſcontent; they were oſtentations of ſtrength, rather than ſolicitations for favours; rather appeals to the powers of the people, than applications to the authority of the ſtate; they involved the relief of the catholick, with the revolution of the government; and were diſſertations for democracy, rather than arguments for toleration."

At this time the Iriſh Roman catholicks had more civil liberty than the moſt favoured ſubjects of any ſtate in Europe, except England, and much more than the proteſtant ſubjects of any Roman catholick ſtate.

A Calviniſt teacher, if detected and convicted in certain provinces in France, was puniſhed with death; and thoſe who gave him a ſupper or a bed, were ſent to the gallies for life.

On the fourteenth of April, 1792, the general committee, Edward Byrne in the chair, Richard Mc. Cormick, ſecretary, voted an addreſs of thanks to Mr. John Keogh,* which was to be preſented by a committee of five. They aſſert in it, "That his conduct, reſolute without raſhneſs, and firm without obſtinacy, has reſtored the general committee to the ſenſe and practice of their duties; and the Catholick community to the knowledge and aſſertion of their rights."

In the ſeſſion of parliament in 1792, the following privileges were granted to the Roman catholicks:

That, after the twenty-fourth of June, 1792, they may practiſe as barriſters and attornies; that proteſtants and papiſts may intermarry; that popiſh ſchool-maſters need not obtain licenſes from the ordinary to keep ſchool; and all reſtrictions as to foreign education were removed.

Theſe favours, which parliament granted with a good grace, were certainly obtained through the mediation of lord Kenmare; yet they loaded him with opprobrium, ſpurned at them, and reſolved to ſucceed by a ſyſtem of terror in the whole of their ambitious deſigns.

The general committee having got rid of the nobility and gentry of their perſuaſion,† reſolved, by every means, however unwarrantable, to obtain a total repeal of the popery laws; and thinking that they might intimidate the government, by putting the maſs of the people in motion, Edward Byrne, by their order, iſſued writs to every county, and to many towns and diſtricts, deſiring certain perſons therein to hold elections, and to chooſe repreſentatives, who were to be returned forthwith to Dublin, for the purpoſe of forming a convention; and he mentions, in his circular letter, that their chairman had actually left Dublin, with an intention of going through a great part of Ireland to promote this deſign.

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* He has conſiderable abilities, and was the moſt ambitious and enterpriſing member of the committee; and, it is believed, adviſed the expulſion of the nobility and gentry from it.

† It is very abſurd of the Roman catholick nobility and gentry to pledge themſelves for the fidelity of the maſs of their communion, for they have no control over them, and are entirely devoted to their prieſts.

The elections were to be held (according to the plan adopted by the republicans in France,) in the Roman catholick chapels in every diſtrict.

He ſays, in his circular letter, that frequent conſultations were held, for the laudable purpoſe of reuniting to the committee lord Fingal, and the other gentlemen who had withdrawn from it; and yet he aſſerts, that the plan encloſed was ſanctioned by lord Fingal, and thoſe very gentlemen who had left the committee in the month of January preceding, by which he was guilty of a groſs inconſiſtency.

We may conceive, how much the ſemibarbarous popiſh rabble, tumultuoſly aſſembled in their reſpective chapels, muſt have been agitated by ſuch a procedure.

The writs were obeyed, the elections were made with the utmoſt celerity, the convention aſſembled, and began its ſeſſion on the third of December, 1792, and was ridiculouſly called the Back-lane parliament; becauſe it ſat in Tailors-hall in that ſtreet.

At a poſt aſſembly, conſiſting of the lord mayor, ſheriffs, commons, and citizens of the city of Dublin, held the eleventh day of September, 1792, they condemned the object of Edward Byrne's circular letter; and reſolved, in ſpirited reſolutions, to maintain the conſtitution in church and ſtate. See them in Appendix, No. III.

The proteſtants were encouraged to adopt this procedure, by the ſpirited and determined manner with which the government rejected the demands of the papiſts; and the aſſurances which they received from its leading members, that the Romaniſts never ſhould obtain any ſhare of political power, induced them to ſpeak out, and with firmneſs, by which the two ſects were committed. Soon after, government having ſwerved from their opinion, and conceded the whole of what they had peremptorily refuſed, encouraged the Roman catholicks to riſe in their demands, particularly becauſe the former were thought to have been influenced by terror, as the defenders were at that time deſolating many parts of the kingdom, and were terrifick in the environs of the capital. To this ſyſtem of terror, ſucceeded by conceſſion, we may in a great meaſure impute the rebellion.

As the Roman catholick committee reſolved on the fifteenth of January, 1783, that the Roman catholicks of Ireland were fully and completely repreſented in that aſſembly, we ſhould be inclined to think, that this new plan of election would have been unneceſſary, and that it was brought about merely to put the popiſh multitude into a ſtate of commotion, to alarm and overawe the government.

A member of the Back-lane parliament, who quitted it on account of its raſh and intemperate proceedings, aſſured me, that on their firſt meeting they reſolved, not to petition parliament as Roman catholicks, but as Iriſhmen. This was done with a view of inducing the preſbyterians to unite with them; by inſinuating, that they had no particular object on the ground of religion, but were actuated by a pure and diſintereſted love of liberty; and this was originally the main object of the united Iriſhmen.

The proteſtants were ſo much alarmed at this bold and extraordinary procedure of Edward Byrne, in iſſuing writs for electing a popiſh convention, that the grand juries, at the ſummer aſſizes of 1792, encouraged by the conduct of government, entered into ſtrong reſolutions, condemning it in ſevere terms; and declaring, that they would maintain the conſtitution, as it then ſtood, againſt all hoſtile attacks, particularly againſt the dangerous effects of democratick principles; and ſome of them vindicated the lords Fingal and Kenmare, and the reſpectable Roman catholick gentlemen who had ſeceded from the committee, from the aſperſions which had been caſt on them in the publick prints.

The latter end of the year 1792, and the beginning of the year 1793, the popiſh houſekeepers in many pariſhe aſſembled, and voted addreſſes to the general committee, in which they vilified theſe noblemen and gentlemen, and ſtrongly recommended the expulſion of lord Kenmare.

The Roman catholicks aſſembled in ſeveral counties, diſtricts, and towns, defended Edward Byrne's plan of election, and retorted with much acrimony on the reſolutions of the proteſtants. On the ſeventeenth of September, they ſubmitted a caſe to two barriſters for their opinion, to know, whether the plan adopted by Edward Byrne, for ſummoning a popiſh convention, was legal and conſtitutional? and they anſwered in the affirmative. Theſe opinions and anſwers were publiſhed in the publick prints, in order to give confidence and courage to the demagogues of the party, at that time very active in many parts of the kingdom in agitating the people.

The Back-lane parliament continued to ſit and debate for ſome time, with the doors of the room, in which they aſſembled, cloſed; and they framed an addreſs to the king, containing an exaggerated ſtatement of their grievances, which they forwarded by five delegates, ſir Thomas French, Chriſtopher Bellew, James E. Devereux, Edward Byrne, and John Keogh, eſquires.

Having gone round by Scotland, attended by their ſecretary Tone, a noted traitor, they met with a very kind and warm reception from the republican levellers of Belfaſt, who regarded the object of their miſſion as conducive to promote their wiſhes of overturning the conſtitution.

The following account of their arrival appeared in the Northern Star, a noted vehicle of treaſon:

Belfaſt, December 12th, 1792.

" At nine o'clock this morning, the delegates from the catholicks of Ireland, who were elected to preſent their petition to the king, arrived at the Donegal arms in this town, on their way (by Portpatrick) to London. Immediately on their arrival being known, a number of reſpectable inhabitants waited on, and breakfaſted with them. They remained here about two hours; and, on their departure, the populace, who had aſſembled in the interim, took the horſes from their coach, and having faſtened ropes to it, dragged them throughout the town, quite over the long bridge on the road to Donaghadee; and then permitted the horſes to be put to, amidſt the loudeſt huzzas of "ſucceſs attend you," "union," "equal laws," and "down with the aſcendancy." The delegates politely returned thanks for this ſtrong mark of affection; declared their determination to maintain that union which formed the ſtrength of Ireland; and proceeded on their way, accompanied with three cheers."

His majeſty was pleaſed, in conſequence of the addreſs of the Roman catholicks, to recommend to parliament in his ſpeech in January, 1793, to take into ſerious conſideration the ſituation of the Roman catholicks; and, in compliance with his majeſty's benevolent intentions, they repealed the whole of the reſtrictive laws, except thoſe which excluded them from ſitting in parliament, and from about thirty great offices of ſtate, which are immediately concerned in the confidential departments of the executive government.

We ſhall find, in the ſequel, that theſe very liberal conceſſions by no means ſatisfied the Roman catholicks.

The debate which took place in the houſe of commons, on the bill for granting theſe conceſſions to the Roman catholicks, will remain a laſting monument of the depravity and frailty of human nature; for, though the defenders, a popiſh banditti, encouraged by the Catholick committee, were committing murder and robbery at that very time in many parts of the kingdom, ſome members praiſed them for their ſteady loyalty, their peaceable deportment, and reſpect for the laws.*

The reſolutions of a numerous body of diſſenters, aſſembled at Croſarule, in the county of Cavan, on the third of February, 1793, throw an oblique cenſure on the inconſiſtency of theſe gentlemen in parliament. They ſtate and complain of "the enormities committed by the defenders, in plundering the houſes of proteſtants of arms, and other property, as if they meant to compel the legiſlature, by intimidation, to grant a relaxation of the popery laws, which they were on the point of conceding from motives of liberality."

In moſt parts of the country, the preſbyterians held the defenders in ſuch abhorrence, and were ſo unwilling to commit any outrages, that they often joined and aſſiſted the king's troops, who, at different times, were wantonly attacked, when on their march, by this banditti. But the republicans of Belfaſt laboured with unceaſing ſedulity, and at laſt with ſucceſs, in corrupting great numbers of them.

On the twenty-fifth of April, 1793, the general committee of Roman catholicks aſſembled at Tailors-hall, and agreed to an addreſs of thanks to his majeſty for the benefits they had received, to the lord lieutenant, and to both houſes of parliament; and, after tranſacting ſome buſineſs, they reſolved, that with pleaſure and gratitude they obſerved, that the houſe of commons had unanimouſly taken into conſideration parliamentary reform; and they moſt earneſtly exhorted the catholicks of Ireland, to cooperate with their proteſtant brethren to carry into effect a meaſure ſo eſſential to the freedom, happineſs and proſperity of Ireland. After which, they diſſolved themſelves.

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* Though there iſſued a proclamation on the thirteenth of February, againſt the defenders who were deſolating many counties, it is ſtated in the preamble of the act of parliament for their relief, "that, from their peaceable and loyal demeanour, it is fit that the reſtraints and diſabilities ſhould be diſcontinued."

They alluded to the debate which took place in the month of January, on a motion for an addreſs to his majeſty, when the heads and repreſentatives of the principal families of the kingdom declared in the houſe of commons, in the moſt unequivocal manner, their willingneſs to ſacrifice their parliamentary intereſt and influence, in conformity to the wiſhes of the people, for reforming the houſe of commons. Their weakneſs and puſillanimity on that occaſion afforded peculiar pleaſure to that intriguing body, the Catholick committee, as they hoped that it would lead to their favourite object, the eſtabliſhment of a republick.

The extraordinary inconſiſtency of the Iriſh parliament, in rejecting with indignant contempt the claims of the Roman catholicks in the year 1792, and the tameneſs with which they now conceded, much more than what had been at that time demanded, joined to their fears and imbecility in expreſſing their wiſhes to renounce their power and pre-eminence to gratify a democratick faction, muſt convince every Iriſhman of ſpirit and common ſenſe, that ſuch an aſſembly, conſtantly oſcillating between one extreme and another, and convulſed by party zeal, was incapable of promoting the peace and proſperity of his native country; and that he muſt depend for its accompliſhment on nothing but the firmneſs, the wiſdom, and diſintereſtedneſs of an Imperial parliament.

As excluſive ſalvation, of all the doctrines of the Romiſh church, is the moſt fatal to the peace and ſecurity of ſociety, doctor Duigenan, a gentleman of great ſagacity, extenſive erudition, and of diſtinguiſhed firmneſs and integrity of mind, propoſed that a clauſe of the following tenor ſhould be inſerted in an oath of allegiance, preſcribed by the law which was then paſſing through the houſe of commons, for relief of the Roman catholicks: Nor do we believe, that any other ſect of chriſtians are, of courſe, to be doomed to eternal damnation hereafter, and that they may not enter into a ſtate of ſalvation, becauſe they happen to differ from us in religious tenets. But all their eccleſiaſticks, and the leading members of the laity declared, that the fundamental principles of their religion rendered ſuch an oath inadmiſſible.

The reader may judge of the ſincerity of the Roman catholick committee, from the following tranſaction:

It appears by a report of the ſecret committee of the houſe of lords, publiſhed in 1793, inſtituted for the purpoſe of inveſtigating the origin and cauſe of the ſpirit of treaſon and diſaffection which the defenders manifeſted in many parts of the kingdom, that ſalutary meaſures might be adopted to prevent the progreſs of it; that John Sweetman, ſecretary of the Roman catholick committee in Dublin, wrote letters to a perſon in Dundalk, of the name of Coleman, of conſiderable opulence, and of the Roman catholick perſuaſion, relative to the defenders, numbers of whom were then impriſoned in that town; and in one of them, dated the ninth of Auguſt, 1792,* he, in the name of the Roman catholick committee, directed enquiries to be made, touching the offences of which the culprits were accuſed. By this report it appears, that the Roman catholick committee were warmly intereſted about the defenders; and that the perſon to whom the letter was addreſſed, did employ, at a conſiderable expence, an agent and counſel, to act for ſeveral perſons, who were then in priſon under an accuſation of being defenders.

They were well able to do ſo; for in the years 1792 and 1793 they levied an immenſe ſum of money on the members of their religion, in every part of the kingdom, which appears by a circular letter, dated the fifth of February, 1793, publiſhed in ſaid report of the houſe of lords,† in which they ſay, that the object is, the raiſing a fund to defray the heavy and growing expences of the committee, in conducting

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* Report of the ſecret committee of the lords in 1793.

† Ibid.

ing the affairs of the catholicks of Ireland. See theſe letters, Appendix, No. IV.

It is obſervable, that in the letter of the ninth of Auguſt, 1792, the name of one Nugent, a defender then in priſon, is mentioned.

The Roman catholicks of the city of Dublin, aſſembled in November, 1792, ſtated in their declaration, that they never will forego the hopes of emancipation; that they defy the malice of invention to produce any one inſtance of their having ever made any efforts in favour of a popiſh king, or French connections, ſince they conſented to a Revolution in 1691; and that their inclinations are not to ſubvert any one eſtabliſhment. They admit, "that from the moment the proteſtant began to make conceſſions, the Roman catholick began to extend his claims; and in their addreſs preſented at St. James's in January, 1793, they ſpeak of their unvarying loyalty, peaceable demeanour, and ſubmiſſion to the laws, for one hundred years, and their determination to perſevere in the ſame."

At this time, as I before obſerved, they enjoyed more extenſive privileges than the Roman catholick ſubjects of any proteſtant ſtate in Europe, even thoſe in England, and by far more than proteſtants living under any popiſh government.

Why they roſe in their claims, ſo moderate at firſt, may be accounted for in the following manner:

Knowing that Mr. Edmund Burke, a warm favourer of popery, had in a high degree conciliated the eſteem of our gracious ſovereign, and the government of England, by his ingenious and energetic writings againſt the extravagant theories and frantick proceedings of the French republicans; they reſolved to employ his ſon, an over-weening, petulant young man, to be their agent, in forwarding their pretenſions; hoping, thereby, to enſure the weight and conſideration of his father for that purpoſe. They then ſent one of their body to London, in September, 1791, to Mr. Richard Burke, who, through his father, rendered them the moſt important ſervices;* and ſoon after having gone to Ireland, he made a moſt extenſive circuit there, and in the courſe of it, viſited many of the nobility and gentry, and endeavoured to conciliate them to ſupport the claims of the Roman catholicks. As he was their hired agent, we are not to impute his conduct to diſintereſted and generous motives; though we may infer that he had a predilection for popery, from the ſtrong attachment which his father had to it, and becauſe his mother was a moſt rigid papiſt. Though he did not attain the object of his miſſion, he awakened the ambition of the Roman catholicks, and gave them the ſtrongeſt aſſurances, that a ſteady perſeverance in their claims would finally produce a total repeal of the popery laws.

The ſucceſs of the French on the continent, to whom the Iriſh Roman catholicks were, on former occaſions, very much attached, and the invitation of the former, to the ſubjects of every nation in Europe, to riſe againſt their reſpective governments, elevated their hopes, and filled them with expectations, that the parliament would be impelled by motives of fear, to grant what their policy and prudence might have refuſed. To theſe cauſes we may impute the ſudden riſe in their demands, and their condemnation and renunciation on the ſixteenth of January, 1792, of the addreſs preſented by lord Kenmare, to the viceroy, on the twenty-ſeventh of December preceding.

It appears by the ſpeech of Mr. John Keogh, in the debate of the Roman catholicks, aſſembled on the twenty-third of March, 1792, in Dublin, that there was an interior cabinet in the Catholick committee, with the ſecrets of which the nobility and gentry had been unacquainted; for he calls thoſe who had ſigned the loyal addreſs preſented by lord Kenmare, "ſixty-eight dupes, many of whom were totally ignorant of the negotiation going on at the foot of our throne."

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* This was ſtated by Mr. John Keogh in his ſpeech.

Mr. Keogh ſaid, “ That, from the negotiation in London, there was every reaſon to expect, that, though a great and vaſt catalogue of reſtrictions would be retained, yet ſufficient would be removed, to afford protection to all the claſſes of our people.”

“ I now come to what is more pleaſing; that is, to ſtate my opinion, that the time is not remote, when we ſhall meet to join with heart and voice, in the ſincereſt gratitude to parliament and to government. When that day arrives, and it will ſoon arrive, you will then prove your juſt and unfeigned gratitude to your deliverers, to government, to the legiſlature, to the illuſtrious men who eſpouſed your cauſe in parliament, to the virtuous, patriotick, and enlightened citizens of Belfaſt, the firſt (let it never be forgotten) who came forward as a body to apply to parliament for our relief.”

From the confidence with which Mr. Keogh expreſſed himſelf, we may infer, that he knew that their ambaſſador in London had received ſecret aſſurances from high authority that they would ſucceed in their expectations; but it is to be lamented, that their attainment did not ſatisfy them, and prevent their body from proceeding afterwards to deſperate exceſſes.

As a very large ſum of money had been levied on the Roman catholicks, it is not improbable that their ambaſſador, who repaired to London in the year 1791, applied, with the aſſiſtance of Mr. Burke, a large portion of it to very good purpoſes; for, otherwiſe, how can we account for the extraordinary and ſudden change which took place in the opinion of the adminiſtration of England; a change which has been fatal to the peace and proſperity of Ireland!

Mr. Keogh ſaid in that debate, ſhould we look to America, to France, to the Netherlands, to all Europe, and aſk each other, why it is that we, *as faithful ſubjects as any king in Europe can boaſt of, are reduced to ſlavery?*

The invitation of the Roman catholicks to the proteſtants to fraterniſe with them, and to extend civil and religious liberty equally to both orders, reminds us of James II.'s reign; for that monarch announced, on his arrival in Ireland, that his chief care was to ſatisfy the minds of his proteſtant ſubjects; and that the defence of their religion, their privileges and property, concerned equally his care with the recovery of his own rights; and the popiſh parliament, which he aſſembled in 1689, paſſed a law for a general liberty of conſcience; though it is well known, and the act of attainder againſt all proteſtant landholders unqueſtionably proved, that they ſecretly aimed at nothing leſs than a total extirpation of proteſtants.

ORIGIN OF THE UNITED IRISHMEN.

A PERSON who had been many years a member of the Catholick committee, gave me the following account of this inſtitution. I ſhall not take upon me to vouch its authenticity; but ſhall leave the reader to judge of it from the views and deſigns which they afterwards diſplayed.

The Catholick committee very wiſely enliſted in their ſervice ſome proteſtant barriſters of abilities, but deſperate circumſtances, and totally deſtitute of all religious principle. Though they were ſtipendiaries, and received pay, it was agreed that they ſhould appear to have volunteered in their cauſe from generous and diſintereſted motives, for the purpoſe of lulling the ſuſpicion of proteſtants in general, of decoying and attaching to the Catholick cauſe, by varniſhing it over with the ſemblance of general and abſtract liberty, ſuch perſons of that perſuaſion as had revolutionary deſigns, particularly the preſbyterians.

The honourable Simon Butler, brother of the late lord Mountgarret, and Theobald Wolfe Tone, were the leaders of this band, and the firſt perſons who engaged themſelves in the ſervice of the Catholick committee.

The laſt, who was the ſon of a mechanick, received a good education in the univerſity of Dublin, and was afterwards called to the bar; but having a wife and children, being unſucceſsful in his profeſſion, though he had diſtinguiſhed abilities, and being indigent in his circumſtances, he hoped, by promoting that innovating ſpirit which had ſhaken the foundations of many European ſtates, to ſubvert our conſtitution, and to riſe, during a ſeaſon of anarchy and confuſion, from poverty and obſcurity to wealth and celebrity. Tone informed the Catholick committee, that they could not ſucceed in their extenſive plan of emancipation, unleſs it had, at leaſt, the ſemblance of being ſanctioned and approved of by a conſiderable number of proteſtants; and knowing that the inhabitants of Belfaſt, the maſs of whom are Calviniſts, had manifeſted during the American war, when volunteering flouriſhed, an earneſt deſire of ſubverting the conſtitution, under the pretext of reforming it, propoſed to ſome republican friends in that town, to inſtitute the ſociety of united Iriſhmen, round whoſe ſtandard revolutioniſts of every religious perſuaſion were to rally.

Tone, their hired agent, knew, that if the repeal of the reſtrictive laws was propoſed by a numerous body of proteſtants, it would have peculiar weight, as flowing apparently from a liberal and diſintereſted love of liberty.

Subſequent experience has proved, that aſſurances were at the ſame time given to the republicans of Belfaſt, that the Catholick committee, and ſuch of their perſuaſion as they could influence, ſhould co-operate with them in ſubverting the conſtitution.

They embraced the propoſal with alacrity, and the firſt ſociety of united Iriſhmen ſat at Belfaſt in the month of October, 1791; when Richard Simms was ſecretary.

But before I proceed further, it will be neceſſary to ſhew the deſigns of Tone and Jones, from their own publications. The former publiſhed a pamphlet, entitled, "The Northern Whig," in the year 1791, ſoon after he enliſted in the ſervice of the Catholick committee. The whole of this publication, which he entitled, in the ſecond edition, "An argument on behalf of the catholicks of Ireland," is entirely taken up in recommending a total repeal of the penal laws againſt them.

He endeavoured to put on the cloak of liberality, and the maſk of diſintereſtedneſs, by making the following declaration, in the beginning of this pamphlet: "Before I proceed to the object of this book, I think it neceſſary to acquaint the reader, that I am a proteſtant of the church of Ireland,* as by law eſtabliſhed, and

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* He was a profeſſed deiſt.

and have again and again taken all the cuſtomary oaths, by which we ſecure and appropriate to ourſelves all degrees and profeſſions, ſave one, to the utter excluſion of our Catholick brethren. I am, therefore, no further *intereſted in the event*, than as a mere lover of *juſtice*, and a ſteady deteſter of *tyranny*, whether exerciſed by one man or a million."

This work was printed by the united Iriſhmen of Belfaſt in the year 1792, and ſix thouſand copies of it were ſoon circulated, which ſhewed that a cloſe union, and an ardent deſire of mutual co-operation, exiſted between them and the Catholick committee.

In it he cenſures and vilifies the conſtitution, repreſents it as a ſyſtem of tyranny; and aſſerts, that nothing but a total repeal of the reſtrictive laws againſt Roman catholicks can reſtore it to its original purity.

This turbulent adventurer, the founder of the ſociety of united Iriſhmen, was one of the ſecretaries of the Catholick committee, and had the chief direction of both.

Mr. Todd Jones, having injured his fortune in electioneering, was led, it is ſuppoſed, by the hope of repairing it, to become their advocate, both in and out of parliament; and I have not a doubt, but that ſome other members of that aſſembly were attached to their cauſe from the ſame motives; as they often panegyriſed the Roman catholicks for their ſteady loyalty and unremitted reſpect for the laws, when they were in actual rebellion.

Mr. Jones wrote a pamphlet in the year 1792, entitled, "A letter to the ſocieties of united Iriſhmen of Belfaſt, on the reſtoration of the Catholick rights;" and he gives the following reaſons for publiſhing it:

"In cheriſhing from my early years the auguſt idea of the emancipation of the catholicks from a profligate, miſtaken, paſſionate, and impolitick farrago of ſtatutes of penalty and diſqualification, I have frequently enquired into the motives of my own mind, why I ſhould never experience apprehenſions upon this ſubject, in common with many ſelfiſh and ſome innocent antagoniſts of ſuch a glorious reſtoration to their country; and it may be pardonably objected againſt me, that poſſeſſing, from my family decline, inconſiderable property to hazard, I could not be liable to that delicate ſenſe of danger which muſt come home to the feelings of the great proteſtant proprietors; but granting I have but little comparatively at ſtake, that little is my all."

He denies that the popiſh parliament, which ſat in Dublin in the year 1689, paſſed a bill of attainder againſt all the proteſtant landholders of the kingdom, though James II. acknowledged in his diary, found in the Scotch college at Paris, that he gave his aſſent to it with reluctance, and merely to gratify his Iriſh Roman catholick ſubjects; and Harris, in his life of king William, declares, that he found it in the Rolls office; but all the acts paſſed by king James's parliament were afterwards burnt by the hands of the common hangman; and therefore Mr. Jones denies that it ever paſſed, and aſſerts, that it was fabricated by archbiſhop King, who gives a copy of it.

The firſt ſociety of united Iriſhmen at Belfaſt publiſhed their plan or proſpectus in the Northern Star in October, 1791, though it had been fabricated in Dublin.

We need no other proof of this, than that a paper, containing the original deſign of that aſſociation, was circulated in Dublin in June, 1791, which may be ſeen in page 50 of the report of the ſecret committee.

We may fairly conclude, that the heads of the Catholick committee in Dublin, and the turbulent leaders of the preſbyterians at Belfaſt, reſolved to unite their reſpective orders, for the purpoſe of ſubverting the conſtitution.

One of the moſt intelligent and efficient members of the Catholick body, and a penſioner of government, whoſe writings ſerved them materially, becauſe he aſſumed, at leaſt, the appearance of moderation on moſt occaſions, made uſe of the following menace to the proteſtant ſtate, in a pamphlet which he publiſhed in the year 1792: "Will the preſbyterian yeomanry of the North take up arms for the courtiers who enjoy penſions, for the parſons who exact tithes, and for the landlords who exact rack rents? They too are complainants; and if they unſheath the ſword again their brethren, (meaning the proteſtants of the eſtabliſhed church,) will they be likely to return it to the ſcabbard, until they have procured very ample redreſs, and removed the cauſe of their complaints? Should that people ever be embodied, tithes, boroughs, and all the arts and practices of monopoly, will inevitably fall before them."

We may infer from this, that the Roman catholicks hoped for the co-operation of the preſbyterians in their revolutionary deſigns; but the prophecy was not fulfilled; for the preſbyterian yeomen of the North continued loyal during the rebellion, though numbers of their perſuaſion were ſeduced. This odious picture of the conſtitution in church and ſtate, the hope with which this writer endeavours to inſpire the members of his ſect, that they would be joined by the preſbyterians, and the lure which he holds out to the latter, indicate the dangerous deſigns which were at that time brooding.

The Roman catholicks ſucceeded ſo eaſily at Belfaſt, that at a town-meeting held there the twenty-eighth of January, 1792, in a preſbyterian conventicle, the reverend Sinclare Kelburn, one of their miniſters and a noted demagogue, in the chair, they reſolved * to petition parliament to repeal the whole of the popery laws; but two hundred and fifty-five of the moſt reſpectable inhabitants of that town proteſted againſt it.

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* About the ſame time a revolutionary club at Belfaſt, called a reading ſociety, entered into reſolutions in favour of the Roman catholicks.

In a ſhort time after the commencement of the ſociety at Belfaſt, there were no leſs than four grand ones eſtabliſhed there, who reſolved to ſet on foot ſimilar ones in every part of the kingdom.

On the ninth of November, 1791, the united Iriſhmen of Dublin began their ſeſſion, and publiſhed their declaration, which was exactly ſimilar to that at Belfaſt; but with this difference, that a teſt was annexed to it.† The honourable Simon Butler was in the chair, and James Napper Tandy was ſecretary. I ſhall refer the reader to Appendix, No. VII. for their conſtitution and their mode of election. Revolutionary deſigns are very evident in their declaration.

On the thirtieth of December, 1791, they held a ſeſſion and adopted a circular letter, and reſolved to have it printed and diſperſed through every part of the kingdom, to encourage the formation of ſimilar ſocieties; and they annexed to it a declaration of their political principles, and the teſt which they had taken, "as a ſocial and ſacred compact to bind them more cloſely together." See Appendix, No. VIII.

On the fourteenth of September, 1792, they addreſſed the Iriſh nation, and declared their indignation at the inſidious means employed to ſtifle the Catholick voice. The whole of this addreſs was on the grievances of the Roman catholicks; and it ſtrongly recommends a total repeal of the reſtrictive laws. They ſay in it, "popery is no longer to be met with but in the ſtatute book."

It muſt ſeem extraordinary, that a ſet of men, who were deſtitute of principle and property, ſhould be ſo anxious about the intereſt of that ſect from whom they differed in religion; but Tone and Butler, the leaders of the ſociety, were their agents, and received pay from them.

In their addreſs of the fourteenth of September, 1792, to the Iriſh nation, they ſeverely condemned the county meetings and the grand juries, who thanked the majority of the houſe of commons for rejecting the petition of the Roman catholicks, and for paſſing reſolutions againſt granting the elective franchiſe to them, and for cenſuring Edward Byrne's circular letter for chooſing delegates. They condemn alſo the addreſs preſented by lord Kenmare on the twenty-ſeventh of December, 1791, with as much acrimony as the demagogues in the Catholick committee did; and becauſe it was humble and reſpectful, they called it an eleemoſynary addreſs. In ſhort, the whole of it is taken up with the claims of the Romaniſts.

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† See Appendix, No. VI.

On the twenty-third of November, 1792, William Drennan, chairman, Archibald Hamilton Rowan, ſecretary, they addreſſed the delegates for promoting a reform in Scotland; and on December the fourteenth, the volunteers of Ireland, to whom their addreſs is a direct invocation to rebellion. It directs that parochial meetings ſhould be held, and that each ſhould elect and return delegates to form a national convention; and they ſay in it, that the civil aſſembly ſhould be attended by military aſſociations.

October twenty-ſixth, they addreſſed the friends of the people at London; November twenty-fifth, the delegates for reform in Scotland; and introduce Catholick emancipation into it.

November thirtieth, they addreſſed a circular letter to all the ſocieties of united Iriſhmen in the kingdom; and reſolved to effect a better organization, and a more intimate union with the different ſocieties, than had before ſubſiſted; and to communicate all their publications to the confederated ſocieties.

On the twenty-fifth of January, 1793, they addreſſed the Iriſh nation.

November twenty-fifth, they addreſſed the Britiſh convention who had affiliated with them, and propoſed univerſal ſuffrage and annual parliaments, which the united Iriſhmen aſſented to, and reſolved to adopt.

By a report made the fourteenth of Auguſt, 1797, by a provincial meeting of delegates of Ulſter, it appears that there was a number of ſocieties of united Iriſhmen in North America, whoſe profeſſed object was to aſſiſt Ireland. *

All theſe addreſſes, which are very inflammatory, are to be found in the Appendix, No. V. of the laſt report of the ſecret committee of 1798.

It is obſervable, that the main purport of them is the repeal of the penal laws againſt the Roman catholicks.

They had a committee of conſtitution, of finance, of correſpondence, of accommodation, a treaſurer, a ſecretary, and a ſeal of office.

Their law agent was Matthew Dowling, a fellow of a moſt infamous character, who has been tranſported to Scotland with a numerous gang of traitors, who probably would have been hanged, but that they obtained the royal mercy on condition of going into baniſhment.

A writer in America, who aſſumes the name of Peter Porcupine, † deſcribes the inſtitution there, and gives an account of their declaration and conſtitution. It complains much of the tyranny of England over Ireland, and enforces the neceſſity of emancipation, and the eſtabliſhment of a republick there.

On the twenty-firſt of January, 1792, they made a report of the popery laws in force in the kingdom, by their chairman, the honourable Simon Butler. In fact, he was in the utmoſt indigence, and was paid by them for making it, though it was in the name of the ſociety. It contained many groſs falſehoods and exaggerated miſtatements, tending to inflame

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* See report of the ſecret committee, Appendix, No. IV.

† Mr. Cobbett, noted for his loyalty, his zeal, and firmneſs in ſupport of the conſtitution.

flame the popiſh multitude, and to deceive the government of England and Ireland.

In the debate of the Roman catholicks, aſſembled in Dublin on the twenty-third of March, 1792, Mr. Keogh ſaid of it, "For a late publication, the digeſt of the popery laws, the united Iriſhmen, and their reſpectable chairman, the honourable Simon Butler, demand our warmeſt gratitude."

It is ſtated in the report of the ſecret committee of the houſe of lords, made in 1797, "That the leaders and directors of the united Iriſhmen are now, and have been for ſome time paſt, anxiouſly engaged in uniting with them a claſs of men who had formerly diſturbed the peace of this country by acts of outrage, robbery and murder, under the appellation of defenders; and that the committee had reaſon to apprehend, that in a certain degree they had ſucceeded."

The following obſervation is to be found in the report of the houſe of commons made in 1798, page 9; and, in the courſe of my enquiries, I have found it to be ſtrictly true:

"That the counties in which defenderiſm had prevailed, eaſily became converts to their new doctrines; and, in the ſummer of 1797, the uſual concomitants of the treaſon, namely, the plundering houſes of arms, the fabrication of pikes, and the murder of thoſe who did not join the party, began to appear in the midland counties."

William Paulet Carey, who was admitted a member of the ſociety, became their printer. He publiſhed a newſpaper, called the National Evening Star, which he called the organ, and himſelf the printer, of the people. It was very inflammatory.

He was proſecuted by the attorney-general for having printed in his paper ſome ſeditious publications, at the inſtance of the united Iriſhmen, who reſolved, in the moſt ſolemn manner, to defend him at their own expence; but they afterwards abandoned him to the vengeance of the law, and he was ruined.

In revenge, he wrote a pamphlet, in which he abuſed and expoſed them with ſome ability, and not without wit.

He beſtows the following encomium on Mr. John Keogh. In ſpeaking of one Matthew, a chandler, he ſays, " In the Catholick committee he appeared for nine years the colleague of Keogh, whoſe courage and talents firſt gave the impulſe of freedom to three millions of Iriſhmen, and who originated the bold meaſure of overturning the ariſtocracy of the Catholick committee." *

He ſpeaks of Napper Tandy and E. Crookſhank-Keane in the higheſt ſtrain of panegyrick.

He is extravagant in his praiſe of Edward Byrne, and of William T. Jones, the firſt proteſtant ſenator, he ſays, who brought forward the queſtion of Catholick emancipation.

Among the liſt of worthies whom he panegyrizes, we find Matthew Dowling.

Carey ſays, in his pamphlet, " That as the united Iriſhmen came forward in the preſence of God, and pledged themſelves to labour for a reform of every ſpecies of corrupt influence, and had eloquently declaimed againſt the profuſion of the publick money, he could not have expected that they would have abandoned the preſs and the printer, for the wine caſk, the cook and the vintner."

They, in excuſe, complained of the apathy of the people; that their funds were exhauſted; that money came in ſlowly; and that they muſt diſcharge, in the firſt place, 200l. which ſum was yet due for wine drunk in Newgate. This alludes to the impriſonment of Bond and Butler, which I ſhall explain hereafter.

Though they ſacrificed this unfortunate man, they defended, at their own expence, meſſieurs Drennan, Rowan,

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* This alludes to the ſeceſſion of ſixty-eight members.

Rowan, Tandy, Bond and Butler, who were proſecuted for ſeditious practices.

Carey makes the following juſt remark in his pamphlet: "The hiſtory of political parties is but too often a picture of knaves betraying, and of knaves betrayed; of ambitious and indigent profligates, labouring to get into affluence and power; and of honeſt men contributing by their own degradation to lift them into affluence and power."

The idea of uniting the preſbyterians and Roman catholicks, to ſubvert the conſtitution, had exiſted for ſome years.

I mentioned before, that the biſhop of Cloyne wrote a pamphlet in the year 1787, on the perſecution of his clergy; and that it drew on him the vengeance of ſome preſbyterian miniſters and popiſh prieſts, whoſe ſectaries ſeemed, even at ſo early a period, to rejoice at this apparent junction of the two orders. On that occaſion, Carey, who had been bred at the Dublin Society as an engraver, publiſhed a print, repreſenting doctor Campbell, a diſſenting miniſter, and father O'Leary, a friar, ſhaking hands. They were the moſt virulent antagoniſts of the biſhop.

In the beginning of the year 1793, the houſe of lords inſtituted a ſecret committee, to enquire into the nature and origin of the diſturbances made in different counties by the defenders, and ſummoned ſome perſons to give evidence concerning them.

The ſociety of united Iriſhmen in Dublin, the honourable Simon Butler in the chair, Oliver Bond, ſecretary, publiſhed ſome ſevere animadverſions on the powers which they aſſumed; and in doing ſo, they were guilty of a groſs libel on that aſſembly, and a violation of its privileges; for which they were committed to Newgate by the houſe of lords, and fined 500l. each.

While in priſon, they were maintained in the following manner, by the members of the ſociety: They made four hundred tickets, of which a certain number were blanks, the remainder were marked with the dates of the days that the priſoners were to remain in confinement; and any perſon who drew one of the latter, was obliged to provide a dinner, with twelve covers, on the day ſpecified in his ticket. Four perſons were invited by each of the priſoners, and three by the perſon who procured the repaſt, who, with himſelf, made twelve.*

There is not a doubt, but that there was a cloſe connection between the Catholick committee and the ſociety of united Iriſhmen, for ſome of the former were members of the latter; but it is very remarkable, that none of the Romaniſts ever took an open and active part in it, ſuch as chairman or ſecretary; but, remaining behind the curtain, they left the obnoxious and oſtenſible proceedings to be conducted by a few men who were totally void of all religious principle, though they aſſumed the maſk and the name of proteſtants.

The united Iriſhmen, who were bold and enterpriſing, aſſaulted the conſtitution, as it were with a battering ram: the Catholick committee ſilently, and by ſap, inciting the people to inſurrection and outrage, while they made publick declarations of their unſhaken loyalty and unremitting reſpect for the laws.

The latter had this advantage, that none but Romaniſts could be members of the committee; and perſons of their perſuaſion were admitted into the ſociety of united Iriſhmen, and were actually aſſociated in it.

We find, that when perſons were ſent to different parts of the country from Dublin, to perſuade the people to unite and fraternize, they often conſiſted of perſons delegated from each body, which ſhewed their intimate connection.

As the lower claſs of preſbyterians bore an inveterate hatred againſt the Roman catholicks, and as they on all occaſions ſucceſsfully oppoſed the defenders, who were encouraged and protected by the Catholick committee, we find that the latter, and the united Iriſhmen, uſed the utmoſt exertions to unite the two orders, as their co-operation was neceſſary to promote their revolutionary deſigns.

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* The heavy expence attending this ſcheme contributed to damp the ardour of the ſociety, and induced ſome members to ſecede from it.

In the month of July, 1792, Theobald Wolfe Tone, John Keogh, and Richard Mc. Cormick were ſent by the Catholick committee on a miſſion to ſome of the northern counties, which were diſturbed by the peep-of-day boys and defenders, to effect a reconcilement between them.* In their way they were joined by Samuel Neilſon, an active and artful demagogue, who was profeſſedly a preſbyterian, but who, as well as Tone, a reputed proteſtant, was deſtitute of all religious principle. They pretended to be actuated by motives of the pureſt patriotiſm and benevolence; but as Tone, Neilſon, and Mc. Cormick, appeared afterwards to be notorious traitors, we cannot be at a loſs to know their real views.

At Rathfriland, in the county of Down, Tone mounted the roſtrum, and haranguing the populace, recommended peace and unanimity to them, on the grounds of chriſtian charity and brotherly love. He threw out many invectives againſt government, whom he repreſented as deſirous of dividing the people, for the purpoſe of governing them corruptly and deſpotically; and he adviſed that all orders ſhould unite to oppoſe their baſe and ſiniſter deſigns. A magiſtrate, who happened to be preſent, ſilenced the orator, by reminding him that there were ſtocks in town; on which he and his aſſociates precipitately left it, and proceeded on their miſſion.

Soon after, Mr. John Keogh, accompanied by one O'Hanlon, a grocer of Newry, and his ſon, both papiſts, made a ſecond attempt to reconcile theſe two orders, at Rathfriland; but the diſſenters ſhewed ſo ſtrong an averſion to it, that the miſſionaries were forced

* Many miſſions of this kind were undertaken in 1792 and 1793.

ſorced out of town, and were reſuſed accommodation at the principal inn.

It required ſome time and unabated exertion to overcome the ſtrong antipathy which exiſted between the papiſts and the lower claſs of preſbyterians; and it probably could not have been accompliſhed, if the leaders of the conſpiracy had not attached to their cauſe the clergy of both.

From the men who compoſed this miſſion, it is evident, that the Catholick committee, and the united Iriſhmen, were cloſely connected, and labouring in the ſame vineyard: Tone was at the ſame time the ſecretary of the former, and the original framer and the chief leader of the latter in Dublin: Neilſon in Belfaſt; Keogh and Mc. Cormick were the moſt active members of the former. At a general meeting of the Roman catholick committee in July, 1792, an addreſs was voted to the defenders, and circulated in every pariſh, where they had made their appearance, exhorting them to a peaceable deportment, a reſpect for the laws, and to abſtain from every meaſure that might give offence to their proteſtant brethren. For their laudable endeavours in this inſtance, as well as by their miſſionaries, to reſtore peace and ſocial order, they received many flattering encomiums from their republican friends in Belfaſt, publiſhed in the Northern Star.

The following anecdote will ſhew the reader what a ſtrong antipathy exiſted there between the preſbyterians and papiſts of the North:

On Monday, May ſixth, 1792, the funeral of a Roman catholick, attended by great numbers decorated with ribands, carrying a flag and forming a kind of martial proceſſion, proceeded from the village of Hilltown in the county of Down, through the town of Rathfriland to the grave-yard of the pariſh of Ballyroney. In paſſing through Rathfriland, they were hooted, inſulted and pelted with dirt, by the preſbyterians; but when they arrived at the grave-yard, and the prieſts began to chaunt the requiem of the deceaſed, they were attacked by the preſbyterians with ſtones and clubs, and compelled to fly, leaving the corpſe unburied. They were then hunted acroſs the country, and purſued to a conſiderable diſtance by their aſſailants.

There appeared in the year 1792, in the Northern Star, a newſpaper publiſhed at Belfaſt, which was a vehicle of treaſon and ſedition, many exhortations to the Roman catholicks and preſbyterians to unite in the common cauſe; an addreſs to them for that purpoſe, penned with peculiar energy, was publiſhed in that print on the ſeventeenth of January, 1792. It is certain that the preſbyterians of Belfaſt were as warm in this courtſhip as the Roman catholicks. In the year 1792, when the former paid the moſt ſervile adulation to the latter, they built a chapel for them at Belfaſt; and Waddell Cunningham, a merchant of great wealth in that town, and a noted republican, attended the celebration of maſs in a popiſh chapel there, at the head of a company of volunteers, who, as well as their leader, were preſbyterians; and a ſimilar ſcene was exhibited at Liſburn by doctor Crawford, a phyſician and captain of a company of preſbyterian volunteers. As religioniſts they hated each other; but both having one grand object, the ſubverſion of the conſtitution, politicks became the inſtrument of their union, like two fluids that are heterogeneous and immiſcible, but which can be made to unite and amalgamate by what the chymiſts call an intermede or a tertium quid.

About that time, a prieſt of Belfaſt, who was ſenſible and loyal, happened to be invited by two principal merchants of that town to take ſhare of a bottle of wine with them. Politicks, and the ſincere regard which the preſbyterians of Belfaſt entertained for their catholick brethren, became the ſubject of converſation, when one of the merchants propoſed that a marriage ſhould take place between the two orders. The prieſt wittily replied, with all my heart, I can have no objection to it; though, when a ſimilar propoſal was lately made to me by a member of the eſtabliſhed church, I abſolutely oppoſed it. Why ſo? ſaid one of the preſbyterians; that appears very extraordinary: Not at all, replied the prieſt; for I conſider an union with the eſtabliſhed church as a kind of inceſt, as we are too nearly related; but the preſbyterians may marry with us whenever they chooſe, for we are not the leaſt akin.

It is moſt certain, that the firſt leaders in the North, though regarded as preſbyterians, were in fact infidels, who endeavoured to extinguiſh all religious principle by the diſſemination of French doctrines, the circulation of Paine's Age of Reaſon, and publications of that ſtamp; and well knowing that even the religious part of their order was inimical to monarchy, and particularly to our hierarchy, they endeavoured to avail themſelves of that propenſity in them to overturn the government; knowing alſo, that the Roman catholicks had diſpoſitions ſtrongly hoſtile to a proteſtant ſtate, they endeavoured to form a union with them for the above purpoſe.

The preſbyterians engaged in the conſpiracy were chiefly confined to the counties of Down and Antrim; and even there none of the reſpectable members of that order were concerned in it. Some of the moſt profligate diſſenting miniſters * in thoſe counties, who became partizans of the united Iriſhmen, prevailed on the rabble of their perſuaſion, and ſuch of them as were devoid of principle and property, to join in the plot; but very few, if any, of the really-religious preſbyterians entered into it.

Some of the moſt intelligent perſons of the North have aſſured me, that the infidel leaders thought they had gone rather too far, even before the rebellion broke out, in raiſing the hopes of a popiſh eſtabliſhment in the maſs of the Roman catholicks; having diſcovered too late that religious bigotry formed the principal,

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* See in Appendix, No. IX. a liſt of the preſbyterian miniſters of the counties of Down and Antrim concerned in the rebellion, and the puniſhments which they ſuffered.

principal, if not the ſole, ſpring of action among them, which evidently appeared on the exploſion of the conſpiracy.

It is a poſitive fact, that John Sheares * promiſed a complete extinction of his religion in conſideration of catholick co-operation, without reflecting that it was an act of ſpontaneity in them; by this he meant the ſubverſion of the proteſtant hierarchy, for he was as deſtitute of religious principle as the few conſpirators of that perſuaſion who confederated with him. The only bounds of ſeparation between the preſbyterians and papiſts was the eſtabliſhed church, which ſuſpended and ſuppreſſed their mutual enmity; and the ſubverſion of it, like the removal of a peninſula between two raging ſeas, would have produced colliſion and diſcord. While ſome of the unprincipled preſbyterian miniſters of the counties of Down and Antrim were decrying religious bigotry, under the pretext of liberality, they almoſt proſtrated religion itſelf, in order to prepare the minds of their flock for the reception of rebellious doctrines; but the popiſh prieſts, fearing that the light of the new philoſophy would diſpel the illuſions of purgatory, holy oil, holy water, and abſolution, which gave them a complete aſcendancy over their ſuperſtitious ſectaries, and which, like true alchymiſts, they could turn into gold, infuſed into them a more than ordinary degree of fanaticiſm, well knowing that it would augment the ſacerdotal power over them, and encreaſe their hatred to the proteſtant ſtate; for theſe reaſons, the popiſh multitude appeared more ſanguinary againſt the members of the eſtabliſhed church, and more devoted to their clergy wherever the rebellion broke out, than they had been for many years before; though they univerſally pretended that their influence was entirely done away.

Thus the diſſenting miniſters and popiſh prieſts endeavoured to attain the ſame end by different means. Joined

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* A Cork gentleman, who was a moſt efficient member of the union, having ſtudied the theory of inſurrection at Paris.

Joined to the malignant efforts of the united Iriſhmen, there is not a doubt, but that the active interférence of ſome French democrats among the diſaffected part of the Iriſh nation, their extravagant admiration of the French revolution, and their correſpondence with ſome of the clubs in France, contributed materially to diffuſe the intoxicating poiſon of republicaniſm.

In the years 1791 and 1792, Rabaud de St. Etiénne, the boſom friend of Briſſot, the famous leader of the Girondine party in the French national aſſembly, paſſed ſome time between Dublin and Belfaſt, ſowing the ſeeds of future combuſtion.

The ſociety of the friends of the conſtitution, aſſembled at Clermont in France in the month of October, 1791, reſolved, that, on peruſing the different publications addreſſed from various parts of Ireland to the national aſſembly and the people of France, an addreſs, then agreed to, ſhould be forwarded to the volunteers of Ireland, at Dublin, and which addreſs was publiſhed in the publick prints; and an anſwer to ſaid addreſs was agreed to by the volunteers of Dublin, and forwarded to France in January, 1792. It was ſigned by James Napper Tandy, Thomas Bacon a tailor, Edward Newenham, William T. Smith, A. H. Rowan, and J. T. Aſhenhurſt; and contained the moſt extravagant encomiums on the French conſtitution, and condemned the Iriſh as imperfect, and as founded in tyranny.

In a ſociety of united Iriſhmen aſſembled at Temple Patrick, in the county of Down, on the nineteenth of December, 1791, which was ſoon after the formation of the inſtitution, and ſhows how rapidly it ſpread, they reſolved to promote Catholick emancipation, and a reform of parliament; and aſſert, that whilſt an extra-national government retains the power of the national purſe, and whilſt religious animoſities, under the direction of inſidious adminiſtrations, continue to diſunite Iriſhmen, it is vain to expect emancipation, or the bleſſings of a free conſtitution.

The celebration of the anniverſary of the French revolution, which took place at Belfaſt on the fourteenth of July, 1792, opened a wide and extenſive theatre for traitors and diſaffected perſons of every rank, character, and religious perſuaſion, to fraternize and ſpread the infection of their noxious principles.

Some months before, it was announced in the publick prints, and all the volunteers of the province of Ulſter were invited to aſſiſt there. Mr. Tone, thinking that this would afford him a good opportunity of attaching to his ſyſtem a great number of the Northern preſbyterians, well trained to arms, ſent to a republican friend at Belfaſt the reſolutions and declarations of the united Iriſhmen, and deſired him to propound them to the volunteers, when they were intoxicated with the admiration of French liberty.

The main object of the reſolutions is, "a complete internal union of all the people of Ireland, to reſiſt the weight of Engliſh influence." He ſays, in his letter, "with a reformed parliament every thing is eaſy; without it nothing can be done. The foregoing contain my true and ſincere opinion of the ſtate of this country, ſo far as in the preſent juncture it may be adviſeable to publiſh them. They certainly fall ſhort of the truth; but truth itſelf muſt ſometimes condeſcend to temporize. My unalterable opinion is, that the bane of Iriſh proſperity is in the influence of England.* I believe that influence will be extended while the connection between the two countries continues; nevertheleſs, as I know that that opinion is for the preſent too hardy, though a little time may eſtabliſh it univerſally, I have not made it a part of the reſolutions. I have not ſaid one word that looks like a wiſh for ſeparation; though I give it to you as a moſt decided opinion, that ſuch an event would be regeneration to this country."

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* In the reign of James II. the Iriſh Roman catholicks made a great outcry againſt Engliſh intereſt, as may be ſeen in lord Clarendon's ſtate letters.

"I think the beſt time for publiſhing them will be on the fourteenth of July: I learn there is to be a commemoration of the French revolution; that morning ſtar of liberty to Ireland!"

"The volunteers, if they approve of the plan, may adopt it, and I have worded it ſo as to leave them an opportunity. I have left, as you ſee, a blank for the name. As to the Roman catholicks, I have alluded to them, but ſo remotely, as I hope not to alarm the moſt cautious proteſtant. It is wicked nonſenſe to talk of a reform in Ireland, in which they ſhall not have their due ſhare."

This ſhews how anxious he was about the Roman catholicks, whoſe hired agent and ſecretary he was at that time; and how artfully he endeavours to allure the proteſtants to promote their intereſt, though their own deſtruction was involved in it.

The anniverſary of the French revolution * was celebrated with great pomp and ſplendour by a proceſſion of many volunteer corps, in which ſome pageants and large emblematick figures, with mottos ſuitable to the occaſion, were drawn by horſes. On one of them, drawn by four horſes, there was the following inſcription: "The releaſement of the priſoners from the Baſtile." On the reverſe, there was a figure of Hibernia, with one hand and foot in ſhackles, and a volunteer preſenting to her a figure of liberty. The following motto was inſcribed on another: "Our Gallic brethren were born July fourteenth, 1789: Alas! we are ſtill in embryo." On the reverſe, "Superſtitious jealouſy, the cauſe of the Iriſh Baſtile: Let us unite and deſtroy it." Among them appeared the portrait of doctor Franklin, with this motto, "Where liberty is, there is my country."

I have been informed by many gentlemen well acquainted with the real ſentiments of the preſbyterians of the North, that they harbour a moſt inveterate hatred

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* It laſted ſome days.

hatred towards the Roman catholicks; that they never ſincerely wiſhed that they ſhould obtain the elective franchiſe; and that they endeavoured to raiſe their expectations very high, from a malignant hope, that a diſappointment, ariſing from not having them fulfilled, would exaſperate them againſt the ſtate, and make them more ſanguine in their deſires to overturn it.

On the other hand, the Romaniſts had different deſigns; for the late rebellion proves that they meant to make uſe of that ſect of proteſtants, merely as an engine to overturn the conſtitution, and to have extirpated the whole order of proteſtants when they had ſucceeded. As there are many good and loyal ſubjects among both theſe religioniſts, I think it right to apologize to them; and to aſſure them, that I allude only to the ignorant, the unprincipled, and uneducated ranks of both.

The Catholick committee, hoping that they might conciliate and gain over to their cauſe the volunteers of Ulſter, aſſembled at Belfaſt, when the flame of liberty excited in their breaſts the moſt tender emotions of fraternity and benevolence, and extinguiſhed all mean and ſelfiſh affections, ſent fourteen delegates there, of whom one was a prieſt, ſome days before the civick feaſt began.

A Frenchman, who had been very buſy intriguing in Dublin, attended there alſo.

When the proceſſion was over, the volunteers and many of the inhabitants of the town aſſembled in the linen-hall, and entered on the diſcuſſion of politicks. Parliamentary reform, and an univerſal reſtoration of all the privileges of the Roman catholicks were reſolved on.

They then voted an addreſs to the national aſſembly of France, and another to the people of Ireland.

The leading orators, and the chief friends of the Romaniſts on this occaſion, were meſſieurs Sampſon and Neilſon, notorious rebels, preſbyterians by profeſſion, but decided deiſts; the reverend T. Birch, the reverend doctor Dickſon, and the reverend Sinclare Kelburne,* preſbyterian miniſters, and doctor Caldwell, a noted republican.

Theſe active citizens, and the delegates from the Roman catholick committee, whoſe hatred towards each other could be equalled by nothing but their zeal to overturn the conſtitution, which was their only bond of union, were like two bands of robbers in Arabia, whoſe competition for plunder was an unceaſing ſource of enmity; but meeting with a rich caravan, ſo well guarded, that they deſpair ſingly of conquering it, they therefore unite for that purpoſe.

The Roman catholick delegates having completely ſucceeded in their negotiation for fraternizing with the preſbyterians, and for attaching them to their cauſe, gave way to immoderate joy, and poured out many a libation to Bacchus, on the night of the day that the civick feaſt was held.

On the fourteeenth of July, the volunteers of Dublin aſſembled and fired three vollies on the quay, in commemoration of the French revolution; and on that day, and on the ſixteenth of July, many political clubs dined together, to celebrate that event.

On the twenty-third of May, 1792, the Poliſh revolution was celebrated at Belfaſt; that day being its anniverſary. A numerous company who dined at the Donegal arms, drank the following among other toaſts: The rights of man and Tom Paine: The ſovereignty of the people; May philoſophy enlighten all nations, and form the whole into one family: The revolution ſociety of London: James Napper Tandy, and a ſpeedy check to unconſtitutional and undefined privileges.

May eighteenth, 1792, the Belfaſt ſecond ſociety of united Iriſhmen reſolved on contributing their ſhare of money to aſſiſt the people of France in the preſent war.

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* Birch and Dickſon have been tranſported; Kelburne was impriſoned a conſiderable time.

At this time there exiſted a Northern whig club, which frequently publiſhed reſolutions of a revolutionary tendency.

On the twenty-eighth of October, 1792, they celebrated, with great pomp, at Belfaſt, the retreat of the duke of Brunſwick's army from France. Liſburn and many other towns of the North followed their example.

December thirty-firſt, 1792, the union ſociety at Newry, conſiſting moſtly of Romaniſts, Patrick O'Hanlon,* ſecretary, reſolved, "that their object was to remove religious prejudices, and to promote unanimity and brotherly love among Iriſhmen of every ſect and perſuaſion."

The Roman catholicks of Dublin, duly convened by publick ſummons the thirty-firſt of October, 1792, Thomas Braughall in the chair, voted their thanks to the different volunteer corps reviewed in Ulſter; to the ſocieties of united Iriſhmen of Dublin and Belfaſt; to the proteſtant freeholders of Cork;† and the gentlemen on grand juries, and at county meetings, and to all others among their proteſtant brethren‡ who manifeſted a wiſh for their emancipation.

Leſt the lower claſs of the Romaniſts ſhould not feel that enthuſiaſm in the cauſe of emancipation which the Catholick committee did, numbers of the popiſh multitude, under the denomination of houſeholders of Dublin, were convened in their reſpective pariſhes, the latter end of the year 1792, when they entered into a diſcuſſion of their claims.

At an aſſembly of them the thirty-firſt of October, one of the leading members of the Catholick committee, to animate them, ſaid, "Look to the proteſtant part of Ireland, the North; look to Belfaſt; look to the four ſocieties of united Iriſhmen there;

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* He attended John Keogh on his miſſion to Rathfriland.

† This was a mob conſiſting moſtly of papiſts, convened by a few diſcontented gentlemen ſoured by diſappointed ambition.

‡ On the contrary, the real proteſtants this very year were loud and vehement againſt granting the Roman catholicks the elective franchiſe.

to the declaration of the volunteers in every part of Ireland, *riſing once more from their lethargy, to raiſe their degraded country.*"

Two volunteer corps, aſſembled under arms at Belfaſt on the ſeventh of September, 1792, expreſſed their joy at ſeeing that the ſpirit of volunteering was reviving throughout the province of Ulſter, being confident, that the rights of the people are moſt ſecure, when they are able to aſſert them; and that they are perſuaded the country owes whatever commerce and conſtitution it poſſeſſes to the ſpirit and wiſdom of the volunteers; and they re-adopt the reſolutions of thoſe aſſembled at Dungannon the fifteenth of February, 1782, and the eighth of September, 1783, in which a total repeal of the popery laws, and an union of perſons of every religious perſuaſion, is recommended.

A revolutionary club, who called themſelves the Iriſh jacobins of Belfaſt, publiſhed a moſt ſeditious addreſs to the publick on the fifteenth of December, 1792, in the Northern Star, in which they ſay there is no national government, and that there muſt be a complete repreſentation of the people; and they inculcate the neceſſity of parliamentary reform and Catholick emancipation.

Different revolutionary ſocieties in the North raiſed by ſubſcription, in the year 1792, conſiderable ſums of money for the republicans of France.

At Coleraine they ſubſcribed 600l. The inhabitants of Drumacoe, in the pariſh of Newtownlimavady, and its vicinity, ſet one on foot the tenth of July, and invited perſons of every religious perſuaſion to contribute to it.

In July, 1792, monſieur François read a letter in the French convention, written by a ſociety of friends to the French conſtitution in Ireland, who praiſed it very much, and offered eight hundred livres towards the expences of the ſtate.

In the year 1792, there exiſted the following political clubs in Dublin: The Whig club: The Whigs of the capital, who circulated twenty thouſand copies of Tom Paine's Rights of Man, at 1d. each, but many of them *gratis*, to enlighten the people: The friends of the conſtitution, liberty, and peace:* The Catholick committee: The Catholick ſociety: The united Iriſhmen, who were very numerous: The defenders, who multiplied to a very extraordinary degree, were much influenced by the united Iriſhmen, and with whom they began to affiliate in the year 1792: Many reading clubs: The Shamrock, Telegraphick, and Philanthropick ſocieties, which were ramifications of defenderiſm, conſiſted of the loweſt claſſes of the people, and furniſhed the united Iriſhmen with aſſaſſins. The Philanthropick paſſed ſentence of death on captain Giffard in the year 1794, when high ſheriff of the city; but the aſſaſſin appointed to execute it, being touched with remorſe, informed him of it, and put him on his guard.

On Monday the twenty-ſeventh of February, 1792, an event happened which filled all loyal ſubjects with alarming apprehenſions, and with ominous conjectures, leſt the malignant deſigns of the traitors, who were numerous at that time in the metropolis, might terminate in its deſtruction. About the hour of four o'clock on that day, when the houſe of commons were in a committee, a member, conceiving that he perceived the ſmell of fire, ſent ſome of the ſervants to the dome of the edifice, and they immediately announced that it was on fire. The members, having inſtantly retired to the oppoſite ſide of the ſtreet, ſaw the flames burſting from it in ſeveral places, and in oppoſite directions, and the whole was inſtantly in a blaze. The utmoſt exertion, with all the buckets and engines of the city, were uſed to extinguiſh it, but in vain.

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* Many men of principle and good fortune, who wiſhed for nothing but a ſimple reform of parliament, were members of it, but did not know the latent deſigns of the rebels.

It occaſioned univerſal conſternation; the guards at the caſtle, and the magazine in the park, were doubled; and the artillery approached the city.

A committee of the houſe, who ſat to determine on the cauſe of it, reported, that it happened by accident; though the ableſt members of that committee were convinced that it was done by deſign; but they feared that the admiſſion of it would be injurious to the trade and credit of the nation. An idea was univerſally diſſeminated, that one of the metal flues, conſtructed for the purpoſe of warming the houſe, had communicated fire to the dome; but for the following reaſons that will appear to have been utterly impoſſible: They were made of caſt iron; they were placed outſide the houſe, ſo as to have no communition with the dome, which was ſheathed with a thick coat of copper; and there was no timber employed in the conſtruction of the flues.

Mr. Penroſe, an able architect,† and well verſed in many other ſciences, was decidedly of opinion, that it was not poſſible for the flues, or any accident, to have occaſioned the fire; that it was done by deliberate deſign, and muſt have been effected by ſome chemical proceſs.

The dome was formed of an immenſe body of ſolid timber, which, in the ordinary progreſs of fire, would require ſome hours to conſume; and yet it ſoon formed a circular body of fixed inextinguiſhable flame, and was completely burnt in about an hour and a half.

As there were at that time in the city two deſperate factions, who, we have learned by fatal experience, meditated the ſubverſion of the conſtitution, and the deſtruction of the government, it is not unlikely that it was perpetrated by one or either of them, or by both in conjunction; as it will appear in the ſequel that they often co-operated.

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† He was architect of the houſes of parliament, and had been at that time daily inſpecting the roof of the houſe of commons, as he was repairing it.

Napper Tandy had narrowly eſcaped the vengeance of the houſe of commons, for having offered a groſs inſult to one of its members; and a proclamation for his apprehenſion appeared at that time in the newſpapers.

About the ſame time, all the efforts of Richard Burke, agent to the Catholick committee, were completely baffled; and he with difficulty eſcaped the reſentment of the houſe of commons. He had prevailed on one of its members to preſent a petition on the part of his employers, and he had the folly and preſumption to enter into the body of the houſe, to prompt the gentleman who had undertaken that taſk, which excited the indignation of that aſſembly; and nothing but his precipitate retreat ſaved him from being arreſted by the ſerjeant at arms.

The overweening and inſolent petition of that body had been recently diſmiſſed with indignant contempt; and the new popery bill, which, though it gave them conſiderable privileges, blaſted their future expectations, had juſt paſſed through the houſe of commons. The leading catholicks of Dublin gave various proofs of the indignation which they felt at theſe diſappointments, particularly in their debate on the twenty-third of March in Fiſhamble-ſtreet.

From the many traitors and incendiaries who appeared in theſe two bodies in the year 1798, we may fairly conclude that they would not heſitate to form a ſcheme for deſtroying the houſe of commons, when they had meditated a plot for overturning the ſtate, and the extirpation of numbers of the moſt valuable members of ſociety.

Suppoſing, therefore, that it was an accident, it muſt be acknowledged that it happened at a very critical moment.*

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* Some of the wretches arreſted on the exploſion of the rebellion, acknowledged that they knew of, and were privy to, the burning of the houſe, previous to its perpetration; and one perſon ſwore an information of it.

It is obſervable, that a few days before the perpetration of this horrid crime, the following printed paper was diſtributed through the ſtreets in the form of a hand bill, and poſted on the city walls, and even on the houſe of commons, under the proclamation iſſued for apprehending Napper Tandy:

"The members of a certain great houſe, not far from the college, are hereby cautioned how they perſecute to ruin a virtuous citizen, for defending his character, and aſſerting the liberties of Ireland; if they do not, let them beware of the awl of the cobler of Meſſina." *

Early in the year 1792, a military body who ſtyled themſelves national guards, becauſe they endeavoured to aſſimilate to thoſe at Paris, were arrayed and diſciplined in Dublin. Subſcriptions were ſet on foot to purchaſe uniforms, pikes and accoutrements for them, and of which they beſpoke large quantities. †

They wore green uniforms, with buttons, having a harp, and a cap of liberty inſtead of a crown. ‡ Their leaders were A. H. Rowan and James Napper Tandy, who addreſſed each other, and the members of their rebellious corps, by the appellation of citizen, in imitation of the French.

The multitude in Dublin were ſo much diſaffected at this time, that they uſed to wiſh ſucceſs to theſe traitors, openly and without reſerve, as they paſſed by them in the ſtreet, or ſaw them on parade.

The maſs of the people were ſo much infected with treaſon, and ſo prone to riſe the latter end of the year

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* A gentleman now living, informed a member of the privy council, that he was acquainted with circumſtances which would lead to a diſcovery of the burning of the houſe of commons; but he afterwards informed him, that the council did not wiſh to enter into an inveſtigation of it.

† This band of traitors ſprung from the volunteers; as ſtated in the report of the ſecret committee.

‡ Carey, the printer of the united Iriſhmen, boaſted in his pamphlet, "that he was Mr. Rowan's companion in arms, in the firſt national battalion; and that he oppoſed and finally procured the abolition of the miſchievous button and cockade, which afforded a pretext to the enemies of our glorious volunteer inſtitution to prevent its ſuſpenſion."

year 1792, and the beginning of the year 1793, that a general inſurrection was apprehended; and even particular nights were fixed for that purpoſe, of which government had certain information. In ſhort, the city was like a great ſhell, fraught with various combuſtibles, and ready to explode on the application of a match.

Five nights out of ſeven alderman Fleming, by the orders of government, patroled the ſtreets with a body of horſe.

Lord Weſtmorland deſired him to attend particularly to the cuſtom-houſe, the poſt-office, and the gaol, as his excellency had undoubted information that they were the firſt places to be attacked; and that the ſignal for riſing was to have been the pulling down of the ſtatue of king William in College-green, with ropes.

One night lord Weſtmorland was ſo much afraid that the inſurrection would take place, that, though he had given orders in the morning to the alderman to patrole that night, he ſent an aid-de-camp in the evening to ſee that he was in readineſs to do ſo.

It was diſcovered at that time, that there was a conſpiracy to aſſaſſinate the right honourable John Beresford. One of the perſons privy to it confeſſed it to alderman James.

The national guards, and all the volunteer corps of Dublin, were ſummoned by Matthew Dowling, to aſſemble on Sunday the ninth of December, 1792, to celebrate the victory of the French, and the triumph of univerſal liberty. The ſummons began with the appellation of "citizen ſoldier."

Government, having received undoubted information that a general inſurrection was meditated, iſſued a proclamation on the eighth of December againſt their aſſembling, which ſtruck ſuch terror into them, that the national guards did not aſſemble; and the only perſons who appeared on parade were A. H. Rowan, J. N. Tandy, and Carey the printer. For this meaſure of precaution, which ſaved the city from plunder and conflagration, and its moſt valuable inhabitants from aſſaſſination, we are indebted to the earl of Clare, the preſent lord chancellor, whoſe wiſdom, ſagacity, and unabated fortitude, notwithſtanding many plots which were formed to murder him, have preſerved the kingdom of Ireland, on various occaſions, from utter deſtruction. The exalted ſphere to which he has been raiſed, and the honours conferred on him by our gracious ſovereign, prove the ſuperior excellence of a mixed government like ours, where the monarch ſelects men, like him, diſtinguiſhed for wiſdom, abilities, and virtue, to fill the principal departments of the ſtate; but in a republick, where demagogues can turn the giddy multitude like a torrent, to overwhelm every thing that is great and good, a Tone, a Tandy, or a Sheares, would fill the department over which this noble lord ſo worthily preſides.

On the thirty-firſt of January, 1793, an addreſs of thanks to lord Weſtmorland was moved and carried in the houſe of commons, for having iſſued this proclamation. In the debate on it, lord Edward Fitzgerald aroſe, and ſaid aloud, in an angry tone, "I give my moſt hearty diſapprobation to this; for I do think, that the lord lieutenant, and the majority of this houſe, are the worſt men in the kingdom." The houſe had ſerious thoughts of expelling him; but with ſingular puſillanimity, pardoned him on making a ſlight excuſe."

There was as much treaſon in the city of Dublin in the year 1792 as in the year 1798; but with this difference, that it was not organized into ſyſtem; and yet lord Weſtmorland's adminiſtration was mild and conciliating.

An ingenious writer, in a letter addreſſed to a friend in England, and publiſhed in the year 1792, makes the following obſervations on this period: "On your ſide the water, philoſophy, I ſuppoſe, is defined after the good old manner; the love or ſtudy of wiſdom, moral or natural. With us it is a word of a very different import; for in Ireland, no man is allowed to poſſeſs either wiſdom or learning, who does not believe in the new American goſpel; who is not in politicks a republican; and in religion a preſbyterian, a papiſt, or an infidel. Out of theſe, there is no ſaving wiſdom: Such are the ſigns by which Iriſh philoſophy is known. Sometimes, indeed, it diſplays itſelf in libels on the king and the revolution; and he who diſcharges the greateſt portion of filth is the deepeſt philoſopher."

The political horizon of Ireland was ſo much darkened at this time by black threatening clouds, that trade and publick credit were materially injured. Bank ſtock which had been ſo high as 171l. fell to 158l. and the other funds in proportion. Lottery tickets ſhared the ſame fate.

As the Roman catholicks were chiefly inſtrumental in bringing the country into this alarming ſtate, doctor Mc. Kenna, a member of that order, ſtepped forward with a ſeaſonable and judicious addreſs, in which he told them, "that they lived under a wiſe and fortunate organization of ſociety; that violence, in aſſerting what they call their rights, ought not to be employed; for few political benefits are of ſufficient value to be purchaſed by commotion."

When the diſaffected clubs found that they could not elude the vigilance of the magiſtrates, who often diſperſed or arreſted them, they uſed to aſſemble in the environs of the capital, particularly at Harold's-croſs, under a pretext of boxing or playing at foot-ball.

Notwithſtanding the proclamation of the eighth of December, the goldſmiths' corps, commanded by major Bacon the tailor, and that noted traitor Dowling, paraded in Ship-ſtreet, on Sunday the twenty-ſeventh of January, but were diſperſed by alderman Warren; however, before their diſperſion, they entered into ſtrong reſolutions in favour of Catholick emancipation * and reform of parliament.

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* Theſe words were adopted to make the people of England believe that the Iriſh papiſts were ſlaves, though they enjoyed more civil liberty than the moſt favoured ſubjects of any European ſtate, except England.

In deſiance of the proclamation of the eighth of December, to prevent the aſſociation and aſſembling of diſaffected perſons in arms, under a pretence of obtaining a redreſs of grievances, the Dublin Rangers paraded in Ship-ſtreet, on Sunday the twenty-fourth of February, 1793. Alderman James, unattended by any civil or military force, deſired them to diſperſe; but, on their refuſal, Mr. Oliver Carleton, an active and intelligent magiſtrate, purſued and overtook them on Eſſex-bridge, where he attempted to ſeize the adjutant; telling him, at the ſame time, that he was his priſoner; but he was reſcued. Mr. Carleton received ſome blows, and was pelted with ſtones by the mob, who were warm partiſans of theſe armed traitors. Alderman James purſued them to Drumcondra, with a party of the army, but they diſperſed before he could approach them.

On the ſixteenth of January, the inhabitants of Belfaſt aſſembled, and voted an addreſs of thanks to his majeſty, for having recommended the Roman catholicks to the conſideration of parliament.

On the fourteenth of January, 1793, a motion was made in the houſe of commons for parliamentary reform, which was the grand deſideratum of the united Iriſhmen, and one of the engines by which they hoped to overturn and proſtrate the conſtitution. *

Many attempts were made at Belfaſt, ſo early as the year 1792, to ſeduce the military. Joſeph Cuthbert, a maſter tailor there, was condemned to ſtand in the pillory for that offence.

In the month of April, 1793, the diſaffected people of that town would not ſuffer the loyal inhabitants to illuminate their houſes, for the ſucceſs of our allies on the continent. Some of the diſſenting miniſters of that town offered up prayers for the ſucceſs of the French republicans againſt the powers who oppoſed them. It generally happens that the moral and political principles of men, in a great meaſure, emanate from

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* It is remarkable, that the oppoſition in the parliaments of England and Ireland fed the hopes and promoted the wiſhes of the diſaffected by inflammatory ſpeeches.

ſrom and are modified by their religion. As the preſbyterian church was formed in a republick, and as its eccleſiaſtical eſtabliſhment was aſſimilated to the civil polity of the ſtate, its members in every country in Europe have ſhewn a diſlike to all forms of government but a democratick. For this reaſon, the calviniſtical miniſters in France juſtified the rebellion againſt Charles I. and prayed publickly for its ſucceſs; and, leſt from their zeal they might have been conſidered as entertaining views and wiſhes hoſtile to their own government, one of their ableſt profeſſors at Saumur publiſhed the following abſurd apology for them: That the kings of France were abſolute by preſcription; but that thoſe of England were ſubordinate to the parliament. Nothing ſhews ſo much the excellence of our conſtitution, as having the king at the head of the eccleſiaſtical ſtate.

I before obſerved, pages 8 and 9, that while this policy was adhered to by the emperors of Rome and Conſtantinople, peace and tranquillity reigned in their dominions; but when the biſhop of Rome aſſumed a right to regulate religious matters in them, it produced inceſſant ſtrife and diſcord.

It was a ſtanding law of an early date at Rome, that no one ſhould ſeparately have new gods, or worſhip privately foreign gods, unleſs admitted by the commonwealth,* and Iſocrates tells us, that the ſame law exiſted at Athens.†

Mæcenas, in his advice to Auguſtus, ſaid to him, "Perform divine worſhip, in all things, exactly according to the cuſtom of your anceſtors, and ſuffer no innovations in religion; becauſe thoſe who create ſuch, are apt to make changes in civil affairs; hence conſpiracies, ſeditions, and riots, things very dangerous to government." ‡ This obſervation applies ſtrongly to the ſtate of Ireland at preſent, and that of England in the reign of Elizabeth and James I. before the bleſſings of the Reformation were fully experienced in it.

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* Cicero de Legibus, lib. II.

† Iſocrates Areopagus.

‡ Dion Caſſius, lib. iii.

James Napper Tandy was indicted at the ſpring aſſizes of 1793, held at Dundalk, in the county of Louth, for having diſtributed ſeditious hand-bills the preceding ſummer, to encourage the people of that country, much infeſted by the defenders, to riſe; but having, through his attorney, Matthew Dowling, diſcovered that there were ſtrong charges for high treaſon againſt him, he fled, forfeited his recogniſance, and never ſince appeared, till he was brought a priſoner from Hamburgh, except when he landed in the North in 1798, an account of which is given in Appendix XXI. 10.

On the ſeventh of March, 1793, alderman James found and ſeized ſome pikes in Suffolk-ſtreet, and lodged them in the king's ſtores; * ſo early did the diſaffected begin to procure theſe weapons.

In the month of January, 1793, the Roman catholick inhabitants of many pariſhes in Dublin aſſembled, debated on their claims and pretenſions, and voted addreſſes to their delegates in the general committee; in which ſome of them recommended the expulſion of lord Kenmare, and applauded the conduct of meſſieurs Braughall, Ryan, and Sutton.

The reader may eaſily conceive for what purpoſe the maſs of the papiſts were thus aſſembled, and how much it muſt have inflamed their paſſions, and prepared their minds for the reception of ſedition and treaſon.

As the Roman catholicks of ſome counties and diſtricts had aſſembled with their proteſtant fellow-ſubjects, to join in an addreſs to teſtify their allegiance, the ſub-committee of the Roman catholicks diſſuaded them from doing ſo, "ſince," as they ſaid, "that end was anſwered in a more dignified, ſolemn, and authorized manner, by their delegates."

As large quantities of gun-powder and arms had been ſent from the metropolis to the defenders, concealed in packages, and it was univerſally believed that

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* They were the firſt of thoſe weapons diſcovered in Dublin.

that much of both had been imported into the kingdom, the attorney-general introduced a bill into the houſe of commons, to prevent any perſon from keeping, importing, or removing, any more than a certain quantity, without a licenſe, under a penalty of 500l.

This very ſalutary law, to which the ſalvation of the kingdom may in ſome degree be imputed, was violently oppoſed by the minority in parliament, and ſeverely condemned by the united Iriſhmen, who ſeemed to concur in cenſuring every meaſure of prevention and precaution which government adopted to defeat the deſigns of the conſpirators.

In the year 1793, when republican principles were diſſeminated by all the revolutionary ſocieties in many publick prints, and various inflammatory publications, doctor Troy, titular archbiſhop of Dublin, publiſhed a pamphlet, entitled a Paſtoral Letter, in which, after departing from the main deſign which he profeſſed, he ſaid, that the antient republicks of Florence, Sienna, and Piſa, were eſtabliſhed and governed by Roman catholicks, who ſtill continue to ſupport thoſe of Poland, Venice, Genoa, Raguſa, Lucca and Marino; and he makes the ſame remark in reſpect to the popiſh cantons of the Helvetic union, and obſerves that the calviniſtical ones prefer an ariſtocratical government.

As popery has been generally congenial to monarchy, and rather favourable to deſpotiſm, it was believed that the doctor did this to attach more firmly the preſbyterians to their cauſe, by proving that the popiſh perſuaſion was well ſuited to a republick.

The reader may deduce from ſubſequent events, whether this conjecture was well founded.

It ſtruck me, and many perſons of ſagacity obſerved, that the horrors which people in general felt at the cruelties and barbarities committed by the French republicans, began to abate in the minds of the Roman catholicks in the beginning of the year 1793, and that they continued to wear away gradually, till the rebellion broke out, when it appeared that they had formed a ſtrong attachment to them.

Doctor Huſſey, in a paſtoral letter publiſhed in the year 1797, endeavoured to prove how well ſuited popery was to a republican form of government. This was a moſt inflammatory publication, which the reader will find in Appendix XXI. 11.

We may form ſome opinion of the alarming ſtate of the North, from the report of the ſecret committee of the lords, made in 1793; and from a proclamation, which iſſued the eleventh of March, of that year, which alludes chiefly to Belfaſt. It ſtates, "that certain ſeditious and ill-affected perſons, in ſeveral parts of the North, particularly in the town of Belfaſt, have endeavoured to foment and encourage diſcontent, and to defame the government and the parliament by ſeditious publications, circulated among the people; and that ſeveral bodies of men have been collected in armed aſſociations, and have been levied and arrayed in the ſaid town of Belfaſt; and that arms and gun-powder to a very large amount have been ſent thither; and that bodies of men have been drilled and exerciſed by day and night, under the pretext of obtaining a redreſs of grievances, though the obvious intention appears to be, to overawe the parliament and the government, and to dictate to both."

It then charges all perſons, under their allegiance, to abſtain from committing ſuch offences reſpectively.

This ſalutary and vigorous meaſure, recommended by the earl of Clare, gave a vital blow to volunteering; and the preſſure of the times called for it, as the Belfaſt volunteer company, aſſembled the ſeventeenth of December, 1792, reſolved on an addreſs to the volunteers of Ireland; in which they encouraged them to aſſemble as uſual, and ſeverely condemned the proclamation which iſſued on the eighth of December.

When the proclamation of the eleventh of March iſſued, the lord lieutenant's ſecretary wrote to the ſovereign of Belfaſt, deſiring him to prevent all illegal meetings of perſons in arms; and informing him, that he and the other magiſtrates would be aided by the military, ſhould they meet with any oppoſition in diſperſing them.

In the month of January, 1793, there was a meeting held at Ballynahinch, to which all the pariſhes in the county of Down ſent delegates regularly choſen, and recommended to them to promote Parliamentary reform and Catholick emancipation; and at a town meeting held in February following at Carrickfergus, in the county of Antrim, beſides diſcuſſing theſe ſubjects, the policy of holding a national convention was ſtrongly enforced.

In the beginning of the year 1793, meetings of the people were held in different towns and diſtricts in the counties of Down and Antrim; when they inculcated the neceſſity of Parliamentary reform and Catholick emancipation, condemned the eſtabliſhment of the militia, as tending to enſlave the nation, and recommended the volunteers to aſſemble as uſual.

On the fifteenth of February, 1793, a provincial meeting was held at Dungannon, in the county of Tyrone, to which moſt of the pariſhes in Ulſter ſent delegates.

Their debates were highly inflammatory. Every thing that could tend to depreciate the conſtitution, and debaſe and vilify the members of the government in the opinion of the people, was ſaid there. They inveighed ſtrongly againſt the war, and entered into reſolutions againſt it.

Doctor Dickſon, a preſbyterian miniſter, and a noted demagogue, was the leading orator there. He inveighed bitterly againſt fencibles; * ſaid, that the militia were but ſubſtitutes for them, and that the object

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* Four regiments of them were raiſed in the year 1782, on advantageous terms to the ſtate; becauſe the officers were not to receive half-pay on being diſbanded. They were hateful to the factious demagogues of that day, who hoped, through the volunteers, to ſubvert the conſtitution, as there were but few troops in the kingdom.

object of both was to enſlave and not to defend the nation. He ſaid, that Catholick emancipation was but a ſhadow, as the gunpowder act, which he ſeverely condemned, deprived not only the Roman catholicks, but the proteſtants, of the uſe of arms. He reprobated the proclamation iſſued the eleventh of March againſt the illegal aſſociation of men in arms, and ſtrongly exhorted the volunteers to aſſemble as uſual. He declared, that he had three ſermons ready for the preſs, which were calculated to enlighten the people; and he recommended to the delegates to circulate them in their reſpective diſtricts. The publication of them was to be announced in the Northern Star, and Samuel Neilſon was one of the perſons appointed to receive ſubſcriptions. He ſaid, that the militia eſtabliſhment was merely to promote venality and patronage for the infamous train who fatten on the ſpoils of the people. He condemned the war in ſevere terms.

At the requeſt of the herd of republicans aſſembled at Dungannon, he preached a ſermon, or rather a political diſcourſe, fraught with phlogiſtick principles, in a meeting-houſe, and was attended by perſons of every religious perſuaſion. His text was Joſeph's advice to his brethren, "See that ye fall not out by the way."

He recommended in his ſermon Catholick emancipation, and reform of parliament, on the baſis of chriſtianity.

In the ſummer of 1797, he, after the manner of Thelwall, uſed to read political diſcourſes, which he called evening lectures, to his congregation at Portaferry, for the purpoſe, as he ſaid, of enlightening them.

At Dungannon, they framed fifteen reſolutions, which reflected upon government, and were very inflammatory; and before their prorogation, they appointed a ſtanding committee, who were to concert meaſures for aſſembling a national convention.

Soon after, moſt of the volunteers, and many town and diſtrict meetings of the people in Ulſter, aſſembled, and expreſſed their approbation of theſe reſolutions.

Nothing can afford a ſtronger argument in favour of an union with Great Britain, than ſuch meetings of the people, aſſembled for the purpoſe of overawing the parliament; particularly, as they were conſtantly encouraged and made uſe of as engines to diſtreſs government, by the diſcontented members of parliament, both in England and Ireland, at the expence of publick morals, peace, and induſtry.

In defiance of the proclamation of the eleventh of March, the True Blue and Cork union volunteers adopted the following reſolution, the thirty-firſt of May, 1793: "We proclaim aloud that we will never part with our arms, but with our lives;" and many other volunteer corps entered into ſimilar reſolutions.

Though the Roman catholicks had been recently put exactly on a footing with proteſtants, except that they were precluded from ſitting in parliament, and from about thirty offices in the executive department, the defenders began in the month of June to commit the moſt dreadful outrages in many parts of the kingdom, but particularly in the counties of Kerry, Cork, Wexford, Limerick, Queen's county, Meath, Weſtmeath, Dublin, Cavan, Monaghan, Louth, and in the liberties of Drogheda, Leitrim, Longford, Roſcommon, Mayo, Sligo, Armagh, Down, Donegal, and Derry.

Treaſon and diſaffection were univerſally diſſeminated at this time. The united Iriſhmen uſed to ſend emiſſaries to different parts of the kingdom, who made it a practice of diſperſing ſeditious handbills, in every county through which they paſſed, from carriages. *

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* Leſt it ſhould be ſaid, that what I have aſſerted as to the diſturbed ſtate of the kingdom this year is not founded, I give in Appendix, No. IX. a ſtatement of ſome of the outrages committed in different parts of the kingdom.

As the united Iriſhmen of Dublin and the provincial meeting at Dungannon propoſed the convoking a national aſſembly, which was to have aſſembled in the month of September following, the earl of Clare, ever vigilant and attentive to the publick good, whoſe ſagacity and political wiſdom could be equalled by nothing but his firmneſs, preſented a bill, "To prevent the election or other appointment of conventions, or other unlawful aſſemblies, under pretence of preparing or preſenting publick petitions or other addreſſes to his majeſty, or the parliament."

This ſalutary meaſure averted a ſtorm, which would probably have produced general anarchy and deſolation, as there were but few troops in the kingdom; and the volunteers, at that time numerous and well armed and appointed, were very much inflamed againſt government, by the ſpeeches of factious demagogues.

Nothing can evince more ſtrongly the policy and utility of this law, than that Samuel Neilſon declared upon oath, before the houſe of lords, "That the convention bill was calculated to meet every part of the ſyſtem of united Iriſhmen." When he read it, he ſaid, "he ſuppoſed the framer of it had their conſtitution before him whilſt he was framing it." Neilſon was one of the moſt active and intelligent members of the Iriſh union, except Tone.

In the month of October, 1793, the reverend and amiable Mr. Butler, chaplain to the biſhop of Meath, was murdered near his lordſhip's houſe at Ardbrackan. It appeared afterwards, that he had been previouſly tried and ſentenced to die by a committee of aſſaſſination.

During the whole of the year 1794, the defenders became terrifick, committing nocturnal robbery and aſſaſſination, in the counties of Cork, Dublin, Meath, Leitrim, Longford, Armagh, Louth, Cavan, and part of Down, in conſequence of which, the proteſtant inhabitants of moſt of them aſſembled, formed aſſociations for their defence, and offered rewards for bringing the defenders to juſtice.

They were ſo daring and deſtructive in the county of Longford, that the nobility, clergy and freeholders united, reſolved to levy money by ſubſcription, for raiſing and maintaining a body of horſe for their defence; and having addreſſed the viceroy for permiſſion to do ſo, obtained it.

In the month of February, 1794, a numerous body of inſurgents aſſembled between Dunmanway and Bandon, in the county of Cork, and ſwore ſeveral perſons not to pay tithes, taxes, or hearth-money, and to obey no laws but thoſe of captain Right; and even threatened to attack the town of Bandon, whoſe inhabitants being almoſt excluſively proteſtants of the eſtabliſhed church, are noted for their loyalty. They were incited to this by ſeditious hand-bills, ſome of which were ſent by poſt from Dublin.

They aſſembled again in the month of March, aſſumed the function of legiſlators, and diſperſed a body of police attended by a magiſtrate. They had the boldneſs to attack a party of the Carlow militia, and wounded a magiſtrate, while reading the riot act.

In the ſame month they aſſembled often in different parts of that county.

The ſheriffs of the city of Dublin, in the year 1794, and the other magiſtrates there, aſſured me, that the defenders were conſtantly forming plots and conſpiracies in it, and that they were very numerous.

On the fourth of March, a bill was preſented to the houſe of commons, for a reform of parliament; which was a favourite object with the diſaffected.

In the month of March, 1794, the united Iriſhmen diſperſed ſeditious hand-bills in the univerſity of Dublin, in order to ſeduce the ſtudents from their allegiance.

In the month of January of this year, Mr. Pentland, a revenue officer, was barbarouſly murdered at Drogheda in the night.

On the twenty-eighth of April, 1794, the reverend Mr. Jackſon, a proteſtant clergyman, was committed to Newgate on a charge of high treaſon.

He came to Ireland as a miſſionary from the French government, to lay a plan for invading it; and was convicted of that crime in the year 1795, but died of poiſon in the dock, before the ſentence could be pronounced. This man was formerly the confidential friend and private ſecretary of the famous ducheſs of Kingſton, who was better known by the name of miſs Chudleigh. *

A. H. Rowan, who was concerned in the plot with him, made his eſcape from Newgate, where he was under ſentence of impriſonment, for having diſperſed ſome ſeditious papers.

On the night of the twenty-third of May, 1794, alderman Warren, ſheriffs Giffard and Jenkin, attended by ſome conſtables, repaired to Tailors-hall in Back-lane and diſperſed the united Iriſhmen, whom they found ſitting in conſultation, and ſeized their papers; but they continued afterwards to ſit, and to carry on their nefarious machinations with ſecreſy, but with equal effect. It appeared afterwards, that many of the leaders of the Catholick committee were members of the ſociety of united Iriſhmen, though they artfully concealed themſelves while that body openly avowed its exiſtence, and publiſhed its proceedings; having left the obnoxious and dangerous part to the proteſtants, who, though few in number, ſerved as ſcape-goats to draw on them the vengeance of the law, and the deteſtation of all good men and loyal ſubjects; and this gave a colour to the Romaniſts to ſay, that the plot was originally framed by proteſtants.

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* There is not a doubt but that this man was invited by the Iriſh republicans to undertake this miſſion.

I give the reader the names of ſome of the proteſtant leaders, with the fate which befel them.

Theobald Wolfe Tone convicted, but cut his throat.
Honourable Simon Butler, died in extreme poverty in Wales.
James Napper Tandy, fled.
Archibald H. Rowan. †
Oliver Bond, convicted of high treaſon, but died in priſon.
Beauchamp B. Harvey. *
Thomas Ruſſel. †
Arthur O'Connor. †
Roger O'Connor. †
Samuel Neilſon. †
John Chambers. †
Henry Sheares. *
John Sheares. *
Joſeph Levins. †
Henry Jackſon. †
Matthew Dowling. †
James Reynolds. †
Thomas A. Emmet. †
John Burke. †
Hugh Wilſon. †
Robert Simms, † proprietor of the Northern Star.
Edward Hudſon. †

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† Exiles. * Were hanged.

CIVIL ORGANIZATION OF THE UNITED IRISHMEN.

I SHALL now endeavour to give the reader an idea of the organization of their clubs, which, to impoſe on the people, were ſaid to be formed merely for civil purpoſes; and the better to induce the populace to enter into them, it was falſely and wickedly ſuggeſted, that it would produce an abolition of tythes, and an equal diſtribution of property. The inferior ſocieties at their firſt inſtitution conſiſted of thirty-ſix members; they were afterwards, however, reduced to twelve. Whenever they exceeded that number, the exceſs was diſmiſſed, with orders to make proſelytes for the foundation of a new ſociety. The twelve choſe a ſecretary and treaſurer; and the ſecretaries of five ſocieties formed what was called a lower baronial committee, which had the immediate direction and ſuperintendence of the five ſocieties, who thus contributed to its inſtitution.

From each lower baronial committee thus conſtituted, one member was delegated to an upper baronial committee, which in like manner aſſumed and exerciſed the ſuperintendence and direction of all the lower baronial committees in the ſeveral counties. The next ſuperior committees were, in populous towns, diſtinguiſhed by the name of diſtrict committees, and in counties by the name of county committees, and were compoſed of members delegated by the upper baronials. Each upper baronial committee delegated one of its members to the diſtrict, or county committee, and theſe diſtrict or county committees had the ſuperintendence and direction of all the upper baronials, who contributed to their inſtitution.

Having thus organized the ſeveral counties and populous towns, a ſubordinate directory was erected in each of the four provinces, compoſed of two or three members, according to the extent and population of the diſtricts which they repreſented, who were delegated to a provincial committee, and had the immediate direction and ſuperintendence of the ſeveral county and diſtrict committees in each of the four provinces; and a general executive directory, compoſed of five perſons, was elected by the provincial directories; but the election was ſo managed, that none but the ſecretaries of the provincial knew on whom the election fell. It was made by ballot, but not reported to the electors, the appointment being notified only to thoſe on whom the election devolved; and the executive directory, thus compoſed, aſſumed and exerciſed the ſupreme and uncontroled command of the whole body of the union.

The manner of communicating the orders iſſued by the executive directory was peculiarly calculated to baffle detection. One member alone of the executive communicated with the ſecretary of each provincial committee or directory; the order was tranſmitted by him to the ſecretary of each county or diſtrict committee in his province; the ſecretaries of the county and diſtrict committees communicated with the upper baronials in each county; they communicated with the ſecretaries of the lower baronial committees, who gave the order to the ſecretaries of each ſubordinate committee, by whom it was given to the ſeveral inferior members of the union.

In the month of March, 1794, many perſons were convicted at Dundalk of appearing in arms in the night as defenders, and of adminiſtering unlawful oaths; thirteen of them were capitally convicted.

In the month of May, 1794, the defenders were guilty of inſurrections and outrages, little ſhort of open rebellion in the counties of Meath and Cavan. At Kilnaleek in the latter, and in the neighbouring country, they were three days under arms. They laid waſte a large tract of the biſhop of Meath's eſtate, having plundered and burned the houſes of many of his proteſtant tenants. The royal Dublin militia, aſſiſted by a number of preſbyterians, purſued them to Ballynaugh, which town they took poſſeſſion of, and fired on the king's troops from the windows. At laſt the militia were obliged to burn the town to diſlodge them.

About the ſame time, at Drumſna in the county of Leitrim, nine police men fled into a houſe from a mob of inſurgents, who ſet fire to the houſe, and murdered all the police men as they endeavoured to eſcape from the flames.

In the province of Connaught, particularly in the county of Roſcommon, the defenders were terrifick in the years 1794 and 1795. The maſs of the people were furniſhed with pikes, and the houſes of proteſtants were conſtantly plundered of arms. At laſt, many of the nobility and gentry aſſembled at Roſcommon in the month of May, and reſolved to lower rents, and to raiſe the wages of labourers, in hopes of allaying the dreadful ſpirit of outrage which actuated the people.

They adjourned their meeting for a week; but they ſoon diſcovered the folly of compromiſing with a mob in a ſtate of inſurrection, little ſhort of open rebellion.

When they were approaching the town, on the day to which they adjourned, they ſaw numbers of people armed with pikes in all the adjacent fields, who purſued ſome of their philanthropick benefactors ſo cloſely, that they narrowly eſcaped into Roſcommon.

While they were ſitting in the town-hall, aſhamed of their folly and puſillanimity, Mr. Mills of Fairymount, about ſix miles off, arrived with an account that a numerous body of pikemen had ſet fire to his houſe, after having plundered it.

The reverend Mr. Carey, a magiſtrate, having gone there with a party of dragoons, and found the houſe in flames, attacked a large body of the inſurgents, who were armed with pikes, and killed about thirty of them.

In the year 1794, many houſes were plundered of arms in the counties of Meath and Weſtmeath.

At the ſpring aſſizes for the county of Sligo, much diſturbed by the defenders, many of them were convicted of robbing houſes of arms, and adminiſtering unlawful oaths.

Early in the year 1795, one Cunny, a ſchoolmaſter, was detected near Letterkenny, in the county of Donegal, in the act of adminiſtering the defenders oath. He acknowledged his crime, and convicted ſome of his accomplices. The purport of the oath was, to emancipate the Roman catholicks; to aſſiſt the French, and to extirpate the proteſtants; and it inculcated ſobriety, ſecreſy and obedience to their committees in all things. It contained an oath of allegiance to the king, as long as he lives. Some ſuch mental reſervation appeared in all oaths adminiſtered by the defenders; which was conſtrued thus (by Weldon, a defender, executed in the year 1796,) to ſuch perſons as he ſwore: "If the king's head were off to-morrow, there would be an end of your oath." This mental reſervation was couched in the following words in the oaths adminiſtered in other places: "As long as I live ſubject to the ſame government;" which appeared in the oath found upon Sharky, at Drumbanagher, in the county of Armagh, in the year 1789; but they meant to get rid of their oath by renouncing and overturning the government, which appeared afterwards to have been the object of all the defenders.

At the foot of the oath found upon Cunny, there was a tree of liberty, and a croſs marked thus, R.+C. meaning Roman catholick.

Defenderiſm was introduced into the county of Donegal from Connaught, by Leitrim and Roſcommon; and the doctrines of the united Iriſhmen from Belfaſt, in the year 1796, by men who appeared in the guiſe of pedlars. *

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* This ſtrongly marked the diſcriminating features of the conſpiracy. Belfaſt was the centre of motion in the north, and its inhabitants,

In 1795 the defenders became more furious and formidable than ever, in many parts of the kingdom, which aroſe from the following cauſe:

Lord Fitzwilliam, appointed to ſucceed lord Weſtmorland in the government of Ireland, landed at Dublin on the fourth day of January.

Some time before his arrival, the leading Romaniſts having received aſſurances that the whole of the popery laws would be repealed during his adminiſtration, the ſub-committee prepared a petition to parliament, praying that a law might paſs for that purpoſe; and they recommended to perſons of their perſuaſion, in all counties, towns and boroughs, to prepare ſimilar petitions. Their orders were obeyed, and the petitions were preſented to parliament on its meeting.

It is remarkable that the firſt addreſs, preſented to his lordſhip in the name of the Catholick body, was ſigned by doctor James Mc. Nevin, Mr. John Sweetman and Mr. Richard Mc. Cormick, three ſelf-convicted traitors.

It was univerſally ſaid and believed that Mr. Grattan, who came to Dublin ſometime before earl Fitzwilliam left London, gave undoubted aſſurances to the leading Romaniſts there, that they were to be gratified in their wiſhes in the fulleſt manner.

It was ſaid in the Northern Star, on the eighth of September, 1794, that there was good authority for ſaying, that lord Fitzwilliam was to be viceroy; and that the firſt meaſure of his adminiſtration was to be the emancipation of the Roman catholicks.

On Monday the ſecond of February, 1795, the petition of the town of Belfaſt, (the maſs of whoſe inhabitants are preſbyterians,) in favour of Catholick emancipation,

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inhabitants, who were moſtly preſbyterians, meditated the eſtabliſhment of a republick as their main object, and conſidered aſſaſſination merely as the means of promoting it; but the maſs of the conſpirators in Munſter, Leinſter, and Connaught, being papiſts, aimed at the extirpation of proteſtants in the firſt inſtance, and as their primary object, of which the reader will be convinced in the ſequel.

emancipation, was preſented to the houſe of commons by the members of the county of Antrim.

About the ſame time, there appeared in the Northern Star, ſome inflammatory addreſſes to the volunteers, invoking them to reſume their arms and ſave their country.

On the twelfth of February, 1795, Mr. Grattan moved for leave to bring in a bill for further relief of the Roman catholicks.

Lord Fitzwilliam was recalled ſuddenly from the government of Ireland, and returned to England on the twenty-fifth of March.

The reaſons aſſigned for it were, that his lordſhip exceeded the powers granted to him by the adminiſtration of England, in attempting to repeal the whole of the popery laws, and to remove moſt of the old officers of the crown, who had ſerved his majeſty the greater part of their lives with the utmoſt fidelity; and this by the advice of his excellency's cabinet miniſters in Ireland, of whom Mr. Grattan was the chief.

It is not to be doubted, but that the Romaniſts were buoyed up with the hope of being admitted to equal privileges with the proteſtants, though the Engliſh cabinet never empowered lord Fitzwilliam to make them ſuch conceſſions; but on the contrary, deſired him to prevent the Catholick claims from being diſcuſſed. Lord Grenville and Mr. Pitt publickly defied his lordſhip to prove that he had received ſuch powers.

On the ſecond of March, 1795, a debate took place on the recall of lord Fitzwilliam, in the courſe of which ſir Laurence Parſons ſaid, that, if the Roman catholicks were diſappointed in the expectations with which they had been filled, every gentleman in Ireland would be under the neceſſity of keeping five or ſix dragoons in his houſe for his protection; and it turned out afterwards that he ſpoke prophetick truth.

It was univerſally believed, and the contrary has never been proved, that Mr. Grattan was the perſon who filled the Roman catholicks with theſe vain hopes, with a view of acquiring popularity, or from ſome other ſecret motive.

It was generally thought that he reaſoned thus: If the Roman catholicks of Ireland, the majority of its inhabitants, who have been ready on all occaſions to join any foreign foe againſt the intereſt of the proteſtant empire of Great Britain, ſhall come forward in a body, and aſk for an equal participation of civil liberty and political power with the proteſtants, in a ſtyle of ſturdy and menacing ſolicitation, at a time that both Great Britain and Ireland are threatened by a barbarous enemy, the Engliſh miniſtry muſt grant, from intimidation, what their policy and prudence might withhold.

At the ſame time Mr. Grattan, and the partiſans of the Romaniſts, aſſured earl Fitzwilliam, that a ſeparation of Ireland from England would moſt certainly take place, ſhould they be diſappointed in their expectations; and the very diſturbed ſtate of the kingdom, agitated at that time by the defenders and the united Iriſhmen, gave ſome credit to their aſſertions.

His excellency, relying on their veracity and integrity, perſiſted in promoting the wiſhes of the Romaniſts, I believe, from the beſt motives, and was therefore recalled.

From the reſpectability and amiableneſs of his character, no perſon could doubt the rectitude of his intentions, or that he had any other object at heart than the intereſt of the empire; but it is believed that his lordſhip was unacquainted with the real ſtate of the kingdom.

Notwithſtanding the recall of earl Fitzwilliam, Mr. Grattan preſented, on the twenty-fourth of April, a bill for further relief of the Roman catholicks, which contained a total repeal of the popery laws,

laws. It was read a ſecond time, debated and rejected the fourth of May; the numbers having been 155 to 84.

It muſt be univerſally allowed, that Mr. Grattan was very imprudent in bringing this meaſure forward, becauſe he could not entertain the moſt diſtant hope of its ſucceſs; and he muſt have known that the diſcuſſion of it would excite much diſcontent among the maſs of the Romaniſts, who had manifeſted a ſtrong ſpirit of diſaffection during the three preceding years.

The Roman catholicks of Dublin voted an addreſs of thanks to Mr. Grattan for his exertions in their favour; and his anſwer to them was very intemperate and inflammatory.*

The diſappointment of the Romaniſts was ſuch, as to fill them with the moſt implacable hatred againſt the government and their proteſtant fellow-ſubjects, which manifeſted itſelf in various ways, but particularly in the deſtructive rage of defenders, who deſolated many parts of the kingdom; and particularly the counties of Dublin, Meath, Weſtmeath, Kildare, King's and Queen's county, Louth, Armagh, Monaghan, Cavan, Derry, Donegal, Roſcommon, Leitrim, Longford, Sligo, and part of the county of Down.

They plundered proteſtants houſes of arms, often burned them, and killed ſuch of their inmates as made any reſiſtance: They houghed their cattle, wrote threatening letters to compel perſons to comply with their unreaſonable requiſitions; and frequently maſſacred thoſe who dared to proſecute them, or to aſſiſt the civil magiſtrate in enforcing the execution of the laws. The loyal ſubjects deſerted their houſes in many parts of the diſturbed countries, and fled to their reſpective county towns, or to the metropolis, for protection.

Lord Camden, who ſucceeded lord Fitzwilliam as viceroy of Ireland, landed in Dublin on the ſecond of April, 1795; a nobleman univerſally revered there, for his good ſenſe and firmneſs, the mildneſs of his diſpoſition, and the amiableneſs of his manners.

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* See Mr. Grattan's addreſs, Appendix, No. X.

The chief officers of ſtate, and many of the nobility and gentry, repaired to the caſtle, to pay their reſpects to his excellency. The lord chancellor at his return was attacked by a gang of aſſaſſins, who, by repeated vollies of ſtones, broke the pannels of his coach, gave his lordſhip a ſevere contuſion in the forehead, and would have murdered him, but that the ſkill of his coachman, and the agility of his horſes, enabled him to eſcape.

The primate was alſo attacked at his return from the caſtle, but received no other injury than that his coach was in ſome degree damaged.

The ſame party repaired immediately to the houſe of Mr. John Claudius Beresford, nephew of the marquis of Waterford, and aſſaulted it with many ſhowers of ſtones; but one of them having been killed by a ſhot from it, the remainder fled.

It was afterwards proved, that this mob was entirely compoſed of defenders, who had been ſelected by their leaders, to raiſe an inſurrection; and lord Clare and Mr. Beresford's family were particularly the object of their vengeance, becauſe they had given the moſt decided oppoſition to Catholick emancipation, and reform of parliament; the two engines by which the diſaffected hoped to ſubvert the conſtitution.

The Romaniſts in Dublin were ſo much incenſed at lord Fitzwilliam's recall, that a combination was formed in Francis-ſtreet chapel, that no papiſts ſhould hold any dealings or any friendly intercourſe with proteſtants; and their example was followed in all the other chapels.

There was to have been a charity ſermon in James's-ſtreet chapel, but it was ſuddenly put off, for the purpoſe of entering into this combination; by which many of the poorer claſs of proteſtants in

Thomas, Francis, and James's-ſtreets, principally inhabited by papiſts, were ruined.

An eminent flour-factor aſſured me, that all the popiſh bakers, who had dealt with him, ſuddenly left him; and that to make up for the loſs which he ſuſtained by it, he was under a neceſſity of giving credit to perſons whoſe ſolvency was doubtful. Papiſts alſo withdrew their cuſtom from proteſtant bakers.

Should the proteſtants purſue the ſame vindictive and uncharitable ſyſtem, the Roman catholicks would be by far the greateſt ſufferers; as the former poſſeſs at leaſt nineteen parts out of twenty of the property of the kingdom.

The maſs of the popiſh rabble were univerſally infected with defenderiſm in the metropolis and its environs, in which outrages were perpetrated every night, and committees were frequently detected and ſeized with their papers, in the act of forming treaſonable plots. The police commiſſioners were in poſſeſſion of a muſter-roll of 4000 perſons aſſociated in theſe clubs; but the popiſh multitude in the metropolis were in general at this time enrolled in them.

The united Iriſhmen and defenders were then very active, and in many inſtances ſucceſsful in ſeducing the military from their allegiance, and in attaching them to their cauſe. They occaſioned a mutiny in the 104th and 111th regiments quartered in Dublin, and endeavoured to procure their co-operation and aſſiſtance in an inſurrection and maſſacre, which they meditated on the twenty-fourth of Auguſt, 1795. Many of the ſoldiers deſerted from their regiments to join the rebels; and on that day a mob of traitors, who met the caſtle guard on Eſſex-bridge, were ſo confident of being joined by them, that one of their leaders attempted to wrench the colours from the officer who bore them, as a ſignal for a general inſurrection; and another of them mounted on the bridge, and began to exhort the populace to riſe, in an inflammatory harangue; but he was ſoon ſilenced by a dragoon, who drew his ſword, and gave him a deſperate wound.

Another dragoon, who was ſent with intelligence of this event to the lord lieutenant, who reſided in the park, was ſeized by the rebels, cruelly beaten, and narrowly eſcaped aſſaſſination.

It was very fortunate that the intemperate zeal of the rebels got the better of their prudence; for, if they had poſtponed the execution of their plot till night, it is very probable that the city would have been in flames; but the arrival of a large body of troops from Lehaunſtown camp completely put an end to the hopes of the diſaffected. The joy of the ill-diſpoſed to government, and to the conſtitution, on the arrival of earl Fitzwilliam, could be equalled by nothing but the rage and diſcontent which they diſplayed at his departure; for they were led to hope, that the meaſures of his adminiſtration would have enabled them to ſucceed in their grand object of forming a republick.

A general mourning was obſerved at Belfaſt the twenty-fifth of March, the day of his departure; and the congregations of two meeting houſes there reſolved not to addreſs lord Camden.

Some of the diſſenting congregations in Dublin, following their example, reſolved, on the ſixth of April, "that it is the unanimous opinion of the underſigned, that this congregation ſhould not, as a religious ſociety, wait on any lord lieutenant, on his arrival in this kingdom, with a congratulatory addreſs."

On the twenty-fifth of March, 1795, the following paragraph appeared in the Northern Star, printed at Belfaſt: "It cannot but be matter of proud exultation to the ſocieties of united Iriſhmen, that the whole people of Ireland, with exceptions ſcarcely worth mentioning, are now of thoſe very opinions which they broached three years ago, and which were then conſidered by the wiſe, the conſtitutional, the moderate and the cautious, as ſymptoms not only of madneſs, but even of wickedneſs in the extreme ;" ſo convinced were the republicans of Belfaſt, that the departure of lord Fitzwilliam had poiſoned the minds of the people, and had infected them with the contagious doctrines of the united Iriſhmen.

The Romiſh committee in Dublin, diſappointed and incenſed at the recall of lord Fitzwilliam, ſent three delegates to St. James's, John Keogh, Edward Byrne, and Mr. Huſſey, commonly called baron Huſſey, with a petition, which they preſented to his majeſty at the levee, praying that his excellency might continue in the government of Ireland ; but they received no other anſwer, than that the ſecretary of ſtate informed them, that the lord lieutenant of Ireland had received orders to communicate to them his majeſty's wiſhes on the ſubject of their application.

On the ninth of April, a meeting of the Roman catholick gentlemen and tradeſmen of Dublin was convened by publick notice at Francis-ſtreet chapel, to receive the report of their delegates, who had preſented their petition at St. James's.

Mr. John Keogh, ſtated, " that the only anſwer they could get from the duke of Portland was, that his majeſty had communicated his wiſhes on this head to the lord lieutenant of Ireland."

He ſaid " he was not ſorry however that the effort had been made, though defeated ; for it pointed out one fact at leaſt, in which the feelings of every Iriſhman were intereſted, and by which the Iriſh legiſlature would be rouſed to a ſenſe of its own dignity. It ſhewed, that the internal regulations of Ireland, to which alone an Iriſh parliament was competent, were to be previouſly adjuſted by a Britiſh cabinet. * The preſent, he hoped, was the laſt time the catholicks would aſſemble in a diſtinct body, their cauſe being

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* This doctrine, which was univerſally entertained by the diſaffected, led to a ſeparation, and evinced the neceſſity of an union.

being no longer a diſtinct cauſe, but adopted by their proteſtant brethren." †

He ſtated, "that revolutions had taken place in America, in France, Brabant, Holland, and Poland, which aroſe from the oppreſſion of the people, and which rouſed them to reſiſtance: That in endeavouring to ſubdue America, England had incurred a debt of one hundred millions, which ſhe muſt bear till the day of judgment, *if her government laſts ſo long.*" In ſhort, he gave a broad hint of what was to be apprehended from the diſcontent of his brethren in Ireland.

In the courſe of the debate, the orators ſeverely denounced the meaſure of an union with England, which they abuſed as vicious, venal, ambitious, and bankrupt.

They anxiouſly endeavoured to impreſs the proteſtants in the country parts of Ireland with a belief, that thoſe of Dublin earneſtly deſired to promote the wiſhes of the Romaniſts; which was by no means the caſe, as they had frequently given unequivocal proofs of the contrary in the years 1792 and 1795.

I ſhall give the reader a conciſe account of the trial of James Weldon, a trooper, who was tried for high treaſon in Dublin, on the twenty-fifth day of December, 1795; as it will give him a perfect idea of the malignant deſigns of the miſcreants, called defenders, who were very numerous at that time in the metropolis.

Two men of the names of Kennedy and Brady having prevailed on one Lawler, a carver and gilder, to become a defender, conducted him to the lodgings of Weldon, near the barrack of Dublin, where he was quartered, and where he was ſworn a member of that order.

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† This was by no means true; for the proteſtants of the church of Ireland, with a very few exceptions, were averſe to conceding their claims; and the corporation of Dublin petitioned the throne againſt them.

At different meetings afterwards, it was ſaid, that there would be a riſing, to carry into effect the purpoſes of the defenders ; and at one held in Plunket-ſtreet, where eighteen or nineteen perſons were aſſembled, a propoſition was made for buying gunpowder and arms, for the purpoſe of ſeizing the caſtle of Dublin ; and it was alſo propoſed to ſeduce the army.

They knew each other by certain ſigns, which Weldon communicated to Lawler, and the paſs-word was Eliphiſimatis, which has been variouſly explained.

Weldon adminiſtered the following oath to Lawler: "I, William Lawler, of my good will and conſent, do ſwear to be true to his majeſty king George the third." This paragraph, which is not only unexceptionable but laudable, ſerved as a lure to inveigle ſuch perſons as were loyal, and to varniſh over the ſubſequent part of it, which is treaſonable. The next paragraph is: "I will be true while under the ſame government:" * Obliquely importing, that they would be faithful no longer than during the exiſtence of the government which they meant to ſubvert. "I ſwear to be true, aiding and abetting, to every true brother;" which was a name for a defender known among themſelves. "And in every form and article, from the firſt foundation in 1790, and every amendment hitherto ; and I will be obedient to my committees, ſuperior commanders, and officers, in all lawful proceedings." This meant their own bye-laws. It then imports, "that he will not quarrel with a brother, but live friendly and lovingly with him."

In a ſubſequent converſation, Weldon obſerved on the firſt paragraph of the oath, "That if the king's head was off to-morrow morning, we ſhould be no longer under his government."

Hart, one of the conſpirators, told a young man, whom he introduced to Weldon to be ſworn, that the

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* This appeared in the oath found upon Sharky in 1789. See vol. ii. p. 220.

the object was to get arms, and to aſſiſt the French when they ſhould come.

Lawler ſaid, he paſſed for a Roman catholick among the defenders, becauſe Brady deſired him to do ſo; and Hart declared, he would not ſit with Dry and Coffey, two defenders, becauſe they were proteſtants.

At laſt, Hart having informed Lawler, who was a proteſtant, that all perſons of that religion were to be maſſacred, he, on the twenty-third of Auguſt, diſcloſed the whole of the plot to Mr. Cowen of Grafton-ſtreet, who employed him.

The ſubſtance of what he related to Mr. Cowen, was this: That Hart informed him on Sunday the twenty-third of Auguſt, that there was to have been a general inſurrection and a maſſacre of all the proteſtants, on Saturday the twenty-ſecond; but it was poſtponed till the harveſt was over, leſt a famine might enſue, ſhould it take place before. Mr. Cowen took him to Mr. Hamilton, the lord lieutenant's ſecretary; and while they were at the caſtle, the mutiny, which I already deſcribed, occurred on Eſſex-bridge. Another meeting took place next day, when Lawler informed them, that there was to be a numerous aſſembly of the defenders at the Coombe, in the Liberty, on that night; that they were to ſurpriſe the Coombe guard; to take their clothes and their arms; to repair to the caſtle, where, having the guiſe of ſoldiers, they would be admitted; and then to diſtribute among their friends all the arms in the arſenal. * As the two regiments in garriſon at this time were diſaffected, it is probable that they would not have been oppoſed. Mr. Hamilton ſent for alderman James, and deſired him to repair to the Coombe with a body of cavalry, which he accordingly did, attended by Mr. Cowen and Lawler; and they found there a mob of three or

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* Trial of Weldon, taken by counſellor Ridgeway, and publiſhed by alderman Exſhaw.

or four thouſand ruffians, who gave them three cheers on their arrival, but hiſſed them at their departure. Lawler, who mixed with his brother defenders, recommended to alderman James not to ſuffer a ſhot to be fired, becauſe, ſhould a conflict enſue, it was to be feared that the Coombe guard would join them; however, on being threatened by alderman James to be fired on, they diſperſed. Lawler ſwore, on the trials of Brady, Kennedy, and Hart, that, at a meeting of the defenders held at Stoneybatter, they ſpoke of attacking the chancellor in the courſe of the winter, as he returned from the houſe of lords, and of hanging him on a tree in Stephen's-green.

Every collateral circumſtance in this buſineſs corroborated the teſtimony of Lawler. He ſwore, that Weldon always carried the oath in his fob; and when he was arreſted it was found there. The ſame thing occurred on the apprehenſion of Kennedy.

Weldon, on whom the defenders oath was found when arreſted, was convicted of high treaſon, and hanged on the ſecond of March, 1796. Previous to his execution, he confeſſed to one of his officers, that Hanlon (a noted defender) told him, there was to be a general inſurrection; that none but defenders would be ſafe, and that they were all Roman catholicks.

It is very remarkable, that the defenders oath, adminiſtered in the moſt remote counties from the capital, was much of the ſame tenor with that which Weldon exhibited to Lawler; and that it contained the condition, "as long as I live under the ſame government," or, "as long as the king lives;" which was alſo in the oath found upon Sharky at Drumbanagher in the year 1789.

It appeared on the trials of Brady, Kennedy and Hart, for the ſame crime, on the twenty-ſecond of February, 1796, that one Burke, who had been expelled from the univerſity for having endeavoured to propagate treaſon and atheiſm among the ſtudents, informed Lawler, that the plan was this: That he was to find ten ſelect men, each of whom was to procure ten more; that each of them was to find five, and that they, united, would be ſufficient to take the caſtle.

One hundred of them were to get ſcarlet uniforms, to make the people believe that the ſoldiers had joined them.

Lawler made up his number in a fortnight. They met in a room in High-ſtreet, and were called the philanthropick ſociety. Le Blanc, a Frenchman, who fled, was a member, and was generally either chairman, or committee-man.

I give the reader a conciſe account of the trial of ſome aſſaſſins, who conſpired to murder one Hanlon, a gunner in the artillery, as it will unqueſtionably evince the ſanguinary and treaſonable deſigns of the defenders.

Thomas Smith, a gunner in that corps, and a proteſtant of the eſtabliſhed church, was ſworn a defender in January, 1795, in the houſe of James Doyle, on George's-quay, and in the preſence of ſaid Doyle and Andrew Glennan, who were commanders of the regiment of defenders to which they belonged. It was then propoſed to him, to form an intimacy with Hanlon, to conduct him to Doyle's houſe, with a promiſe of entertaining him there, that they might murder him, and throw his body into the river Liffey, as he was returning to his quarters at Chapelizod. Next morning Smith related the whole of what had paſſed at Doyle's to Lane the ſerjeant-major, and ſaid he would pretend to ſecond their deſigns.

The next meeting was at the houſe of one Carmichael, in Thomas-ſtreet, on the twenty-fourth of January, 1795, when the aſſaſſination was planned in the preſence of him, Glennan, and three men of the names of Kinſhela, Sleavan, and Shanaghan. The reaſon for wiſhing to aſſaſſinate Hanlon was, that he, on behalf of the crown, was to proſecute ſome defenders who were then confined in the gaol of Naas.

Smith communicated every thing that paſſed to his ſerjeant-major and to Hanlon, who agreed to accompany him to Carmichael's houſe, on being aſſured that ſome magiſtrates and conſtables would be ready near at hand, and would arreſt the aſſaſſins; and accordingly aldermen Alexander and Tweedy, and ſome peace-officers attended, and arreſted the aſſaſſins, in number thirteen, who were afterwards convicted and puniſhed.

In the courſe of the trial it appeared, that Smith, ſoon after he became a defender, diſcovered, that all the order of defenders had the moſt inveterate hatred and ſanguinary deſigns againſt proteſtants of every deſcription; in conſequence of which he, from motives of ſelf-preſervation, concealed his bible and prayer-book, and denied that he was of that religion; and at laſt, he and his wife agreed that he had better go into the artillery, for the ſake of protection, and that he might have an opportunity of exerciſing his devotion with ſafety. He therefore enliſted in that corps on the fifteenth of April, 1795.

In a converſation with a body of defenders, at the houſe of one Connor in Dublin, they ſaid, "That they daily expected a rebellion, and a maſſacre; that no proteſtant was to be left alive; that the oath was to ſerve France and Ireland, and under James Cole, ſir Edward Bellew, Napper Tandy, and Hamilton Rowan; that they were to have no king; to recover their eſtates; ſweep clean the proteſtants; to leave none alive; and to kill the lord lieutenant."

In the month of April, 1795, they entered into a reſolution to ſhoot the lord lieutenant as he paſſed through the park; to ſeize the magazine there; and to kill all the nobility in Dublin.*

I give the reader in Appendix, No. XII. a liſt of ſome of the outrages committed in the year 1795.

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* Trial reported by counſellor Ridgeway in 1796.

In conſequence of the dreadful outrages committed by the defenders in ſome northern counties, which I have already deſcribed, the earl of Carhampton,† by order of government, viſited thoſe of Weſtmeath, Leitrim, Longford, Roſcommon, Mayo and Sligo, in order to reſtore ſocial order in them; as thoſe miſcreants had completely impeded the execution of the laws, by a ſyſtem of terror, and had exerciſed deſpotick ſway in them.

In moſt places his lordſhip found that a leader of banditti, under the feigned name of captain Stout, had intimidated the people of the neighbourhood ſo much, that ſuch perſons as had ſuſtained any injury were afraid to proſecute, and the magiſtrates were deterred from enforcing juſtice.

Some informers had been murdered, and others, fearing the ſame fate, forfeited their recogniſances, ſooner than give evidence againſt them. One ſaid, that Larry, a farmer in his neighbourhood, another, that Thady would have his houſe burned, and himſelf murdered; for they had the hardened audacity to avow themſelves in ſome places, where they had completely ſilenced the voice of juſtice.

A party of this banditti, in the county of Longford, after having plundered the houſe of a widow of various articles, and of her rent, which ſhe had ready to pay her landlord, ſet fire to it, and threw her into the flames; where ſhe would have periſhed, but that her ſon, touched by filial piety, reſcued her, and fought for her life at the riſque of his own.

They were prevailed on to proſecute; but at the aſſizes they were ſo inſulted and threatened, that, from motives of fear, they prevaricated in their evidence, and pretended not to know the priſoners, though they were their neighbours.

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† The zeal, ſagacity and firmneſs of this nobleman, in ſupport of the crown, and in preſerving ſocial order, often at the riſk of his life, ſhould endear him to all loyal ſubjects.

They were therefore indicted for perjury, and caſt for tranſportation; but in conſideration of the age and infirmity of the woman, her ſentence was mitigated at the inſtance of lord Carhampton.

A farmer near Caſtlereagh, in the county of Roſcommon, being alarmed at a report which prevailed, that he entertained hoſtile deſigns againſt captain Stout, and had ſpoken diſrepectfully of him, repaired to a magiſtrate, ſwore an affidavit that he never had, and never would, malign, injure, or proſecute captain Stout, and poſted it up in the moſt publick part of the town; and he alſo aſked pardon of captain Stout, if he had ever uttered any expreſſions tending to diſparage him. Lord Carhampton found this affidavit poſted up in the town of Caſtlereagh.

A reſpectable proteſtant clergyman of the county of Roſcommon informed me, that a body of pikemen ruſhed into his houſe in the night, and offered to ſwear him to be loyal; and on aſſuring them that he would be loyal to the king, they aſked him, What king? and on his ſaying king George, they cried out, No, no, a Roman king, meaning a popiſh ſovereign; and they added, that they muſt have a king of their own.

Mr. Bridgeham, an active and intelligent magiſtrate in the county of Sligo, who had the courage to do his duty in defiance of the menaces of theſe miſcreants, informed me, that the prieſt of a certain pariſh adviſed him not to perſevere in his exertions, but to remain a paſſive ſpectator of theſe outrages, for that otherwiſe he would be murdered. He alſo diſcovered, that the prieſts, at their reſpective chapels, collected money on Sundays and holidays, for the purpoſe, as they ſaid, of defraying the expence of obtaining a right to ſit in parliament for perſons of their order; but he afterwards diſcovered that it was to purchaſe arms and ammunition.*

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* I received much the ſame information from Mr. Perceval, of Templehouſe, in the county of Sligo.

A gentleman in the county of Roſcommon informed me, that the defenders uſed frequently to ſend anonymous letters to perſons, threatening them with deſtruction, unleſs they permitted them to cut trees and poles in their plantations, for the purpoſe of making pikes.

In the year 1795, ſo many proteſtant families fled to the town of Roſcommon for protection, that they could ſcarce get accommodation there.

This year, the ſum applied for to the grand jury by different perſons who ſuffered in the county of Meath, from the enormities committed by the defenders, ſuch as houghing cattle, and plundering and burning houſes, amounted to 1700l.

Lord Carhampton, finding that the laws were ſilent and inoperative in the counties which he viſited, and that they did not afford protection to the loyal and peaceable ſubjects, who in moſt places were obliged to fly from their habitations, reſolved to reſtore them to their uſual energy, by the following ſalutary ſyſtem of ſeverity:

In each county he aſſembled the moſt reſpectable gentlemen and landholders in it, and having, in concert with them, examined the charges againſt the leaders of this banditti, who were in priſon, but defied juſtice, he, with the concurrence of theſe gentlemen, ſent the moſt nefarious of them on board a tender, ſtationed at Sligo, to ſerve in the king's troops, and not in the navy, as has been falſely aſſerted.

By this bold meaſure, founded in obvious principles of political neceſſity, he completely reſtored peace in the diſturbed counties.

The loyal inhabitants, and the grand juries in them, thanked lord Carhampton for his wiſe and ſalutary exertions; but the diſaffected in every part of the kingdom, exaſperated that he had checked the progreſs of their revolutionary ſchemes, raiſed a great clamour in conſequence of it; and as they meditated many proſecutions and civil actions againſt him, a law was paſſed in the month of February, 1796, to indemnify ſuch perſons as had exceeded the limits of the law in reſtoring peace and good order; which, as a matter of courſe, was violently oppoſed by the minority in the houſe of commons.

On the twenty-fifth of June, 1795, the reverend Mr. Birch, a preſbyterian miniſter, preached a ſermon to a numerous body of diſſenters at Saintfield, in which he recommended the uniting perſons of every religious perſuaſion in one family, or brotherhood, in the bonds of philanthropy. He denominated kings butchers and ſcourges of the human race, who revel on the ſpoils of thouſands, whom they have made fatherleſs, widows, and orphans, until the judgment of the Almighty ſhall come down on thoſe monſters, and cauſe them who uſe the ſword to periſh by the ſword.

In the month of January, 1795, ſome ſoldiers of the Wexford regiment were poiſoned at Cavan, while on guard at the gaol.

The defenders became ſo furious in the metropolis, and its environs, in the ſpring and ſummer of 1795, committing robbery and aſſaſſination, that the inhabitants of Charlemont-ſtreet, Charlemont-place and Charlemont-row, Cullen's-wood and Cullen's-wood avenue, Mount-pleaſant, Ranelagh, and Dumville, combined for their mutual defence. The inhabitants of Baldoyle, and the adjacent country, followed their example.

A numerous aſſociation was alſo entered into in the diſtrict of the metropolis, on the eighth of October, for mutual defence, and the ſuppreſſion and puniſhment of thoſe miſcreants; and it was ſigned by the lord mayor, many of the nobility and gentry, and a great number of reſpectable citizens.

As the earl of Carhampton was ever diſtinguiſhed for his zeal and ſpirit in enforcing the execution of the laws, about three hundred loyal ſubjects, many of them gentlemen of landed property, aſſembled at his ſeat at Luttrel's-town, entered into reſolutions, and ſubſcribed a ſum of money for the purpoſe of defending the lives and properties of all loyal ſubjects againſt theſe deſperate bands of ruffians. After repeated meetings, their numbers encreaſed very much; but no more than three or four Roman catholicks offered themſelves candidates, and they were admitted by ballot, though one of them was ſtrongly ſuſpected of diſaffection; and, as this was known to be the caſe afterwards, it was believed that he joined the aſſociation for ſiniſter purpoſes.

As a college was erected at Maynooth, in the county of Kildare, for the education of Romiſh prieſts in the year 1795, and as it was amply endowed by government, I ſhall make a few obſervations on it. In the year 1794, and in the adminiſtration of lord Weſtmorland, doctor Troy made a repreſentation to government, that, in conſequence of the diſturbances in France, four hundred Iriſh ſtudents, who were candidates for the prieſthood, had been deprived of the means of education; and that there would be a difficulty of obtaining prieſts to perform the neceſſary duties of religion, without the eſtabliſhment of a ſeminary.

Mr. Burke, whoſe intemperate zeal for the advancement of popery I before mentioned, uſed his utmoſt exertions for the accompliſhment of that object, and when lord Fitzwilliam was coming to Ireland, he recommended to his lordſhip the reverend doctor Huſſey, an Iriſh prieſt, who had been bred at Seville in Spain, as a perſon well qualified to ſuperintend that inſtitution.

After the departure of earl Fitzwilliam, and during the adminiſtration of lord Camden in the year 1795, this inſtitution was eſtabliſhed by an act of parliament, by which certain truſtees were empowered to receive donations for eſtabliſhing and endowing an academy for the education of perſons profeſſing the Roman catholick religion, and to acquire lands free from forfeiture by mortmain. Little ſhort of 40,000l. was granted for its eſtabliſhment at firſt; and in every ſubſequent ſeſſion, a regular charge of 8000l. has been made to parliament for its annual ſupport; but it is worthy of obſervation, that no donation has been made to it by the Roman catholick body, or by any individual of that order, except by lord Dunboyne, who died in the year 1800, and left an eſtate of 1000l. a year toward the endowment of that college; yet the Roman catholicks raiſed immenſe ſums of money in the years 1794 and 1795, for purpoſes not the moſt friendly to that proteſtant ſtate, which laid the foundation of, and richly endowed their ſeminary.

Lord Dunboyne had been popiſh biſhop of Cork, and on getting the title and an eſtate, he became a convert to the eſtabliſhed church; and with ſingular diſſimulation gave the ſtrongeſt indications of ſincere converſion for ſome years; but in his laſt moments he relapſed into popery; and, in conſideration of having obtained abſolution for the great crime of having been a heretick, he left an eſtate worth 1000l. or 1200l. a year, to promote the inſtitution before mentioned. A ſtriking proof of the ſtrong and indelible impreſſion which the popiſh ſuperſtition makes on the human mind, where it has been early imbued with it!

Two hundred ſtudents were to be maintained and educated in this college. Sixteen or ſeventeen were expelled on account of being concerned in the rebellion: Some of them were ſlain in fighting againſt the king's troops, and others fled to eſcape the puniſhment which their guilt merited. I have been aſſured that between thirty and forty of them fought againſt the king's army.

It was obſervable that father Huſſey frequently attended the camp at Lehaunſtown, in the ſummer of 1795, ſaying maſs and preaching to the ſoldiers; though there were many popiſh prieſts in its vicinity, who uſed to officiate to them. This buſy interference of father Huſſey among the ſoldiers, and ſome artful conduct which he diſplayed there, gave a very ſerious alarm to ſome of the Iriſh nobility and gentry who commanded regiments, or were field officers there.

Though a conſpiracy for ſubverting the conſtitution had exiſted ſo early as the year 1792, the oppoſition in parliament, and all the diſaffected perſons in the kingdom, raiſed a great outcry againſt lord Camden, by falſely aſſerting, that the outrages and inſurrections, ſo diſgraceful to the kingdom, were occaſioned by the rigorous and ſevere meaſures adopted by his excellency; yet every wiſe and good man condemned him for not having acted with more vigour and energy; but from the benevolence of his heart, and the mildneſs of his diſpoſition, he was averſe to ſeverity, and hoped to gain the affections of the people by conciliation. *

The attorney general, now lord Kilwarden, introduced a bill into the houſe of commons in January, 1796, which paſſed into a law in March following; to its ſalutary coercion, we may juſtly impute the ſalvation of the kingdom.

It enacts, that the information of any proſecutors on behalf of the crown who may be aſſaſſinated, ſhall be admitted as evidence againſt delinquents.

Any perſon having arms is required by it to regiſter them, his name, and place of abode; and a magiſtrate may ſearch for arms the houſe of any perſon who ſhall not do ſo.

If a magiſtrate, or peace officer, be murdered while on duty, or in conſequence of his exertions to ſerve the publick, the grand jury may levy a ſum of money on the county for his repreſentative.

If any county, or any parts thereof, be diſturbed, the magiſtrates may notify it to the privy council, who are thereupon required to proclaim the diſturbed part: On which the magiſtrates are required to hold

petty

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* Robbery and aſſaſſination became ſo frequent and univerſal from the year 1795 to the exploſion of the rebellion, that it would exceed the compaſs of my deſign to enumerate the many inſtances of them which occurred.

petty ſeſſions as often as neceſſary, but never at a longer interval than fourteen days; and to puniſh offenders in a ſummary way.

All perſons are required by it, when the county or barony has been proclaimed, to keep within their houſes between ſun-ſet and ſun-riſe; and are liable to be tranſported if found out of their houſes in the night.

In ſuch parts of Ireland as this ſalutary law was enforced, it completely put an end to the nocturnal ravages of the united traitors.

Every perſon, acquainted with the ferocious and ſanguinary diſpoſition of the lower claſs of the people in Ireland, will agree with me, that this wiſe law ſhould never be repealed. It is inoperative, and cannot be enforced, till the emergency of the times calls for it; and of this the magiſtrates of the county, and the privy council, are proper judges.

The removal of the Iriſh parliament to England, in conſequence of the union, makes it peculiarly neceſſary that this law ſhould remain unrepealed; for, from the ſpirit of inſurrection and rapacity of the common people in Ireland, an entire province may be deſolated, before proper laws could be enacted in the Imperial parliament to check it.

The events which occurred in the late rebellion, demonſtrate the truth of what I aſſert; for though martial law was proclaimed, and there was an army of one hundred thouſand men, including the yeomanry, in the kingdom, the principal part of the province of Leinſter was deſolated by the deſtructive ſpirit of fanaticiſm in the ſpace of a week; and the county of Wexford continued in the poſſeſſion of the popiſh multitude, headed by their ſacerdotal leaders, for the ſpace of three weeks; in which they deſtroyed almoſt every monument of human art and induſtry, and maſſacred ſuch of its loyal and moſt uſeful inhabitants as could not make their eſcape. Thoſe abſtract principles of criminal law which have been laid down and generally aſſented to by the ableſt writers on this ſubject, are by no means applicable to Ireland.

The ſeverity of the penal code ſhould depend on the compound ratio of the facility with which the laws may be infringed, the temptation to violate them, the degree of moral reſtraint impoſed by religion on the paſſions of the multitude, and the poſſibility of eluding the execution of the laws.

The common Iriſh are doctrinally taught that they are bound by their religion to reſiſt the laws and ordinances of a proteſtant ſtate, and that an oath of allegiance is null and void; for which reaſon they uniformly oppoſe the adminiſtration of juſtice. A monſter, ſtained with the blood of his father, muſt be led to the gallows by a military guard; but in England, the maſs of the people unite in enforcing the execution of the laws, becauſe they know that the preſervation of their lives and property depend on it.

The late rebellion, as well as all the former ones evince, that the lower claſs of the Iriſh do not conſider it a crime to injure the perſon or property of a proteſtant fellow ſubject.

The judicious and humane marquis of Beccaria, in his ingenious eſſay on crimes and puniſhments, obſerves, "that the eloquence of the paſſions is greatly aſſiſted by the ignorance and uncertainty of puniſhments." This obſervation applies ſtrongly to Ireland, where the feeble and imperfect execution of the laws, ariſing from the following cauſes, never fails to inſpire the multitude with the hopes of impunity: The miſtaken lenity of government, * often occaſioned by the indecent and improper interference of individuals in favour of delinquents; the diſregard of the common people to oaths; † and the certainty of enjoying eternal

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* This remark cannot allude to any period ſince the breaking-out of the rebellion; becauſe extermination muſt have taken place, if lenity had not been very generally extended.

† In all the combinations of the white boys, right boys, and defenders, they have ſpurned at an oath of allegiance; but conſidered their oath of confederacy as binding.

eternal happineſs hereafter, through the intervention of their prieſts. The following circumſtances which have often occurred in the province of Munſter, will convince the reader of the truth of what I aſſert upon this ſubject:

A few days before the aſſizes, a proſecutor for murder or robbery has ſaid to a magiſtrate, " Sir, I am unable to defray the expence of my journey to the aſſizes town, and of remaining there till I am diſcharged; and in going thither I am afraid of being murdered by the relations of the delinquent." But ſuppoſe theſe difficulties ſurmounted: He is inſulted and threatened with certain death at the aſſizes, if he proſecutes; and, as the laſt reſource, they contrive to inveigle him into a dram-ſhop, and intoxicate him. To my certain knowledge, burglars and felons have been frequently acquitted in conſequence of the ebriety of a witneſs. In moſt caſes the culprit has an attorney, and a bar of lawyers employed for him; but there is no fund appropriated, and no perſon to appear, for the proſecution.

The marquis of Beccaria ends his book thus: " I conclude with this reflection, that the ſeverity of puniſhments ought to be in proportion to the ſtate of the nation. Among a people hardly yet emerged from barbarity, they ſhould be more ſevere, as ſtrong impreſſions are required." However, the certain and prompt operation of mild laws will anſwer better to preſerve ſocial order, than the feeble and uncertain execution of ſevere ones.

The following rule of preventive juſtice, formerly preſcribed by our ſtatute law, was founded in great wiſdom: That if the property of a proteſtant be injured in the night, the amount of the damage which he ſuſtained ſhould be levied on the popiſh inhabitants of the pariſh, the barony, or the county.

I am convinced that the reader, on taking a retroſpect of the former rebellions in Ireland, and after peruſing theſe pages, will agree with me, that the revival of this law is abſolutely neceſſary to maintain the proteſtant religion and eſtabliſhment in it; and unleſs they are encouraged and preſerved better than they have been for ſome years paſt, ſhe muſt in proceſs of time be ſeparated from England. I am warranted in this aſſertion by the opinion of ſome of the wiſeſt men in Ireland.

Nothing can more ſtrongly prove the barbarous ſtate of the Iriſh, than that forcible entry and detainer of lands and houſes have been conſtantly practiſed in Ireland, contrary to the ſolemn adjudication of the law, pronounced by the ſuperior courts, and directed to the ſheriff, who has been frequently oppoſed and repulſed.

Leaders of banditti, reſembling the condottieri in Italy, in the middle ages, and noted for their proweſs in reſiſting the laws of the land, were frequently kept in pay by perſons who wiſhed to do ſo.

The earl of Clare ſtruck at the root of this miſchief, by a very wiſe law,* paſſed in the year 1787; and yet it has been frequently practiſed ſince that period.

In ſome parts of Ireland the king's writ does not run, and no legal proceſs can be executed in them; and yet I will take upon me to ſay, that the gentlemen who repreſent ſuch places in parliament, will aſſert, in order to gain popularity, that their inhabitants are loyal, peaceable, and amenable to the laws. The late rebellion could not have been ſo fatal to Ireland as it has been, but for the groſs miſrepreſentations which had been made of the diſaffected parts of it to government, by the nobility and gentry.

PREDISPO-

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* Mentioned in pages 51 and 52.

PREDISPOSING CAUSES TO REBELLION IN THE NORTH, PARTICULARLY IN THE COUNTIES OF DOWN AND ANTRIM, AND MEANS WHICH WERE MADE USE OF TO FORWARD IT.

CONSTANT communication with the American ſtates, whoſe ſyſtem of civil polity they very much admired, and the ſucceſs of the firſt Dungannon meeting in the year 1782, taught the preſbyterians of the North, already diſpoſed to republicaniſm, that an aſſembly of delegates from the volunteers, an armed body who overawed the exiſting government, might at any time dictate to parliament; and this inſpired them with an extraordinary degree of boldneſs, which produced the celebration of the anniverſary of the French revolution, the retreat of the duke of Brunſwick, and the ſecond meeting at Dungannon in the year 1793.

Some loyal and moderate men, having ſeen many inſtances of large bodies of men, ſelf-aſſociated for political purpoſes, meet, debate, and diſband, without any bad conſequence, were induced to approve and join with them; and afterwards they were lukewarm in oppoſing them, even when they were rather turbulent and alarming:

The jealouſy of the linen drapers, who made immenſe fortunes, towards the nobility and gentry, ſeized of old hereditary eſtates, on account of their ſuperior weight and reſpectability: The ſmall diviſion of farms in the North, where the buſineſs of farmer and manufacturer being united, makes the collection of tithes more vexatious and grievous than in the South, where they are diſtinct, and the farms are extenſive: The virulence of oppoſition, in vilifying and degrading adminiſtration, and in aſſerting that the legiſlative power was more corrupt than the executive,

tive, made the people believe, that a reform of parliament was neceſſary, and gave the republicans a ſpecious pretext for adopting it, as an engine to overturn the conſtitution; and the ſilly timidity of the members of adminiſtration, in complimenting their accuſers, gave an incredible weight to their aſſertions in the publick mind.* Religious prejudices were aſleep in the North, except in the county of Armagh; and the ſpark of fanaticiſm which exiſted there was ſoon blown into a flame by the Catholick committee, that intriguing body, which ſat long brooding in grim repoſe, and unnoticed in Dublin; but came forward when the French revolution took place, and endeavoured to avail itſelf of the ſhock and fermentation of opinion, which that event produced, to advance the intereſt of its own order.

Some linen-drapers, from motives of envy which I have already ſtated, encouraged their workmen in imbibing the new revolutionary doctrines; and others, though loyal, were obliged, from the nature of their buſineſs, through motives of fear, to take the united oath; becauſe their rebellious bleachers might eaſily, and ſecretly, have ruined them.

As the ſucceſs of the great linen merchants in ſome meaſure depended on the ſkill of their bleachers, they were often obliged to conform to their wiſhes and prejudices, to retain them in their ſervice; and there was ſuch an emulation between them, that they often uſed ſiniſter means to decoy each others workmen, which rendered the maſters ſubſervient to them.

Many gentlemen of large property in the North, who courted the popular intereſt, were, by electioneering prejudices, and the ſervile obeiſance which they paid to the people, prevented from trying to check the growth of treaſon and ſedition.

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* In this I muſt except lord Caſtlereagh, whoſe bold and manly eloquence, tempered with urbanity and good breeding, never failed to overturn the arguments of his adverſaries, and to make their ſcurrilous and envenomed attacks recoil on themſelves.

This was very conſpicuous in the election for the county of Antrim in the year 1792, when the ſucceſsful efforts of the people, aſſembled in almoſt every pariſh, in dictating to the candidates, and their ſubſerviency and willingneſs to take teſts, inſpired the populace with a paſſion for political power.

The workmen in ſome bleach-greens joined in ſubſcribing for the Northern Star; in others, their maſters, who were diſloyal, treated them with it; and in ſome inſtances, the employers, though well affected, were impelled by fear to give it to them *gratis*.

The propagandiſts of the revolutionary doctrines in the North often began by corrupting the loweſt ſervants, both male and female; and, creeping up through all the gradations of a family, the maſter found himſelf ſuddenly inſulated, and was obliged, through terror, to fraternize, and take the united Iriſhmen's oath.

The diſaffected were ſo much enraged at earl Fitzwilliam's removal, that war and force were decided on: Songs, and various publications of an inflammatory tendency, were circulated: In ſome inſtances, jurors and witneſſes were bribed, in others, intimidated from doing their duty: Committees of aſſaſſination were formed:* Civil magiſtrates, conſtables, and others were intimidated from executing the law, and in ſhort, no perſon was permitted to remain neuter.

In the years 1794 and 1795, immenſe ſums of money were levied on the Roman catholicks in every part of the kingdom.

The conductors in Dublin and Belfaſt endeavoured to infuſe into the people an opinion, that the revolution would be incomplete, and would be ſucceeded by ruinous conteſts and ſtruggles, unleſs all the loyaliſts were extirpated: and that they could expect certain and perpetuated tranquillity from nothing but a general maſſacre of them, and a confiſcation of their property.

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* In a county committee at Belfaſt, it is laid down, "that if there is any united Iriſhmen on the jury that will convict any of the priſoners that are confined for being united Iriſhmen, they ought to loſe their exiſtence." Report of the ſecret committee, Appendix, No. II. p. 27.

It appears by the report of the ſecret committee of the houſe of lords in 1797, that it was decided by the conſpirators, "That all perſons who, from their principles or ſituation, may be deemed inimical to the conſpiracy, ſhould be maſſacred; and the firſt proſcribed liſt was calculated by one of their leaders at thirty thouſand perſons." †

Some leading members of the union, both in the North and the South, have aſſured me, that nothing tended ſo much to gain credit for their cauſe, and to promote the rapid diſſemination of their doctrines, as the following paragraph, in Mr. Erſkine's plauſible, but deluſive pamphlet, which they procured to be printed and circulated univerſally: "That the ſpirit of reform is at preſent high in Ireland. The recent zeal of that *brave and virtuous* people has completely detected the falſe and pernicious calumnies on both countries. It has demonſtrated, that a deſire to reform abuſes in government, is not at all connected with diſloyalty to its eſtabliſhment; and that the reſtoration of a free conſtitution, by the wiſdom and ſpirit of a nation, has no alliance with, but on the contrary is abhorrent to, a ſubmiſſion to foreign force." This extravagant encomium on the rebels, by varniſhing over the enormity of their crimes, and by giving a colour of moral and political rectitude to their cauſe, encreaſed the number of their ſectaries in a very extraordinary degree.

That very wiſe law, the convention bill, having prevented the clubs from aſſembling publickly, the leaders of the conſpiracy had recourſe to another, and full as effectual a mode of diſſeminating their doctrines of liberty and equality, by inſtituting reading ſocieties, which the loweſt claſſes of the people attended after the labour of their daily occupations was over. This inſtitution was almoſt excluſively confined to the counties of Down and Antrim, where the maſs of the people are preſbyterians, can read and write, and are fond of ſpeculating on religion and politicks.

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† See Appendix, No. III.

Theſe meetings, formed after the model of the jacobin clubs in France, were uſually held in barns and ſchool-houſes, and were liberally furniſhed with inflammatory publications, compoſed by the literati of the united Iriſhmen, or extracted from larger treatiſes of a ſimilar tendency in both kingdoms, and publiſhed in the form of pamphlets for more general circulation.

The pretext of reading for mutual information and improvement was conſidered as a plauſible motive for the lower claſs of people to aſſemble. Subjects of a delicate nature and dangerous tendency were frequently diſcuſſed in them, ſuch as, "Under what circumſtances are the people juſtifiable in reſiſting and uniting againſt the exiſting government? From what ſource is all juſt government derived, and what is its proper object? Is the majeſty of the king, or the people, moſt to be reſpected?" On theſe, and ſimilar topicks, the ruſtick orators declaimed, with much vociferation and zeal, to the great edification of admiring audiences. The moſt fluent ſpeakers went uſually from one ſociety to another, to diſplay their talents, and make proſelytes to the new philoſophy. Every opportunity was embraced to repreſent the chriſtian religion as a ſyſtem of ſuperſtition, calculated to enſlave mankind, and obſtruct the progreſs and improvement of reaſon. The doctrines of a future ſtate, of rewards and puniſhments, were openly ridiculed and diſcredited; and publick worſhip deſpiſed and diſcouraged, which materially promoted the deſigns of the conſpirators, by extinguiſhing all moral principle.

Labourers, tradeſmen, and even ragged apprentice boys, enlightened by attending the reading ſocieties, were taught to decide dogmatically, concerning

ing the fundamental principles of government and religion; to detect the ſuppoſed corruptions of the one, and the prieſtcraft of the other; to think themſelves amply qualified to dethrone kings, and regulate ſtates and empires.

Belfaſt was the centre of motion to the whole northern union; Dublin to the middle and ſouthern. Orders, directions and publications iſſued from the former with great regularity; and returns were made, at ſtated periods, to proper perſons appointed there to receive them, of the ſtate, progreſs, and diſpoſitions of the ſeveral ſubordinate ſocieties throughout the country. There was alſo a directory eſtabliſhed in the city of Cork, ſubject to that of Dublin.

A large impreſſion of Paine's Age of Reaſon was ſtruck off in Belfaſt, and diſtributed *gratis* among the united ſocieties. Bundles of them were thrown into meeting-houſe yards on Sundays, before the congregations aſſembled; and ſmall parcels were left on the ſides of publick roads, to contaminate the minds of thoſe who found them.*

The leaders of the union at Belfaſt ſucceeded ſo well in removing the obſtacles which religion and conſcience preſented to their deſigns, that many aſſaſſinations were committed in that town, and its vicinity, in the year 1796, which eſtabliſhed ſuch a complete ſyſtem of terror, that jurors were afraid to convict delinquents, though their guilt was ſubſtantiated by the moſt unequivocal evidence.

A friar of the name of Philips, went from Dublin to Belfaſt, and was introduced to the diſaffected ſocieties there. Soon after, having fallen under a ſuſpicion of being an informer, he was conſigned to the committee of aſſaſſination, who drowned him near the paper-mill; and to give a colour of ſuicide to that atrocious deed, they put a clock weight in his pocket.

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* The popiſh prieſts carefully guarded their flocks from the contagion of them, for reaſons which I have given in page 128.

It is worthy of notice, that one of the committee, concerned in the murder, was impanelled on the inqueſt jury which ſat on the body when diſcovered, and the verdict was, of courſe, ſuicide. A ſoldier from Blaris camp was likewiſe drowned in a river near Holywood, by the ſame committee; and a man was ſhot on Peter's-hill, Belfaſt, at the early hour of ſeven o'clock in the evening. Many other perſons were murdered in the ſame manner, on a bare ſuſpicion of being informers.

It ſeems to have been a maxim with the united conſpirators of Down and Antrim, adopted from the illuminati of Germany, and the philoſophiſts of France, that the end juſtified the means; and that no motives, human or divine, ſhould check them in the accompliſhment of their main deſign. Hence the moſt unbluſhing calumnies were propagated againſt thoſe who oppoſed them; and committees of aſſaſſination were conſtantly ſitting to condemn ſuch perſons as were ſuſpected of doing ſo, or of giving information againſt them.

Nothing forwarded the progreſs of the union ſo much as that vehicle of ſedition, immorality and irreligion, the Northern Star, eſtabliſhed by Robert Simms, the ſecretary of the firſt ſociety of united Iriſhmen, which ſat at Belfaſt in 1791. He was a wealthy merchant of that town, and has been tranſported to Fort George in Scotland, with a number of his confederates.

The conductors of that infamous print, which goaded the people to madneſs, had the flagitiouſneſs and audacity to recommend in it, in the year 1794, the peruſal of Paine's Age of Reaſon.

It is worthy of obſervation, that Simms, in the name of his ſociety, wrote letters in the years 1792 and 1793, to ſome of the moſt conſiderable members of the Roman catholick committee and Roman catholick ſociety in Dublin, inviting them to be enrolled in his corps; and they, proud of the honour, embraced it with alacrity; and ſome of them publiſhed the letters of invitation and their anſwers.

Some of the infidel leaders of the North were ſo ſuccefsful in rouſing the people to a ſtate of frenzy, by copious infuſions of their intoxicating doctrines, that partial inſurrections, earlier than they wiſhed or expected, were on the point of baffling their deſigns, and involving them in ruin; like a chymiſt, whoſe experiment is defeated, and whoſe perſon runs a riſk of being injured, by a premature and unexpected exploſion of his retort, in conſequence of having ſurcharged it with gas. On ſome occaſions, the conductors were under a neceſſity of endeavouring to check the intemperate ardour of their adherents.

An attempt was made near Rathfriland in July, 1797, to begin hoſtilities, but it was overruled. About a thouſand united Iriſhmen aſſembled in that retired and mountainous part of the county of Down, to diſcuſs the expediency of a general riſing; and the queſtion was agitated a conſiderable time. At length it was propoſed to decide it by votes, and a diviſion took place, when upwards of three hundred declared themſelves averſe to open hoſtility at that time. Though the majority were for it, the ſchiſm was ſo conſiderable, that it was thought prudent to poſtpone it to a more favourable opportunity.

A Mr. John Magennis, who had married a ſiſter of the famous Bartholomew Teeling, took the principal lead in urging an immediate reſiſtance. The deciſion of that important queſtion was haſtened by an account, that a party of the Antient Britons were approaching to diſperſe the aſſembly; and they actually purſued Magennis ten miles, but were not fortunate enough to apprehend him.

It may be proper to obſerve, that the majority, on that occaſion, conſiſted chiefly of Roman catholicks; and the minority of preſbyterians, and a few proteſtants of the eſtabliſhed church, who were not then ſufficiently enlightened to countenance a general maſſacre.

I think it right to obſerve, that the exertions of the united Iriſhmen, and Catholick committee of Dublin, to encourage union and fraternity among the preſbyterians and papiſts of the North, were confined to thoſe very parts of Down, Armagh and Antrim, where the former ſhowed a decided hoſtility againſt the defenders, which was done merely to lull them into a ſtate of indolent and fatal ſecurity; as they knew that their ſpirit, their knowledge of the uſe of arms, and their antipathy to the papiſts, would form a material obſtacle to the progreſs of the union; but the determination which the Roman catholicks ſhewed, on the exploſion of the rebellion, to extirpate proteſtants of every denomination, proved that they were not ſincere in their invitations to the preſbyterians to fraternize with them.

ORIGIN OF THE YEOMANRY.

IN the autumn of the year 1796, government having propoſed to all loyal ſubjects to embody themſelves as yeomen corps, ſimilar to thoſe in England, and ſubject to the control of government, the propoſal was embraced with alacrity in many parts of the kingdom.

On the ſeventh of October, the lord mayor, the ſheriffs, and the church-wardens of the different pariſhes in Dublin, aſſembled at the manſion-houſe, and reſolved that a regiment of infantry, and a troop of horſe, ſhould be raiſed in each of the four wards of the city.

This wiſe and ſalutary meaſure, which proved the ſalvation of the kingdom, was oppoſed by many of the leading Romaniſts of Dublin, and by all the active members of the Catholick committee; for when the church-wardens and magiſtrates attended at the different veſtry-rooms, for the purpoſe of carrying this excellent ſyſtem into execution, one or other of theſe leaders, attended by a mob of the popiſh rabble, attempted to overpower them by vociferation and numbers.

When their malignant efforts to prevent this ſalutary inſtitution failed, they waited on Mr. Pelham, the lord lieutenant's ſecretary, and aſked leave to raiſe a corps of their own ſect excluſively; but received for anſwer, that they might join their proteſtant fellow ſubjects, if they wiſhed to ſerve their king and country.

They then entered into reſolutions againſt it, and publiſhed them in the jacobin prints,* which teemed with invectives againſt government for having inſtituted

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* On the 6th of October, a letter, with the ſignature of a Looker-on, recommending to the Roman catholicks not to enrol themſelves, appeared in the Hibernian Journal; and, from the peculiar connections of that paper, it was conſidered as an official ſignal.

tuted it; and for the ſame reaſon they calumniated the orange ſocieties.

On the fourteenth of October, the corporation of Dublin, duly aſſembled, entered into ſtrong reſolutions, and expreſſed their abhorrence of their vile calumnies, and reſolutions, publiſhed by certain pretended pariſh meetings againſt the yeomen corps, and againſt government, and the ſeditious means uſed to prevent the loyal ſubjects from forming themſelves into ſuch.

Notwithſtanding the decided oppoſition which the Romaniſts gave to this very excellent inſtitution, which ſaved the kingdom from impending deſtruction, the firſt eſtimate laid before parliament for twenty thouſand men was filled up immediately. In the courſe of ſix months it roſe to thirty-ſeven thouſand; and, during the rebellion, the yeomanry force exceeded fifty thouſand, and they were all to be depended on;* for as very great diſaffection appeared among the popiſh yeomen, the different corps were quickly purged of ſuch of them as were known to be diſloyal.

In order to encourage the diſaffected to perſiſt in their treaſonable practices, it was boaſted at this time, in the Northern Star, that the populace, in and about Belfaſt, had ſaved the harveſt of all ſuch perſons as had been committed to the gaols of Dublin or Carrickfergus, on charges of high treaſon; and that ſeven thouſand perſons often aſſembled for that purpoſe.

In the month of October, the reverend Philip Johnſon was fired at and wounded, in the night, at Liſburn.

November the firſt, a party of traitors broke open the king's ſtores at Belfaſt, and ſtole thereout a large quantity of gunpowder.

The rebellious inhabitants of Belfaſt, who were preſbyterians, oppoſed the eſtabliſhment of the yeomanry, with as much vehemence as the Romaniſts in Dublin had done; and a few gentlemen in that town, who had courage to enter into it, were reviled and hiſſed, as they paſſed through the ſtreets.

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* Report of the ſecret committee of 1798, page 5.

On the twenty-ninth of October, a ruffian fired a piſtol in the town of Newtownards at the reverend Mr. Cleland.

About this time, the Hazard ſloop of war took, and ſearched, a veſſel off the harbour of Belfaſt, and found in her a large quantity of arms and ammunition.

On the ſixth of November a proclamation iſſued, ſtating, that, on the firſt, a number of armed men tumultuouſly entered Stewartſtown, in the county of Tyrone, and cut and maimed ſeveral perſons who had refuſed to join in their treaſonable aſſociations, and had enrolled themſelves in the yeomenry. The ſyſtem of terror became ſo great, and ſo general at this time, in the North, that numbers of loyal perſons ſubmitted to be ſworn, and aſſumed at leaſt the ſemblance of being ſincerely attached to the union, to ſave their lives and property from the vengeance of the rebels; and outrages became ſo frequent in the county of Down, that ſome diſtricts in it were proclaimed on the fourteenth of November, 1796, the firſt time that the inſurrection law was put in execution.

The leaders of the conſpiracy, having completed their revolutionary ſyſtem in the province of Ulſter ſo early as the tenth of May, 1795, and having made a conſiderable progreſs in introducing it into the province of Leinſter in the autumn and winter of 1796, proceeded at that period to convert it into a military ſhape and form, for the undiſguiſed project of rebellion, which was diſtinctly and unequivocally acknowledged by Arthur O'Connor, William James Mc. Nevin, Thomas Addis Emmett, and Oliver Bond, leading and active members of the conſpiracy, in their evidence upon oath before the ſecret committee of the houſe of lords in the year 1798.

THE MILITARY ORGANIZATION.

THE military organization engrafted on the civil was conſtituted in the following manner: The ſecretary of each ſubordinate ſociety, compoſed of twelve, was appointed their petty or non-commiſſioned officer: The delegate of five ſocieties to a lower baronial committee was commonly appointed captain of a company, conſiſting of the five ſocieties who had delegated him, and who made the number of ſixty privates; and then the delegate of ten lower baronials to the upper or diſtrict committee was commonly appointed colonel of a battalion, which was thus compoſed of ſix hundred: The colonels of battalions in each county ſent in the names of three perſons to the executive directory of the union, one of whom was appointed by them adjutant-general of the county, whoſe duty it was to receive and communicate military orders from the executive to the colonels of battalions, and in general to act as officer of the revolutionary ſtaff. They were required to inform themſelves of, and report the ſtate of the rebel regiments within their reſpective diſtricts, of the number of mills, the roads, rivers, bridges, and fords, the military poſitions, the capacity of the towns and villages to receive troops, to communicate to the executive every movement of the enemy (meaning the king's troops) to announce the firſt appearance of their allies (meaning the French) and immediately to collect their force. A military committee was alſo appointed by the executive directory, to prepare a regular plan for aſſiſting a French army ſhould it land, or to form a plan of inſurrection, ſhould it be ordered, even without their aſſiſtance. A regular and well-digeſted plan of inſurrection was actually formed, and reduced to writing in April, 1797, which was given up only for the time, on the aſſurances of the executive directory of the union, that they would ſoon receive ſpeedy and effectual aſſiſtance from France. The directory gave orders that every perſon, who had the means, ſhould furniſh himſelf with fire-arms and ammunition, and that ſuch perſons as could not afford it, ſhould ſupply themſelves with pikes; which orders were obeyed very generally through the provinces of Ulſter, Leinſter, and Munſter. In the province of Connaught they proceeded no farther in this ſyſtem of treaſon, than in adminiſtering oaths to the people, having been obſtructed by the vigorous exertions of government, till the rebellion broke out in open acts of hoſtility.*

In the month of December, 1796, a French fleet with fifteen thouſand troops for the invaſion of Ireland arrived in Bantry-bay; but having been diſperſed by a ſtorm, and having loſt about one-fourth of their ſhips, their intention was defeated. It is generally believed, that this plan was firſt ſuggeſted to the French government by Mr. Tone, then reſiding in France, but at the inſtance of the Iriſh directory, who accepted the propoſal of the French directory. This negotiation, which took place between the month of June, 1795, and the month of January, 1796, was tranſacted by Edward John Lewins, the accredited agent and reſident ambaſſador of the Iriſh rebellious union to the French republick, and who was ſent to Paris as ſuch in the ſummer of 1795.†

The plan of the invaſion which the French attempted at Bantry was ſettled at an inverview which took place in Switzerland, in the ſummer of 1796, between lord Edward Fitzgerald, Mr. Arthur O'Connor, and general Hoche.

From the diſaffection of the lower claſs of people during the inſurrection of the white boys and right boys in Munſter, it was a matter of general aſtoniſhment, that they remained tranquil and apparently loyal, while the French hovered on the coaſt; but the acknowledgment of one of the Iriſh directory before the ſecret committee of the houſe of lords fully accounts for it.

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* Report of the ſecret committee of the lords in 1798.

† Ibid. page 9.

He declared upon oath, that, in the month of October or November, 1796, the French republick announced, by a ſpecial meſſenger to the Iriſh union, that the hoſtile armament was in a ſtate of preparation; but in a few days after the departure of the meſſenger from Paris with this intelligence, the Iriſh directory received a letter from France, which was conſidered by them as authentick, ſtating, that the projected deſcent was poſtponed till ſpring, when England and Ireland would be invaded at the ſame time.

This threw the Iriſh directory off their guard; in conſequence of which no meaſures were taken to prepare the people of Munſter for the reception of the French. It is, however, to be feared, that the popiſh multitude would have riſen in many parts of Munſter, if the French had made the projected deſcent; for a ſtrong ſpirit of diſaffection appeared in different parts of the counties of Cork and Kerry, early in the years 1793 and 1794, particularly in the counties adjacent to Kinſale, Dunmanway, Bandon and Dingle, in which the people committed ſuch ſhocking enormities, even in the day, that, on the eleventh of March, 1794, the lord lieutenant iſſued a proclamation againſt them, and offered rewards for the diſcovery and proſecution of them. In the county of Limerick alſo, alarming inſurrections and dreadful outrages were committed in the year 1793; and great numbers of the lower claſs of people uſed often to aſſemble there, to form combinations and adminiſter illegal oaths.

It ſhould be recollected, that the white boys continued to commit outrages till the year 1790, in the county of Cork; and as we know that the firſt object of their inſtitution was to join the French, we cannot ſuppoſe that they would have remained loyal had they effected a deſcent. The popiſh multitude in the counties of Mayo and Sligo, took oaths of allegiance, and promiſed to be faithful and peaceable, a ſhort time before the French landed; but they joined them the inſtant they did ſo.

On the ſecond of January, 1796, the houſe of Mr. Harman, member for the county of Longford, at Bawn in ſaid county, was forcibly entered in the night by a party of ruffians, who barbarouſly murdered him.

In conſequence of the military organization which took place in the autumn and winter of 1796, the province of Ulſter became dreadfully diſturbed by the eagerneſs of the diſaffected to procure arms.

This will appear by a proclamation which iſſued the ſixth of November, and which ſtates, "That divers ill-affected perſons had entered into illegal and treaſonable aſſociations, in the counties of Down, Antrim, Tyrone, Londonderry and Armagh; and for effecting their treaſonable deſigns, had aſſaſſinated divers loyal ſubjects, and have endeavoured, and threaten, to aſſaſſinate all others who ſhould endeavour to detect their treaſon, or ſhould enrol themſelves under officers commiſſioned by his majeſty, for the defence of the kingdom, and have alſo procured arms and ammunition: That ſome evil-minded perſons broke open the king's ſtores at Belfaſt, and took thereout ten barrels of gunpowder; and that many large bodies of men have embodied and arrayed themſelves under a pretence of ſowing corn and digging potatoes."

In the month of November, 1796, the counties of Down and Armagh were proclaimed: In the month of February, 1797, parts of the counties of Donegal, Derry and Tyrone.

The diſaffected inhabitants of Belfaſt, who oppoſed the eſtabliſhment of the yeomanry with as much zeal as the Romaniſts did in Dublin, reſolved in the month of January, 1797, not to take up arms till the French landed on *their coaſt*, and then only to repel foreign and domeſtick enemies.

Thirty-ſeven gentlemen of that town and its vicinity, to their eternal honour, proteſted againſt that ſtriking inſtance of diſaffection.

On the fifth of February, 1797, Robert and William Simms, proprietors of the Northern Star, by whoſe inflammatory publications they never ceaſed to rouſe the people to a ſtate of rebellious frenzy, were arreſted and committed to Newgate in Dublin; and the former has been ſince tranſported to Fort George in Scotland.

In the beginning of the year 1797, immenſe quantities of arms were ſeized in the province of Ulſter by general Lake, and the general officers under his command; and in this he received material aſſiſtance from ſir George Hill, who ſhewed uncommon zeal, and uſed the moſt unabated exertions, often at the riſk of his life, in ſuppreſſing treaſon and ſedition.

It appears that the following number of arms was ſeized by the different general officers in that year, in the provinces of Leinſter and Ulſter only:

Guns - - - -	48,109
Bayonets - - -	1,756
Piſtols - - - -	4,463
Swords - - - -	4,183
Blunderbuſſes - - -	248
Muſket-barrels - - -	119
Sword-blades - - -	106
Ordnance - - - -	22
Pikes - - - -	70,630
Total	129,636

It appeared from the letters of the generals, that many arms were ſeized or ſurrendered, which are not included in this return; as in many places they remained in the poſſeſſion of the yeomen.*

On the thirteenth of March, 1797, general Lake iſſued a proclamation by the advice of government, ſtating the atrocities committed, and recommending to the people to come in, ſurrender their arms, and return to their allegiance; he aſſured ſuch perſons of protection.† He promiſed the moſt inviolable ſecreſy to informers, and the amount of any arms which might be ſeized in conſequence of their ſecret information.

On the twenty-ſeventh of February, 1797, Mr. John Cummin of Caſtlebeg, in the county of Antrim, was barbarouſly murdered, and his houſe was robbed of arms, on account of his loyalty; though general Lake's proclamation, and his ſpirited exertions, were allowed to have materially contributed towards checking the progreſs of the conſpiracy, and to have ſtruck terror into the rebels.

On the ſeventeenth of March, the loyal inhabitants of the county of Donegal aſſembled at Raphoe, entered into ſtrong reſolutions for their mutual defence, and for defeating the machinations of the united Iriſhmen, and offered large rewards for their apprehenſion and proſecution.

On Monday the thirteenth of March, lord Camden ſent a meſſage to both houſes of parliament, ſtating, "That an organized ſyſtem of robbery and murder exiſted in the province of Ulſter, which bid defiance to the exertions of the civil power; and that, by the firm and temperate conduct of the general of the diſtrict, a conſiderable quantity of arms had been taken; and that he hoped, by a continuance of vigorous meaſures, the conſtitutional authority of the civil power would be reſtored."

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* Report of the ſecret committee, Appendix, No. XXXIX. p. 298.

† This ſhewed the benign and conciliating diſpoſition of government, notwithſtanding the vile calumnies uttered againſt them, by the diſaffected both in and out of parliament.

In the debate which took place on this meſſage in the houſe of commons, the oppoſition in general, but Mr. Grattan in particular, condemned with much acrimony the ſalutary ſyſtem of coercion which government had adopted, and imputed the diſturbances to the provocation which his majeſty's loyal and peaceable ſubjects had received from wanton and unneceſſary acts of ſeverity; and yet it has been univerſally allowed, that the feebleneſs of the inſurrection in the North, on the general riſing, was owing to thoſe ſeaſonable and vigorous exertions, and to the ſpirit diſplayed on that occaſion by the yeomanry and the loyal inhabitants of Ulſter; which is fully ſtated in the report of the ſecret committee * of the houſe of commons.

The partizans of the united Iriſhmen propagated, with unabated induſtry, the moſt impudent falſehoods and calumnies, repreſenting the meaſures which the government and the parliament were compelled to reſort to, for the ſuppreſſion of midnight robbery and aſſaſſination, as a groſs and unneceſſary violation of the conſtitution, and as the real ſource of theſe complicated evils.

The main object of the ſyſtem of terror which they endeavoured to eſtabliſh by their midnight attacks, was, to drive country gentlemen from their houſes, or to enforce their connivance or ſupport; a courſe which was purſued with fatal ſucceſs in France.† Dreadful outrages ſtill continued to be committed in all the northern counties.

In the month of April, 1797, a number of armed men entered the village of Glaſslough, in the county of Monaghan, plundered many houſes of arms, and committed other enormities there.

About the ſame time, one Mc. Dowell, at Gilhall, near Dromore, was aſſaſſinated, becauſe he ſaid he could make diſcoveries of the united Iriſhmen.

In

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* Page 8, of the year 1798.

† Report of the committee of the houſe of lords of 1798.

In the month of March, the reverend Mr. Hamilton, late a fellow of the college, and who had retired on a living in the county of Donegal, was murdered at Sharon, the houſe of the reverend doctor Waller, in that county, with horrid circumſtances of barbarity, by a party of armed ruffians, who fired wantonly into the windows, by which they ſhot Mrs. Waller; and afterwards having compelled the ſervants of doctor Waller to force Mr. Hamilton out of the houſe, they mangled his body with wounds.

FOREIGN NEGOTIATION OF THE CONSPIRATORS WITH THE FRENCH REPUBLICK FOR ASSISTANCE.

FROM the time of the failure of the French expedition to Bantry in December, 1796, the diſaffected, to keep up the ſpirits of their party, circulated reports, that the enemy were ſoon to attempt another deſcent; and the executive directory of the Iriſh union, thinking that they were rather dilatory in their preparations, ſent Mr. Lewins, their confidential agent, to urge the neceſſity of being expeditious. In the ſummer of that year, fearing that a premature inſurrection in the North, before the ſuccours from France arrived, would defeat their projects, they ſent a ſecond agent, doctor Mc. Nevin, in June, 1797, to preſs the French to haſten the armament; but meeting with ſome difficulty in going to Paris, he gave the miniſter of the republick, reſident at Hamburgh, a memoir, to be forwarded to the French directory.* This memoir ſhewed the deſperate deſigns of the Iriſh conſpirators, and their great anxiety leſt the vigorous meaſures purſued by government in the North would diſconcert their projects. This agent was authorized to aſſure the French republick of being repaid all the expences attending any future armament ſhe ſhould ſend to Ireland, as well as of the laſt which miſcarried; and that the reſources for that purpoſe were to be raiſed by the confiſcation of the lands of the church, and of the property of all thoſe who ſhould oppoſe them. He was alſo empowered to raiſe, either in France or Spain, 500,000l. or at leaſt 300,000l. A larger ſupply of arms was ſolicited by the agent than the firſt, on account, as he ſtated, of the encreaſing number of their adherents, ſents, and the diſarming of the North, where above ten thouſand ſtand of arms, and as many pikes, had been ſurrendered to the king's troops.

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* Report of the ſecret committee of the houſe of commons of 1798, p. 15.

It appears alſo, that an attempt was made at the ſame time, to procure the aſſiſtance of ſuch Iriſh officers as were then in foreign ſervice,* as might be prevailed upon, by receiving high rank, to engage in the ſervice of the union; but, from the over-caution of the agent, nothing was effected in that way.

A ſecond memoir was preſented by this confidential agent on his arrival at Paris, in which he endeavoured to ſhew the French directory the neceſſity of forwarding the invaſion at that critical juncture, when the minds of the Iriſh were ſo favourably diſpoſed to join the French, and to co-operate with them in ſeparating the two kingdoms, and in eſtabliſhing a republick in Ireland.

Though the Iriſh directory were deſirous of obtaining aſſiſtance from France, they were unwilling to admit ſuch a body of troops as would enable her to conquer and keep it in her own hands; but the French ſhewed a decided inclination to ſend ſo great an army there as would enable them to ſubdue and retain it as a conqueſt. †

The demands of the firſt agent were, for any number not more than ten thouſand, nor leſs than five thouſand, with forty thouſand ſtand of arms, and a proportionate ſupply of artillery, ammunition, engineers, and experienced officers. ‡

Previous to this laſt miſſion from Ireland, a confidential perſon was ſent over by the French directory to collect information reſpecting the ſtate of Ireland; but having failed to obtain the neceſſary paſſports in London to enable him to go there, he wrote over to requeſt that one of the party might meet him in London; and accordingly a perſon repaired to him immediately with every neceſſary intelligence; and the ſecret committee of the houſe of commons have given it as their opinion, from various ſources of information, that this perſon was the late lord Edward Fitzgerald. ‡

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* This was done in the civil war of 1641. See Borlaſe and Temple.

† Report of the ſecret committee of the houſe of commons of 1798. p. 16, 17, 18.

‡ Ibid.

The directory gave the agent, ſent to Paris, the ſtrongeſt aſſurances of aſſiſtance; and accordingly preparations of a very extenſive nature were made, both at Breſt and in the Texel, for the invaſion of Ireland; and in the autumn, the executive of the Iriſh union received advice that the troops were actually embarked in the Texel, and only waited for a fair wind.

In conſequence of this communication, great preparations were made by the Iriſh rebels in the beginning of October, 1797, when it was announced to the different ſocieties, that the fleet was on the point of ſailing.* The French troops had been actually on board, commanded by general Daendells, but were ſuddenly diſembarked.

The Dutch fleet, contrary to the opinion of their own admiral, as is generally believed, was obliged to put to ſea, at the inſtance of the French government; which led to the ever-memorable victory of the eleventh of October, 1797, obtained by lord Duncan.

Early in the year 1798, the Iriſh executive directory received advices from France, that ſuccours would be ſent to Ireland in the month of April; but notwithſtanding the ſtrong temptation preſented by the rebellion, which broke out on the twenty-third of May following, the French government never fulfilled their promiſe.

I ſhall now return to the internal affairs of Ireland, and ſhew the reader the means which the conſpirators purſued for forwarding the rebellion, having given him a brief account of their foreign negotiations.

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‡ Report of the ſecret committee of the houſe of commons of 1798, p. 18. * Ibid.

On the eighth of April, 1797, a meeting was held in the Exchange of Dublin, ſuppoſed to conſiſt of the freemen and freeholders of the city, convened by the ſheriffs, purſuant to publick notice, for the purpoſe of petitioning his majeſty to remove his miniſters for ever; but the majority of that gregarious herd conſiſted of traitors, who wiſhed to create diſturbance and combuſtion.

The queſtion of adjournment was moved; but as a numerous rabble, who were not freemen or freeholders, ſuddenly ruſhed into the hall, the ſheriffs refuſed to put the queſtion.

The mob and their leaders neverthele ſs agreed to the petition, and it was preſented by meſſieurs Grattan and Curran to the viceroy; who ſaid, that he would forward it, agreeable to their wiſhes, but accompanied with a ſtatement of the circumſtances which took place at the meeting.

The freemen and freeholders, on leaving the Exchange, proteſted againſt any proceedings which ſhould be held there afterwards.

This meeting was brought about by the minority in the Iriſh houſe of commons, and the diſaffected citizens of Dublin, at the inſtance of the oppoſition in the Britiſh parliament, for the purpoſe of promoting their own ambitious deſigns, at the expence of the peace and ſecurity of the kingdom.

On the twenty-ſecond of April, Sinclare Kelburne, the noted demagogue of Belfaſt, a preſbyterian miniſter, was committed to Newgate in Dublin, with ſeventeen other perſons, on charges of a very ſerious nature.

On the firſt of May, between ſix and ſeven thouſand perſons attending a funeral, made a proceſſion through a great part of the city. Having aſſembled in the earl of Meath's liberty, they went down Aungier-ſtreet and George's-lane, through Dame-ſtreet, and, paſſing by the caſtle, they proceeded to James's church, where the corpſe was interred.

This device was made uſe of to inſpire the lower claſs of rebels with confidence and courage, by ſhewing them what numbers of their brethren could be collected in a ſhort ſpace of time.

In conſequence of it, the lord mayor iſſued a proclamation, prohibiting unlawful aſſemblies, under a pretext of attending funerals.

As the Belfaſt News-letter, a paper printed there, was moderate and loyal, and in ſome degree qualified and counteracted the ſeditious doctrines diſſeminated by the Northern Star, the diſaffected frequently ſtopped the meſſengers who went about the country to circulate it, tied them hand and foot, and robbed them of ſuch papers as they had.

In the beginning of the year 1797, the county of Kildare was dreadfully convulſed by the united Iriſhmen, who committed robbery and aſſaſſination on proteſtants almoſt every night.

In the month of March, a motion was made by a member of oppoſition for repealing the inſurrection law, though the advantages derived from it in checking the progreſs of the conſpiracy were univerſally acknowledged.

In the month of April, lord Caledon's houſe, in the county of Tyrone, was plundered of arms.

The county of Down was ſo much agitated, that the magiſtrates of it aſſembled at Hillſborough, on the twenty-eighth of March, entered into ſtrong reſolutions againſt the nefarious proceedings of the united Iriſhmen, and made a large ſubſcription for ſuppreſſing them.

Ever ſince the introduction of defenderiſm into the county of Cork, in the year 1793, its contagion continued gradually and ſilently to diffuſe itſelf, and to poiſon the minds of the lower claſs.

On the thirteenth of April, 1797, lord Bantry conveyed to the gaol of Cork four of theſe culprits, one of whom was the ſteward of Roger O'Connor, in whoſe pocket his lordſhip found the defenders oath; the tenor of which was to be true to one another; not to pay rent, tithes, or taxes; and to aſſiſt the French who were ſoon expected.

At the aſſizes of Omagh, in the county of Tyrone, held in the month of April, John Kinkaid, an active united Iriſhman, was convicted of making a conſtant practice of going to Romiſh chapels on Sundays, and of ſwearing the congregations, to ſtand by each other; to join the French when they ſhould land; to cut down tithes and taxes; and to kill the orangemen and yeomen. At the aſſizes of this year, both in Leinſter and Munſter, great numbers were convicted of treaſonable and ſeditious practices.

On the thirtieth of April, 1797, the reverend Mr. Knipe, a proteſtant clergyman, was murdered by a party of ruffians, who forcibly entered his houſe, near Clonard, in the county of Meath.

It had been the invariable policy of the leaders of the conſpiracy to announce an effort as at hand, to keep up the ſpirits of the people, though it was not really intended: However, in ſpring 1797, a plan was ſeriouſly diſcuſſed by the leaders then aſſembled in Dublin, for commencing a general riſing, without waiting for foreign aſſiſtance; but as this ſcheme did not meet with the approbation of the Dublin part of the committee, it was laid aſide; and, in conſequence of it, a coolneſs took place between the Ulſter and Leinſter delegates, which materially retarded the progreſs of the conſpiracy.*

May the thirteenth, the report of the ſecret committee having been preſented to the houſe of commons, a violent debate enſued, in which a gentleman of the bar, connected with the oppoſition, declared, that it was merely an apology for the violent coercive meaſures adopted by government.

The ſeduction of the army became very common at this time. No leſs than ſeventy of the Monaghan

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* Report of the ſecret committee of the houſe of commons, p. 19.

militia were corrupted at Belfaſt. At laſt, the practice became ſo common, ſo general, and ſo fatal to the military, that the following, among other regiments, offered rewards for diſcovering and proſecuting any perſons concerned in it: The 9th dragoons, the 1ſt fencible cavalry, the Angusſhire fencibles, the Kilkenny, Antrim, Longford, Tyrone, Wexford, and Waterford militia.

The diſaffected reſted the ſucceſs of their cauſe very much on the attachment of the king's troops to it. At a provincial meeting held at Ballynahinch the twenty-third of November, 1797, orders were iſſued to every county delegate, to procure an exact account of the number of military, whether regular regiments, militia, or yeomen, whom they might conſider as their friends.

At a provincial meeting held at Armagh, the fourteenth of November, the number of the king's troops with their reſpective quarters, and on how many in each they might depend, was preſented. From the following returns, it appears that their hopes from the diſaffection of the king's troops were very high: In the county of Antrim, four thouſand, of which ſeven hundred were friends to the people: In Tyrone, two thouſand ſeven hundred, and one thouſand were attached to them: In Down, one thouſand one hundred, of which one thouſand were friends: In Armagh, four thouſand two hundred, among whom they reckoned only two hundred friends: In Donegal, two thouſand, and ſeven hundred of them were friends.

The different delegates were aſked by the ſecretary, if they thought their counties could diſarm the military within themſelves? and they all ſaid they could, except in Armagh, Down, Antrim, and part of Tyrone.*

At a provincial meeting held at Randalſtown, the fourteenth of December, 1797, it appeared, that they expected an invaſion by the French. Orders were iſſued to every county-delegate to procure an exact account of the number of military, whether regular regiments, militia, or yeomen, and the quarters where they lay, and to bring it to the next provincial meeting; as alſo how many of them they could reckon their friends. The county delegates were to procure this information from the baronial members, at the next county meeting.†

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* Report of the ſecret committee of the houſe of commons, Appendix, No. XIV. p. 123.

At a meeting of colonels held at Rathfriland, the twenty-eighth of March, 1798, they were aſked individually, whether they were able to diſarm the military, within the bounds of their own counties? and they all agreed that they were.‡

At a provincial meeting held at Belfaſt the firſt of April, 1798, it was ſaid that the national committee were determined to have a riſing, though the French expedition ſhould be fruſtrated. The Leinſter delegate had received a letter from Bartholomew Teeling, who was one of their delegates in France, and he recommended a riſing at all events; as the citizens of Dublin, with the aſſiſtance of the army, could at any time ſeize the caſtle of Dublin.*

At a provincial meeting held at Armagh, the county delegates were aſked, whether they could diſarm the military in their reſpective counties? and they ſaid, they could in Derry, Donegal, and Louth; but not in Down, Antrim, and Armagh, and the upper half of the county of Tyrone.§ The reaſon of this probably was, that in the three former the maſs of the people are papiſts; but in the latter, the proteſtants and orangemen were numerous.

A very intelligent gentleman of the North aſſured me, that ſuch of the linen merchants of the North as were members of the union, and wiſhed for a revolution, imagined that it would be effected quietly, and without violence, as the army was attached to their cauſe. Their property being perſonal, lying moſtly

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† Report of the ſecret committee of the houſe of commons, Appendix, No. XIV. p. 108.

‡ Ibid. p. 120.

* Ibid. p. 121.

§ Ibid. p. 124.

moſtly in their bleach-greens, they were averſe to any meaſures that might end in rapine and plunder.

In the county of Tyrone there were five thouſand yeomen, of which above four thouſand were orangemen; and in that large body there were not more than two hundred Roman catholicks, and four-fifths of the body were preſbyterians, who were ſteady in their loyalty.

There were regular returns made by the baronial members to the county delegates, by them to the provincial, and by the provincial to the executive, of the number of men organized and armed in their reſpective diſtricts, and of the money collected, and in the hands of the treaſurers of each.

Thus lord Edward Fitzgerald gave a paper in his own hand-writing to Mr. Reynolds, which was a return to a national committee held the twenty-ſixth of February, 1798. It ſtated the number of armed men in Ulſter, Leinſter, and Munſter, to be two hundred and ſeventy-nine thouſand eight hundred and ninety-ſix; and the ſum of money in the hands of the treaſurers to be 1485l. 4s. 9d.‡

It is not ſurpriſing that the conſpirators ſhould be confident of ſucceſs, when they were perſuaded that a great portion of the military were warmly attached to their cauſe; and that they could diſarm thoſe who continued loyal.

The above return, delivered to Mr. Reynolds by lord Edward, was confined merely to the men who were armed; for in the popiſh counties, all the farmers, peaſants, and mechanicks, to a man, were ſworn, organized, and warmly attached to the union.

It appeared that the county of Kerry regiment required one hundred conſtitutions in the year 1796.* This ſhewed that they muſt have been very much diſaffected.

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‡ Report of the ſecret committee of the houſe of commons, Appendix, No. XIV. p. 141.

* Ibid. Appendix, No. II. p. 46.

They did not begin to organize Munſter till the ſpring of 1797;* and as popiſh fanaticiſm gave wings to treaſon, it was reported to be in a good ſtate of organization the fourteenth of September following. †

Neilſon ſays, in his evidence before the committee of the lords, that the affiliated ſyſtem of organization began in 1792; and that Ulſter was completely organized the tenth of May, 1795.§ It appears that there were four executives in November, 1797,§ one for each province.

To ſhew how far popiſh fanaticiſm was concerned in the rebellion, what an impulſe it gave to the mind, and how much it extinguiſhed all moral principle, I will relate a few circumſtances of a conſpiracy formed by James Dunn and Patrick Carty, with others, to aſſaſſinate the earl of Carhampton, on the twenty-fifth of May, 1797; becauſe he had always evinced the moſt unabated zeal and activity, both as a magiſtrate and an officer, to maintain ſocial order in his neighbourhood, and in checking the progreſs of rebellion.

The former was a blackſmith and farrier, who lived on his lordſhip's demeſne, and in his ſervice, for many years, and had conſtantly experienced the moſt ſtriking inſtances of kindneſs from him.

Notwithſtanding theſe obligations, James Dunn repaired to the houſe of Maurice Dunn, a relation in Dublin, who kept a cabaret, on Sunday the ſeventh of May, and offered to a committee of ſixteen united Iriſhmen who were then ſitting there, to *do-out* his friend and benefactor, the earl of Carhampton. This was a common cant expreſſion among the united Iriſhmen, for murdering a perſon.

When he made the propoſal, one perſon ſaid it was great news; another, glorious news; another, the beſt news he had heard a long time.

Leſt a concourſe of ſo many perſons ſhould excite ſuſpicion, they appointed ſeven perſons as a committee of aſſaſſination to concert meaſures with Dunn.

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* Report of the ſecret committee, p. 272.

† Ibid. p. 104.

§ Ibid. p. 106.

As money would be neceſſary to procure weapons and horſes, application was made to one Burke, the ſecretary of finance, who was clerk to Myles Duigenan, a grocer in Grafton-ſtreet; but he poſtponed granting their requeſt, till Mr. O'Callaghan, at the head of the finance, ſhould recover, being confined with ſickneſs. It was at laſt agreed, that Dunn and Carthy, a labourer on his lordſhip's demeſne, and ſeven more perſons, ſhould aſſaſſinate him on the ſucceeding Sunday, the fourteenth of May.

Three of them on horſeback, having looſe coats with blunderbuſſes under them, and ſix mounted as yeomen cavalry with piſtols, were to fire into his lordſhip's carriage, as it paſſed through a narrow road near Luttrell's-town; and at the ſame time to murder his ſervants, and any perſons who might be with him. Ferris, who was at the head of the committee of ſixteen, and the only proteſtant member of it, ſtruck with horror at the atrocity of the plot, diſcovered it, and Dunn and Carthy were hanged.

While Dunn was in priſon, lord Carhampton went to ſee him, and ſaid, Conſidering the kindneſs I ſhewed you, I did not imagine you would have been concerned in an attempt on my life. To his lordſhip's utter aſtoniſhment, he replied, without heſitation, that he thought it a good act. On aſking him, whether he himſelf had propoſed to murder him? he anſwered, that he never had; but that he was ſworn to execute it; and if he were out again, he would perpetrate it if he could. His lordſhip ſaid, though you might think it a good act to murder me, why ſhould you ſhoot a poor innocent poſtillion? Why! ſaid he; to do the thing completely. He afterwards gave much the ſame anſwers to the ſame queſtions, to lord Carhampton in the preſence of the earl of Enniſkillen.

On May the thirteenth, there was an engagement between the North Britains and defenders near Forkhill

hill in the county of Armagh, where thirteen of the former were killed, and eighteen deſperately wounded.

On the ſeventeenth of May, a proclamation iſſued againſt the commiſſion of atrocities and diſturbances in general, and offering pardon to all perſons who had been ſeduced, or entered into illegal aſſociations; provided they, before the twenty-fourth of June, appeared before a magiſtrate, ſurrendered themſelves, took oaths of allegiance, acknowledged their errors, and entered into a recogniſance to keep the peace, and be of good behaviour.

On the twenty-ſecond of June, the time for taking advantage of this proclamation was extended to the twenty-fourth of July.

This wiſe meaſure was attended with the moſt ſalutary effects; for it induced thoſe who had become united Iriſhmen, from motives of terror, to renounce the connection; it confirmed in their allegiance thoſe who were wavering; and it inſpired the rebels with fear, leſt thoſe who repented, and took the benefit of the proclamation, would betray them.

Notwithſtanding this meaſure of mercy and warning to the diſaffected, in the latter end of the ſame month a general inſurrection in Ulſter was decided on, and the plan of attack for each county was arranged. * At the ſame time the inconſiſtency of the diſaffected could be equalled by nothing but their effrontery and malignity, in accuſing government of wanton and unneceſſary ſeverity, by which the people were ſtimulated to commit acts of outrage and licentiouſneſs.

The practice of ſeducing the military ſtill continued ſo much, that, in the ſpace of one month, the following ſoldiers were ſhot for treaſonable plots: Four of the Monaghan, at Blaris camp; two of the Wexford regiment, at Cork; two of the Kildare, in the Phœnix park, near Dublin; and two of the Louth, near Limerick.

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* Report of the ſecret committee of the houſe of commons, Appendix, No. XIV. p. 123.

It was diſcovered, that houſes of entertainment were kept open in Dublin, Cork and Athlone, at a conſiderable expence, for the ſeduction of the ſoldiers. They were regaled there *gratis*, with the moſt delicious fare; and even proſtitutes were kept to work on their affections.

In the month of May, ſeveral committees were ſurpriſed in the act of forming treaſonable plots in Dublin; and it was diſcovered that the blackſmiths there were buſily employed in making pikes.

In the month of June, the pay of the military was encreaſed, which at this critical time was a very politick meaſure, as the united Iriſhmen were endeavouring to ſeduce them with unceaſing ſedulity.

One Murtagh Mc. Canwell, ſent from the North to the South for that purpoſe, was known to be ſo expert, and had done ſo much miſchief in that way, that a general court-martial, ſitting at Limerick, offered one hundred and twenty-five guineas for diſcovering and apprehending him. The defenders were ſo formidable at this time, in the counties of Meath, Weſtmeath, Kildare and Longford, that many of the proteſtants were obliged to fly to the metropolis for protection.

It was diſcovered, that there was to have been an inſurrection of the defenders on the night of the twenty-fourth of May, in the counties of Meath, Cavan, Longford and Monaghan, for the purpoſe of murdering the army, the yeomanry, and all the loyal ſubjects in them. It appeared that one of their emiſſaries circulated four or five hundred letters, to apprize them of the preciſe time of riſing.

On the ſeventh of June, Mr. Barber, a preſbyterian miniſter of Rathfriland, noted for turbulent and ſeditious principles, was committed to the goal of Belfaſt.

On the fourteenth of October, William Orr, a noted propagator of the doctrines of the united Iriſhmen, was hanged at Carrickfergus; and as he was one of the moſt active agents of the Iriſh union, great efforts were made to ſave his life; but when they failed, the judge who tried him was reviled, the jury and the witneſſes were calumniated, and the government was univerſally vilified by the diſaffected, for having, as they ſaid, ſacrificed the life of this honeſt and innocent man to the vengeance and acrimony of party.

As there was a conſiderable ſpace of time between his ſentence and execution, father Quigley, and two preſbyterian miniſters, attended him conſtantly, dreading that he would make diſcoveries, as he had intimated an intention of doing ſo; and they perſuaded him that he was not guilty of any crime, and that they could re-animate him. After being hanged, they carried his body to a preſbyterian meeting-houſe, where two medical men endeavoured to reſtore him to life, by transfuſing the blood of a calf into his veins. Not ſucceeding, his body was laid out in great ſtate, and he was honoured with a moſt ſplendid funeral, which was attended by a numerous body of united Iriſhmen, who lamented in doleful accents the fate of this martyr to republican liberty, and bedewed his hearſe with tears of ſympathetick civiſm. The cap which he wore was cut into ſmall ſhreds, and diſtributed among his diſciples, who cheriſhed it as a moſt precious relick; and they, in every part of the kingdom, wore, in memory of him, ſome kind of emblem in rings, lockets, or bracelets.

WHAT PROGRESS THE LEADERS OF THE CONSPIRACY MADE TO THE END OF THE YEAR 1797, IN UNITING THE PRESBYTERIANS AND PAPISTS.

THE only point in which the papiſts and preſbyterians cordially united was, Revolution ; but their views and expectations from it were widely different. The former conſidered it as the only means of recovering their antient eſtates, and of acquiring a complete aſcendancy ; whereas, the eſtabliſhment of a republican government was the chief object of the latter.

For the attainment of their ends, each wiſhed to avail themſelves of the aſſiſtance of the other ; and hence reſulted that curious exhibition of hypocritical regard, which for ſome time marked their declarations. But when the rebellion actually began, this thin veil of univerſal philanthropy was ſoon rent ; their diſcordant and ſeparate views became apparent to each other, and awakened thoſe embers of antient hoſtility, which a ſpurious philoſophy had in vain attempted to cover and keep dormant.

It is obſervable, that the defenders exiſted as an organized and armed body, at leaſt three years before the united Iriſhmen ; for their plan, or proſpectus, found on captain Sharky, in the county of Armagh, was dated the twenty-fourth of April, 1789 ; and as there were ſimilar ſocieties in the county of Louth, affiliated with them, we may preſume that it required ſome time to bring them to a perfect ſtate of organization ; and reference is made in that proſpectus to oaths which they had taken formerly.

It appeared alſo, that they exiſted at the ſame time in the counties of Antrim, Down and Monaghan ; as general Euſtace was ſent there to ſuppreſs them.

The united Iriſhmen held their firſt ſeſſion at Belfaſt, in the month of October, 1791; in Dublin, in the month of December.

The defenders, who were excluſively papiſts, never appeared in any county except where popery predominated. They never exiſted in any part of the county of Down or Antrim, except in the barony of Iveagh in the former, and in Carey and Glenarm in the latter, in which Roman catholicks are numerous. The only ſpring of action with them was a hatred to proteſtants. The main object of the united Iriſhmen was, to unite the preſbyterians, and, if poſſible, the members of the eſtabliſhed church with the Roman catholicks, for the purpoſe of overturning the conſtitution. Their oaths were quite different. The Catholick committee ſhewed much zeal in promoting this junction; but the exterminating ſpirit which their ſectaries ſhewed during the rebellion, in the counties of Dublin, Kildare, Carlow, Wicklow, Wexford, Mayo and Sligo, proved that they were not ſincere, and that they meant to eſtabliſh excluſively their own religion on the abolition of every other. We may fairly conclude then, that they meant merely to lull the fears and ſuſpicions of the preſbyterians, and not to unite with them.

Samuel Neilſon, the moſt active member of the union, declared, that the affiliated ſyſtem began in ſpring 1792, and that it was not completed in Ulſter till the tenth of May, 1795.* The ſlow progreſs of the organization in that province aroſe from the very great difficulty of uniting the preſbyterians and papiſts, between whom there exiſted ſo great an antipathy, that it is more than probable it never could have been accompliſhed, if the leading conſpirators had not prevailed on the clergy of both to forward the intereſt of the union; and yet, we have very good reaſon for ſaying, that the amalgamation of the two ſects was ſo imperfect, that the united Iriſhmen and defenders in the northern counties continued as ſeparate bodies, even ſo late as the end of the year 1797. For, at a meeting of the former, held at Belfaſt, it is ſtated, "that the provincial committee promiſed to give to the county committee, the number of defenders in the kingdom;" * and the zeal of the latter muſt have been very great, when it was ſaid, "that a defender up the country promiſed to give four thouſand guineas for the uſe of the united Iriſhmen; and all he aſks is, three or four of the united Iriſhmen as ſecurity for that ſum." †

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* Examination before the ſecret committee of the houſe of lords, Appendix, No. V.

In the ſame provincial report, it is ſaid, "the orangemen in the county of Tyrone are taking the arms from the defenders." This ſhews a laudable zeal in the orangemen in diſarming this banditti, and the intereſt which the united Iriſhmen took in their concerns.

We find alſo, in a provincial report, at the ſame period, that it was conſidered as a matter of moment, "to make friends of catholicks and orangemen, as it is doing a great deal of good in Armagh." ‡ This was the grand object of the united Iriſhmen and Catholick committee, in the North. This meeting was held at Belfaſt the twenty-ſeventh of December, 1797.

In the ſame report it appears, that at a meeting of captains on the thirty-firſt of July, 1797, at Downpatrick, great fears were expreſſed, that the catholicks and diſſenters would become two ſeparate parties." ‖

In May, 1797, orders were iſſued by the executive directory, that all the captains in the different baronies ſhould aſſemble to chuſe field officers, and that office was performed by Joſeph Leſlie, in the barony of Loughinſholen, in the county of Derry; but

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* Report of the ſecret committee of the houſe of commons, No. II. p. 27. † Ibid. ‡ Ibid. p. 29.

‖ Ibid. Appendix, No. XIV. p. 103.

but having ſummoned proteſtants only, the Roman catholicks remonſtrated warmly, and he was obliged to change the day for aſſembling, and to ſummon indiſcriminately perſons of both perſuaſions. Though the two orders co-operated, they never were cordially united. The maſſacres in the province of Leinſter evinced the ſecret deſigns of the Romaniſts, and, by opening the eyes of the northern preſbyterians, completely diſunited them.

The inhabitants of Glenarm, in the county of Antrim, who were papiſts, were organized according to the defenderiſm ſyſtem. During the rebellion, they were advancing in a body to join a party of united Iriſhmen on Belair-hill, who were headed by one Acheſon, a preſbyterian miniſter; but when the Glenarm rebels diſcovered this, they diſbanded and ſaid, they never would ſubmit to be commanded by a proteſtant. * The ſame circumſtance occurred in the rebel camp at Carrickbyrne, Vinegar-hill, and Gorey, in the county of Wexford, where the prieſts and the other popiſh leaders denounced proteſtants, and deſired that they ſhould not be admitted into their ranks; but we cannot have a ſtronger proof of the inſincerity of the Romaniſts, and their determination to extirpate every order but their own, than the wanton and cold-blooded murders committed by them in the counties of Dublin, Kildare, Wicklow, Carlow and Wexford; and the earneſt intention which they ſhewed to do ſo in Mayo and Sligo, and which they would have effected, but for the humane interference of the French.

By the following reſolution, ſeized by Mr. Fox in a committee of united Iriſhmen at Belfaſt, and dated the eleventh of April, 1797, it appears, that they did not conſider the defenders as united with them: "Reſolved, that the provincial (meaning committee) form a plan for the ſupport of poor families, that they get us the number of defenders in the kingdom, who

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* To this the ſalvation of that part of the county of Antrim was imputed.

who are not united Iriſhmen, and if they will act with united Iriſhmen." *

Charles Mc. Fillin, a papiſt, declared upon oath, before ſir George Hill, baronet, that he attended as a delegate at a provincial meeting at Garvagh, in the county of Derry, in November, 1796; and that he was choſen a delegate, at four or five provincial meetings; and the reaſon he aſſigns for it is, to inſpire the Roman catholicks with confidence, as the ſyſtem was to unite all religious perſuaſions, to overturn the conſtitution. Mc. Fillin was the only papiſt at theſe provincial meetings, and there was conſiderable jealouſy between the two orders. †

In almoſt every inſtance where the preſbyterians conſiderably exceeded the papiſts in point of number, the latter were apparently loyal, or at leaſt did not enter into the union; and they frequently, when thus circumſtanced, were the only perſons who gave information againſt the conſpirators, but more from motives of fear, hatred, or envy, than a pure and genuine ſpirit of loyalty. Mc. Fillin's evidence is to be accounted for on no other principle.

In the ſame manner, where the Roman catholicks very much predominated in point of numbers, the preſbyterians were faithful. For this reaſon, ſmall colonies of the latter in Meath, Cavan, Longford, Mayo, and Sligo, were not only loyal, but very active againſt the defenders.

In ſuch parts of the counties of Down and Armagh, where there were many of both orders blended together, the antipathy which always exiſted between them, produced ſtrife and bloodſhed, in the ſhape of defenderiſm and peep-of-day boys: But it is obſervable, that while the county of Armagh was dreadfully diſturbed by them, the town of Lurgan and its vicinity were perfectly tranquil, becauſe it abounds with proteſtants of the church of Ireland, the

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* Secret report of the houſe of commons, Appendix, No. II. p. 32.

† Ibid. No. VI. p. 77.

the only ſect who have been ſteadily and uniformly attached to the king and conſtitution.

Both the defenders and united Iriſhmen in their turn attempted to organize the county of Fermanagh, and they made ſome progreſs, and formed ſome plots there; but perceiving the futility of their ſchemes, they deſiſted, becauſe they knew that the proteſtants of the eſtabliſhed church are ſo numerous, ſo loyal, and courageous, that they would have been cut to pieces, had they attempted to riſe in rebellion, which was the ultimate object of their machinations. *

In ſome pariſhes in the dioceſe of Dromore, where the majority of the inhabitants are of the eſtabliſhed church, and in others where they form a large portion of them, the people are moral, ſober, and induſtrious; becauſe thoſe who are inclined to be diſaffected, know that the proteſtants would riſk their lives and fortunes in ſupport of the conſtitution, and in the preſervation of peace and good order.

When the French were at Colooney, and ſhewed an intention of marching towards the metropolis, the Roman catholicks in the vicinity of Belturbet, in the county of Cavan, ſhewed a diſpoſition to riſe, in order to join them; but as the proteſtants of the eſtabliſhed church in that county are numerous, loyal, and well armed, and as they were moſtly united in Orange lodges, they would have cut the inſurgents to pieces, had they riſen there; they retired then to the Ballinamore mountains, about ſeven miles diſtant, and aſſembled there. Though the county of Cavan was in general very much diſturbed by the defenders, they, for the above reaſon, never dared to appear in the neighbourhood of Belturbet.

I mentioned before, the zeal of the preſbyterian miniſters and the popiſh prieſts, to unite both their orders in the conſpiracy.

This appeared in a very ſtriking manner in the year 1797, particularly in the diſturbed parts of Armagh and

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* They knew what achievements were performed in the year 1641, by the bravery and loyalty of the Enniſkilleners.

and Down, whoſe inhabitants were ſo hoſtile to each other, as peep-of-day boys and defenders, and to reconcile whom the united Iriſhmen and Catholick committee ſhewed ſo much earneſtneſs.

In the ſummer of 1797, one M'Carry, an itinerant friar, continued to preach in theſe counties, at Portaferry, in the barony of Lecale, and thence to Newtownards, to the populace of both perſuaſions, in popiſh chapels, and in the fields; and to recommend to them union and fraternity, on grounds of chriſtian benevolence.

His audience was always very numerous; but Mr. Savage of Portaferry, having been informed that he preached ſeditious doctrines, threatened to commit him to priſon, unleſs he quitted the country immediately.

I mentioned before that doctor Dickſon, a preſbyterian miniſter, at Portaferry, gave evening lectures to his flock, in the year 1797, as he ſaid, to enlighten them; but they were in fact political diſcourſes, ſimilar to thoſe delivered by Thelwall, and were calculated for no other purpoſe, but to diſſeminate republican principles. It turned out afterwards, that he was an adjutant-general in the rebel army, for which he has been tranſported.

Many northern gentlemen of ſagacity have aſſured me, that they conſidered the preſbyterians as ſincere in fraternizing with the Roman catholicks, for the purpoſe of forming a republick; and for this reaſon, that if the government were ſubverted by their united ſtrength, they could not hope to ſubjugate, and make them ſubſervient to any ſiniſter deſigns which they might have entertained from the great ſuperiority of their numbers.

When Dickey, a rebel leader, and a diſſenter, was on the point of being hanged at Belfaſt, he declared, that the eyes of the preſbyterians had been opened too late; and that they were convinced by the maſſacres perpetrated by the Romaniſts in the province of Leinſter, that they muſt have had to contend with them, if they had ſucceeded in overturning the conſtitution.

A gentleman of great ſagacity and judgment, who took a very active part in checking the progreſs of the conſpiracy in the North, gave me this as his decided opinion: "That the Catholick committee hoped to ſucceed in their ambitious ſchemes, by alarming the government through the defenders; but finding that the preſbyterians would oppoſe them with ſucceſs, they endeavoured to gain them over to aſſiſt them in ſubverting the conſtitution, though in fact they only meant to lull them, till their object was accompliſhed, and then to have extirpated proteſtants of every denomination." I will appeal to the candid reader, whether this is not deducible from the barbarity of the rebels againſt proteſtants excluſively, wherever the rebellion broke out; and by the informations of many of the conſpirators, which are to be ſeen in the Appendix, particularly No. XI.

The clerk of the crown informed me, that he aſked the reverend doctor Porter, a preſbyterian miniſter at Newtownards, a ſhort time before he was put upon his trial, how a perſon of his education and connections came to be embarked in ſo dreadful a rebellion? and he candidly acknowledged, that republican liberty was his object; and that when he ſaw that the French were actuated by nothing but a deſire of conqueſt and plunder, and not by the generous deſign of promoting univerſal liberty, which they evinced by their treatment of the American deputies, he reſolved to renounce his connection with the conſpirators; but he found it too late, as his life would have fallen a ſacrifice to any attempt to do ſo. He at the ſame time attempted to defend his conduct, on the ground that every perſon had a right to form his own opinion on the eligibility of what kind of government he would wiſh to live under. This abſurd and dangerous doctrine has been inculcated by Price and Prieſtley. This man was hanged in the rear of his conventicle at Gray Abbey.

I ſtated before, that the ſlow progreſs of the organization of the North aroſe from the great difficulty of uniting the preſbyterians and papiſts. The following anecdote will illuſtrate it:

A Romaniſt, who had been an active leader of the defenders, being in converſation in the year 1794 with a preſbyterian, who was much addicted to French republican principles, in a mountainous pariſh of the county of Tyrone, informed him, that the Romaniſts had received orders from their committee, to conſider the preſbyterians in future as brethren, and that they were both to fraternize. On which the latter, who had a gun in his hand, aſked him to aſſiſt him in driving ſome cattle from the mountains: To which the Romaniſt replied, "What! truſt myſelf alone with a preſbyterian with a gun!" So rooted was the antipathy of the Romaniſts to the diſſenters!

Samuel Neilſon ſtated in his evidence before the ſecret committee of the houſe of lords, that the military organization began in Ulſter in the autumn of 1796, and that the object of it was to carry meaſures by force; and they muſt have collected arms with great celerity, for it appears, that before the cloſe of that year, the conſpirators had, in Belfaſt alone, five hundred and twenty-ſix guns, three hundred and ninety-nine bayonets, eighty-eight piſtols, five hundred and ſixty-ſeven pikes, twelve thouſand one hundred and thirty ball-cartridges, fifteen thouſand nine hundred and fifty-three balls, five hundred and ſixty-ſix pounds of powder, ſix cannon and one mortar; and in the county of Antrim, twenty-three thouſand and fifty-nine men, two thouſand ſix hundred and fifty-nine guns, nine hundred and eighty-two bayonets, two hundred and four piſtols, two thouſand three hundred and forty-eight pikes, eighty-five ſwords, eighteen thouſand two hundred and fifty-three ball-cartridges, two thouſand three hundred and fifty-eight balls, ſix hundred and twenty-eight pounds and an half of powder, eight cannon and one mortar.*

The reader may conceive, to what extent the people were armed, when, in the county of Kildare alone, fourteen thouſand nine hundred and ſeventy-three pikes were ſurrendered in the year 1797, in conſequence of the pardon offered by government to the repentant, and of the ſalutary rigour and coercion exerciſed againſt thoſe who were obſtinate in guilt; and there was not a doubt but that a much greater proportion was retained.

In other counties it was not doubted, but that the preparation for arms was as extenſive as the organization itſelf, from the number ſeized in different parts of the kingdom, which amounted to no leſs than one hundred and twenty-nine thouſand. †

The adoption of the military organization produced ſuch an encreaſe of robbery and aſſaſſination in the northern counties, as to induce a neceſſity of enforcing the inſurrection law in them; and accordingly Down and Armagh were proclaimed in November, 1796, Derry and Donegal in February, 1797.

Regular returns were made by the baronial to the county, and by the county to the provincial committee, and by them to the executive, of the quantity of arms and ammunition in their poſſeſſion; and of the ſums of money in their treaſurers' hands.

For this, and the manner of making the returns, I ſhall refer the reader to the report of the ſecret committee, beginning at Appendix, No. II. 220.

They had a regular chain or gradation of officers, from a general down to a ſerjeant; and about the latter end of the year 1797, or beginning of 1798, they inſtituted the office of adjutant-general, whoſe duty may be ſeen in the report of the ſecret committee, Appendix, No. XVII. p. 142.

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* Report of the ſecret committee, Appendix, No. II. p. 23, 24.
† Ibid. Appendix, No. XXXIX.

They uſed unremitted endeavours, and ſpared no expence in defending the conſpirators who were to be tried; for which purpoſe, a ſub-committee attended regularly at every aſſizes to ſuperintend the appropriation of the money collected for that purpoſe.

John Hughes was ſent by Mr. James Mc. Guchin, an attorney, to Dublin, in order to get a licenſe for counſellor Curran to be concerned for the priſoners, then in the ſeveral gaols, on the North-Eaſt circuit, in the Lent aſſizes of 1797, charged as united Iriſhmen; and he paid him 50l. as a retaining fee, and 200l. for different licenſes to plead. *

The following report was made to a county of Down committee, of law expences on the trials of conſpirators, June 8th, 1797:

Counſellors,	Curran,	-	100 guineas.
	Sampſon,	-	50 do.
	Ball,	-	40 do.
	Dobbs,	-	40 do.
Attornies,	Caddel,	-	100 do.
	Glenny,	-	20 pounds.
	Wallace,	-	100 guineas.
	Frazer,	-	50 pounds.
Gaoler,	-	-	10 guineas.
Two aſſiſtants,		-	20 pounds each.
Sub-ſheriff,		-	20 guineas.
Witneſſes,		-	200 pounds.†

At a provincial meeting held at Randalſtown, December the fourteenth, 1797, it appeared, that the executive committee "had advanced 137l. 8s. for conveying thirteen priſoners from Belfaſt to Dublin, for the benefit of the habeas corpus act." They had alſo advanced 185l. 4s. for the priſoners' trials in Armagh and Carrickfergus; and as they could not get money to defray the expence, they had thoughts of forming a lottery, the benefit of which was

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* Report of the ſecret committee, Appendix, No. XV. p. 126.

† Ibid. Appendix, No. XIV. p. 100.

was to be applied to ſaid purpoſes; * but on the ſeventeenth of January, 1798, they rejected that plan, as it encouraged *immorality in the people*, and reſolved to raiſe money by ſubſcription. †

I mentioned before that they endeavoured to baffle juſtice by ſtriking terror into all loyal ſubjects, and procuring ſuch of them as had taken an active and conſpicuous part in executing the laws, to be murdered. To render this ſyſtem more certain, they publiſhed, in the ſummer of 1797, a paper, entitled, The Union Star, which appeared at irregular periods; and of which the object was, to point out for aſſaſſination ſuch perſons as had been eminently uſeful in developing the ſecrets, or in checking the machinations of the conſpirators. Each number began with the following paragraph:

"As the Union Star is an official paper, the managers promiſe the publick, that no characters ſhall "be hazarded, but ſuch as are denounced by authority, as being the partners and creatures of Pitt, "and his ſanguinary journeyman Luttrell," (meaning the earl of Carhampton.) "The Star offers to "publick juſtice the following deteſtable traitors, as "ſpies and perjured informers. Perhaps ſome arm "more lucky than the reſt, may reach his heart, "and free the world from bondage." ‡

This paper was ſecretly, and in the night, diſperſed in the city of Dublin, and in different parts of the country, but without any printer's name annexed to it; and it pointed the dagger of the aſſaſſin to the breaſt of many a loyal ſubject.

They alſo ſet on foot, in the winter of 1797, a newſpaper, called The Preſs, for the purpoſe of vilifying the government, of reprobating its leading members, and of inciting perſons to murder them; of condemning, as founded in tyranny, every ſalutary meaſure adopted for checking the progreſs of rebellion, and of traducing every loyal man who had courage enough to aſſiſt in doing ſo.

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* Report of the ſecret committee, Appendix, No. XIV. p. 108.

† Ibid. p. 109.

‡ Ibid. Appendix, No. XXVII. p. 217.

So ſure were the leaders of the united Iriſhmen in Dublin that they had attained their grand object, that of uniting perſons of different religious orders, that the following paragraph appeared in The Preſs of the twenty-ſixth of December, 1797:

"The catholicks and preſbyterians are united in indiſſoluble ties, like dying martyrs, in a common cauſe, priding themſelves in mutual good offices, and for ever abjuring the barbarous fanaticiſm that made them hate each other. From the proteſtants of the eſtabliſhment, every man of worth, of talent, or of honour, has ranged himſelf by their ſide; and nothing now remains, againſt Iriſh union, but twenty-five thouſand, as near as may be, of bigots, hirelings, and dependents; juſt enough to furniſh the lord lieutenant with addreſſes."

One of the main deſigns of theſe infamous prints was, to paint England in the blackeſt colours; to vilify her conſtitution, as founded in deſpotiſm; and to repreſent her people as knaviſh, artful and tyrannical: An extraordinary return to that glorious nation, for having given to the ſavages of Ireland their conſtitution,* as far as a kingdom, in her ſubordinate ſtate, could participate of it; for having attempted to reclaim her people from downright ſavagery, and for having introduced among them every art that can adorn or improve civil life! Theſe invectives againſt England were uttered to encourage a ſeparation from her.

Much to the diſgrace of government, this infamous paper, called The Preſs, was ſuffered to diſſeminate treaſon and ſedition, from the beginning of October, 1797, till the ſixth of March, 1798; when, in conſequence of information received that Mr. Arthur O'Connor, the ſworn proprietor and owner of it, had been ſeized at Margate, in the actual attempt of taking his paſſage for France, with Quigley the prieſt of Dundalk, on whom treaſonable papers were found, alderman Alexander, on Tueſday the ſixth of March, ſeized the papers and printing materials of The Preſs.

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* The union has given it to them in the fulleſt extent: Without it, they were ſlaves, depending on the breath of a miniſter for the freedom they enjoyed.

The moſt inflammatory parts of this infamous print have been recently extracted, and publiſhed in Dublin in a thick octavo volume, to fan the ſeemingly-ſmothered flame of rebellion; and it is ſaid, and believed, that this has been done by a printer and bookſeller who was deeply concerned in the conſpiracy and rebellion, and who owes his liberty at this moment to the royal mercy.

To injure publick credit, they publiſhed printed notices, not to uſe exciſeable commodities; not to take bank notes; and not to purchaſe quit-rents, as government had propoſed to ſell them. In theſe they ſaid, "In our opinion the iſſuer of theſe notes is a bankrupt, who in all likelihood muſt ſhortly ſhut up and run away. When the government goes down, theſe fine notes of theirs, with ſtamps of hundreds and thouſands upon them, will not fetch a penny a pound in a ſnuff-ſhop."

I think it right to inform the reader, that there is a more equal intermixture of proteſtants of the eſtabliſhed church, of preſbyterians and papiſts, in the counties of Donegal, Derry, Tyrone and Armagh, than in any other part of the kingdom; for this reaſon the diſaffected ſhewed more boldneſs of enterprize and vigour of exertion in them, than in moſt other parts of the kingdom, during the progreſs of the conſpiracy; for the preſbyterians engaged in it, were men of ſome education and improved intellect, and directed the operations; and the perſons who executed them were of the lower claſs of Roman catholicks, who were deſperate and ſanguinary;* but the rebellion, had it broken out in them, could not have been very deſtructive or of long continuance, as the yeomen and orangemen were numerous, and were vigilant and active in detecting and baffling the ſchemes of the traitors; beſides, the maſſacres in the province of Leinſter made ſuch of the preſbyterians, as were diſaffected, unite with the loyaliſts.

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* The reader will not be ſurpriſed at this from the maſſacres which took place in the province of Leinſter.

A practice, which I before mentioned, of aſſembling the people to dig the potatoes, or reap the corn of their leaders, took place often in thoſe counties. It anſwered two purpoſes, that of trying the ſincerity of the people, and of convincing them of their ſtrength, by the facility with which a number of them could be collected in a ſhort time. No leſs than ſix thouſand perſons aſſembled to dig an acre and a half potatoes, the property of one Mc. Clury, near Newtownlimavady in the county of Derry.

This body was regularly divided into companies, which were ſubdivided into ten, with officers appropriated to each diviſion.

This Mc. Clury was tried for having, with a numerous gang of aſſaſſins, murdered one Mc. Cluſky, and burnt his houſe, in the county of Derry, becauſe he would not join in a combination againſt the rector of the pariſh.

The jury, from motives of fear or corruption, acquitted him, though his guilt was evident; on which the lord chief baron recommended to the next of kin to bring an appeal of murder. It often occurred that the witneſſes and jurors were afraid to do their duty.

The executive directory formed the higheſt expectations of ſucceſs in the beginning of the year 1797, from the number and zeal of their partizans, who were well armed and organized.

Robert Moore of the city of Derry, ironmonger, who had been deputed from the county of Derry to the provincial meeting of Ulſter as their delegate, attended the next county meeting in November,

ber, 1796, at Garvagh, in order to impart to them the orders of the provincial. He informed them that the French were expected immediately; that they muſt array themſelves in companies of one hundred men each, with a captain, two lieutenants and five ſerjeants; that they muſt exerciſe conſtantly, and procure arms by every means in their power; and he particularly recommended pikes.

They immediately began their nocturnal depredations in the counties of Tyrone, Derry, Donegal and Armagh, ſo that no night paſſed without ſome dreadful enormities committed by them. To compel people to join them by terror, they demoliſhed or burnt houſes and haggards, deſtroyed cattle, dragged people from their beds, cropped off their ears, ducked, maimed, or murdered them.

In December, 1796, they deſtroyed the property and cut off the ears of one Lanaghan, in the barony of Loughinſholin, and county of Derry; at the ſpring aſſizes of 1797, he proſecuted three of them, but the jury acquitted them; it is ſuppoſed, from motives of terror.

In the month of December, 1796, a man unguardedly informed his family, that he ſaw a number of them exerciſing in the night; which being reported to them, the moſt moderate of them inſiſted on his leaving the country; but in attempting to do ſo, he was murdered at Magilligan, in the county of Derry.

In January, 1797, ſir George Hill, with a party of the military, ſurpriſed a body of rebels in the night, after they had plundered many houſes of arms near Derry, killed ſome of them, and took others priſoners. Of the latter, a young man of the name of Bordman became approver. At the aſſizes, ſir George introduced him into a room, where the crown lawyers were, that he might relate to them the ſubſtance of his evidence. Seeing his examinations in the hands of ſir George Hill, he ruſhed forward, ſnatched them from him, tore them in pieces, and afterwards denied every thing he had ſworn. He knew that he and all his family, who were numerous and reſpectable, would have been aſſaſſinated if he had proſecuted.

Whenever the military aſſembled in the night, at Derry, to patrole the country in detachments, ſignals were made by lights, through whatever diſtrict they paſſed. In the winter of 1796, and the beginning of 1797, before thoſe counties were proclaimed, thouſands were obliged to compromiſe with the rebels, to deliver up their arms, and to take the oath of ſecreſy, to ſave their lives; and gentlemen of good landed property were among thoſe who did ſo. At laſt the well-diſpoſed called out for protection, which the introduction of the inſurrection law, and the inſtitution of Orange ſocieties, contributed materially to afford them. Anonymous letters were frequently written to loyal perſons, threatening them with deſtruction, unleſs they became members of the union.

In the beginning of the year 1797, whole corps of yeomen were diſarmed. At the ſpring aſſizes of that year, very few delinquents could be convicted, as the witneſſes and jurors, ſome from terror, others from attachment to the cauſe, acquitted them. At Omagh, Lifford, and Derry,* the acquittals were celebrated by bonfires in the night, for thirty miles round the country.

The day before the aſſizes at Derry, on the thirteenth of April, 1797, the county delegates held a meeting, and paid in large ſubſcriptions, which had been previouſly collected for the uſe and defence of the priſoners in gaol, and appointed a ſub-committee to manage and appropriate it.

In the winter of 1797, they became ſo numerous and daring, that they uſed to patrole the country by night, in immenſe numbers, plunder houſes of arms, and cut down great quantities of aſh-trees to make pike handles.

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* The county towns of Tyrone, Donegal and Derry.

In a diſtrict called Fanet, in the county of Donegal, two thouſand of them aſſembled, and laid a plan to murder the reverend Mr. Hamilton, of which he received information upon oath from one of the party. He could not get a meſſenger to convey a letter to Derry for a reinforcement of troops, and he had but a few ſoldiers in his houſe. He, and a Mr. Smyth who commands a revenue cutter, diſguiſed themſelves in rags, as beggars, paſſed the picquet guard of the rebels, which they kept conſtantly, with the utmoſt regularity, arrived ſafe at Derry, and obtained an additional guard of one hundred men, which ſaved himſelf and his houſe for that time; but he was murdered in a fortnight after, within eight miles of Derry, by forty farmers who have ſince gone to America.

In ſuch counties where the perſons poſſeſſed of property were proteſtants of the church of Ireland, and of courſe were loyal, and the lower claſs of people were papiſts, the conſpiracy was not ſo terrifick; becauſe the latter, who were engaged in it, wanted leaders of improved intellects.

Large ſums of money were ſent from Belfaſt to Derry, to corrupt the military, and their ſchemes were attended with very great ſucceſs, particularly in the Tipperary regiment.

A plot of a very extenſive and dangerous nature for taking that town was diſcovered, and that ſome of the privates and non-commiſſioned officers of that regiment were deeply engaged in it. Three or four publicans were to have intoxicated ſuch of the ſoldiers as were not ſworn. A choſen band were to have murdered the earl of Cavan, colonel Bagwell, and ſir George Hill, and to have ſeized the magazine.

The conſpiracy was to have been carried into execution on a market day, when ten thouſand of the country people were to have entered the town under the pretext of buſineſs. Different perſons, both ſoldiers and peaſants, concurred exactly in their relation of this plot.

The great linen bleachers were almoſt univerſally obliged to countenance the converſion of their overſeers and workmen to the united cauſe, that they might continue their buſineſs; but ſome did ſo from pure attachment to it. Such of them as were ſtedfaſt in their loyalty, were under a neceſſity of diſcontinuing their bleaching for the ſeaſon.

As the reverend John Hill, brother of ſir George Hill, had diſtinguiſhed himſelf by great activity and courage in checking the progreſs of rebellion in the county of Tyrone, all the loyaliſts in his neighbourhood lodged their arms in his houſe, which was guarded by four of the Queen's county militia, and in which he had maintained his poſt for many months.

One night in the month of June, 1797, when he happened to be abſent at Derry, five hundred rebels attacked his houſe, overpowered the guard, and carried off a large quantity of arms and ammunition; a conſiderable portion of which had belonged to the military and yeomen; but Mr. Hill, at his return, partly by menaces, and partly by ſevere and vigorous meaſures againſt the rebellious inhabitants of the diſtrict, compelled them to reſtore the whole of what they had plundered.

In the barony of Enniſhowen, in the county of Donegal, (noted for defenders in the year 1793) the rebels cut down, and carried off, forty full grown aſh trees for pike handles, and ſoon after diſarmed half a yeomanry corps and many ſmall parties of ſoldiers, as they went to their out-quarters in the country; but the burning of three houſes in that rebellious diſtrict ſtruck ſuch terror into its inhabitants, that they returned all the arms they had taken, and ſurrendered many pikes.

The proclamation which iſſued the ſeventeenth of May produced the beſt effects in theſe counties; as it induced thouſands to repair to magiſtrates to renounce their errors, and to ſeek for protection.

In the month of January, 1797, the Ulſter provincial meeting was held at Stewartſtown in the county of Tyrone, and they were very much offended, becauſe a member of the executive did not attend. The famous father Quigley, afterwards hanged at Maidſtone, being a member of the provincial, ſaid he knew where they ſat at that time, and he conducted them to Dundalk, where they were then ſitting. The provincial inſiſted on ſeeing them, which they refuſed, but ſent one of their members to confer with them. One of the directory commonly attended each provincial meeting, to receive money, to iſſue out orders to the inferior ſocieties, and to obtain reports from them; but the whole of them were never known to any of the inferior ſocieties. Quigley muſt have been very deep in their confidence, when he was entruſted with the time and place of their aſſembling.

Bartholomew Teeling was at that time a member of the directory.

In the counties of Fermanagh, Tyrone, Derry and Armagh, there were fourteen thouſand yeomen, and moſt of them orangemen; and they were ſo loyal, and ſo well diſciplined, that general Knox, who commanded at Dungannon, reported, in the ſummer of 1798, that he would reſt the ſafety of theſe counties on their fidelity and bravery; and, much to the honour of the preſbyterians, three-fourths of them were of that order.

In Tyrone, there were about five thouſand yeomen, the majority of whom were preſbyterians; and there were about four thouſand two hundred orangemen among them. In ſo large a body there were not more than from two hundred to three hundred papiſts.

Though the preſbyterians lay under a general imputation of being diſloyal, it appears that a great portion of them were ſteadily attached to the conſtitution, and were ready to draw their ſwords in its defence againſt foreign and domeſtick foes. After many minute enquiries, I could not diſcover an inſtance of a preſbyterian yeomen having violated his oath of allegiance;

legiance; but it will appear that many ſhameful inſtances of the kind occurred among the Romiſh yeomen in Leinſter, Connaught and Munſter. Though many diſſenting miniſters of the counties of Down and Antrim were diſaffected, great numbers of them are diſtinguiſhed for exalted piety and unimpeached loyalty.

I have been aſſured by many gentlemen of ſagacity and ſound judgment, who are well acquainted with the North, that moſt of the preſbyterians ſeparated from the papiſts in the year 1797, ſome from principle, ſome becauſe they doubted the ſincerity of perſons of that order; and others, foreſeeing that the plot muſt fail and end in their deſtruction, took advantage of the proclamation of the ſeventeenth of May, and renounced their aſſociates. Numbers withdrew, becauſe they doubted of ſucceſs without foreign aſſiſtance.

The preſbyterians of the counties of Down and Antrim, where they are very numerous, and where they were warmly attached to the union from pure republican principles, thought they could ſucceed without the papiſts.

Many perſons, deſirous of palliating the treaſonable deſigns of the union, have ſaid, that the reaſon of their eſtabliſhing a reſident agent at Paris, was the rejection of a plan of reform which was propoſed in the houſe of commons in 1797, which would have ſatisfied the people; but the palpable falſhood of this aſſertion is evident from the journals of the houſe of commons; for the leaders of the conſpiracy have all agreed, that their agent was diſpatched to Paris in April, 1797, with directions to negotiate a treaty with the directory of France; and the motion for parliamentary reform, to the rejection of which they aſcribe the miſſion of Lewins, was not made till the fifteenth of May.* They have alſo attempted to palliate the treaſonable deſigns of the conſpirators, and the enormities committed by them, by aſcribing them to the ſeverity of the inſurrection law; but it did not paſs into a law till the twenty-fourth of March, 1796, and was not enforced till the fourteenth of November following; and it was enacted, in conſequence of a ſyſtem of midnight murder, robbery and outrage, begun in the year 1792, and brought to maturity in the year 1796, under the influence of the Iriſh union, the leaders of which began a correſpondence with the French directory, between the month of June, 1795, and the month of January, 1796;* which was long before either of the above events took place.

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* Report of the ſecret committee of the houſe of lords of 1798, p. 13, 14.

It ſhould be recollected alſo, that ſome of the leading members of the union were deeply concerned in the conſpiracy with the reverend Mr. Jackſon, who came here from Paris in the year 1794, to lay a plan for invading the kingdom.

The leading principle of the conſpirators in the provinces of Munſter, Leinſter and Connaught, was to join the French and extirpate proteſtants which the events that occurred in the courſe of the rebellion will prove in the two laſt; and for a proof of this in the former, where the active and ſeaſonable exertions of the magiſtrates and the military prevented it from exploding, I ſhall refer the reader to Appendix, No. XI. where he will find the ſtate of the counties of Carlow, Clare, Tipperary, the county and city of Waterford, and the county and city of Cork.†

In the year 1798, the moſt unqualified treaſon and ſedition continued to be diſſeminated in all the jacobin prints, and had a very great effect in inciting the people to commit crimes of very great enormity. In the metropolis, and in the counties of Dublin, Meath, Kildare and Wicklow, and in many parts of Munſter, aſſaſſination and the robbery of arms were conſtantly perpetrated, and the diſaffected continued to form traitorous combinations.

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* Report of the ſecret committee of the houſe of lords of 1798, p. 13, 14.

† Doctor Mc. Nevin, a member of the directory and a Romaniſt, accounts for that in his evidence before the houſe of lords, by ſaying, that the Catholick prieſts were well affected to the cauſe. Report of the ſecret committee of the houſe of lords of 1798, Appendix, No. III.

The ſpeech of the viceroy ſet forth the woeful and alarming ſtate of the kingdom; and both houſes of parliament, in their addreſſes, aſſured his excellency of their attachment to the king and conſtitution, and their determination to riſk their lives and fortunes in ſupport of them, and in maintaining the connection between the two kingdoms.

In the month of January, the King's county was ſo much diſturbed, that the gentlemen and freeholders, aſſembled by the ſheriff on the fifth of February, entered into ſtrong reſolutions, and ſubſcribed large ſums of money for ſuppreſſing inſurrections and maintaining ſocial order.

On the ninth of February, colonel St. George and a Mr. Jaſper Uniacke were murdered by a popiſh banditti at Arraglyn, in the county of Cork, in the houſe of the latter.

This month, Mr. Doolin, a proteſtant, was barbarouſly murdered in his own houſe, in the King's county, while ſitting in the evening with his family; and it was diſcovered that ſome of his own domeſticks were concerned in the horrid deed.

As the maſs of the people in Dublin was at this time infected with treaſon, and as popiſh fanaticiſm ſeemed to be chiefly inſtrumental in forwarding the progreſs of it, the proteſtants formed Orange lodges, and united for their preſervation in the month of January, 1798; and as the diſaffected propagated malicious reports, that they had ſecretly entered into combinations hoſtile to the Romaniſts, both the orangemen of Dublin and thoſe of the province of Ulſter, to vindicate themſelves from ſuch aſperſions, publiſhed a declaration of their principles in the publick prints. *

In the month of January, a ſoldier of the Tyrone militia, while ſtanding as a centinel at Tralee, in the county of Kerry, was aſſaſſinated by a man diſguiſed in woman's clothes.

On Thurſday the twenty-fourth of January, a young man of the revenue corps of yeomanry was fired at near Blackrock, from behind a hedge, and was very badly wounded.

In the beginning of February, two ruffians of the names of Come and Carbery, were committed to Mullingar gaol for having conſpired to murder George Clibborne, eſquire, captain of the Moate cavalry; and four more to Philipſtown gaol, for having combined to aſſaſſinate Richard Holmes, eſquire, of Proſpect; two gentlemen diſtinguiſhed for their ſpirited exertions in enforcing the execution of the laws. Theſe aſſaſſins were ſent from Dublin by the united Iriſhmen, to commit theſe horrid crimes.

An attempt was made on the life of Mr. Darragh, of Eagle-hill, in the county of Kildare, an active magiſtrate, who was ſo obnoxious to the rebels on account of his zealous loyalty, that many plots were formed againſt his life; but in order to provoke the vengeance of the diſaffected, a report was circulated that he had taken an oath not to deſiſt in his exertions, till he had waded up to his ankles in the blood of Roman catholicks. This report was propagated while he was abſent in England. At his return he made publickly an affidavit, that he had never harboured ſuch a ſentiment. But this would not do; for he was condemned to die by a committee of aſſaſſination that ſat in the neighbourhood.

When walking in his lawn, in the month of March, a man in the guiſe of a ſuppliant, preſented him a paper, under a pretext of ſeeking for juſtice; and when he was engaged in peruſing it, he drew a piſtol,

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* See it in Appendix, No. V.

a piſtol, and having fired it at him, the ball entered his groin; and while in a diſabled ſtate, and writhing with pain, he drew another piſtol, and fired it into his back, with the muzzle ſo cloſe, that both the ball and the wadding entered his body, and have never been extracted. Ever ſince this misfortune he has dragged on a miſerable exiſtence, having ſuffered a great diſtortion of his limbs, and being ſubject to dreadful ſpaſms, attended with excruciating pain.

At a provincial committee, held at Shanes-caſtle, the firſt of February, 1798, it was announced, "That three delegates had arrived from France; that the French expedition was going forward, and was ſoon expected; that three delegates had been ſent from the united Britons to the national committee; and that from that moment they were to conſider England, Scotland and Ireland, all as one people, acting for one common cauſe; that there were legiſlators now choſen from the three kingdoms to act as an executive for the whole; that they were now ſure of obtaining liberty, though the French ſhould never come; that the delegates ſhould cauſe the men to hold themſelves in readineſs, as the hour of action could not be far diſtant; and that they ſhould collect the names of all their enemies, and their places of reſidence."* This was done moſt effectually; and the loyal perſons were pointed out for aſſaſſination in The Preſs and The Union Star.

On Saturday the ſeventeeth of February, the following advertiſement was found by a gentleman ſtuck againſt the wall of St. Mary's church, in Dublin.

"Liberty!———Erin go braugh!" §

"You proteſtant hereticks! Take notice, that maſs will commence in this church by the firſt of May next; your blood ſhall flow, and your ſouls ſhall be ſent to the devil your grandfather."

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* Report of the ſecret committee, Appendix, No. XIV. p. 111.

§ This is Iriſh, and ſignifies, Ireland for ever!

In the month of February, the earl of Moira came to Ireland, with a profeſſed deſign of appeaſing the diſturbances which diſgraced his native country, by recommending to government to diſcontinue the ſyſtem of rigorous coercion which they had for ſome time adopted, and to which he attributed thoſe evils; and by adviſing them to relax the penal laws recently enacted, and to uſe mild and conciliatory meaſures, as the only means of reſtoring peace and ſocial order; and on the nineteenth of February, after having expatiated on, and enforced theſe ſubjects in the houſe of lords, and recommended Catholick emancipation and Parliamentary reform, which he repreſented as neceſſary to allay the diſcontents of the people, he moved, "That an humble addreſs be preſented to his excellency the lord lieutenant, to ſtate, that, as parliament had confided to his excellency extraordinary powers, in order to ſupport the laws, and defeat traitorous combinations in this country, we feel it our duty, as theſe powers have not produced the deſired effect, to recommend the adoption of ſuch conciliatory meaſures as may allay apprehenſion and diſcontent." He was oppoſed by the earl of Clare, who, in a moſt eloquent ſpeech, * refuted his lordſhip's aſſertions, and traced the origin of the riots and inſurrections of Ireland to their real ſource. His lordſhip's motion was negatived on a diviſion of thirty-five to ten.

Experience has ſince evinced how much his lordſhip was miſtaken; and the following incident proves how vain, how futile, and abſurd it is, for any perſon of high birth and large fortune to expect to gain the affections of the populace by ſtooping to flatter their prejudices. His lordſhip had courted popularity in the county of Down, where he had reſided and his eſtate lay; and nobody can doubt but that he really merited it, for his humane and beneficent diſpoſition: And yet, at a county meeting of united Iriſhmen

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* It is ſo full of information, that I would recommend it to the peruſal of every friend of Ireland, and of the empire.

held at Saintfield on the fourth of February, 1798, the following paragraph appeared in the courſe of their proceedings on that day:

"Nothing particular was done, except that earl Moira's character was diſcuſſed at full length, to know, whether he was a man that could be depended on, or not, by the people? It was agreed, that he was as great a tyrant as the lord lieutenant, and a deeper deſigning one!" *

On the fifth of March, ſir Laurence Parſons, in a long ſpeech in the houſe of commons, recommended an enquiry to be made into the cauſes of diſturbance, and into the demands of the people, that they may conciliate them by conceding thoſe demands, if they were reaſonable, or by convincing them of the contrary, if they were inadmiſſible. He recommended Parliamentary reform and Catholick emancipation as the moſt likely means to allay the diſtractions which then exiſted; and he imputed them to the ſevere and unneceſſary ſyſtem of coercive rigour which the government of Ireland had exerciſed for many years paſt. He ended his ſpeech with the following motion: "That this houſe do forthwith reſolve itſelf into a committee of the whole houſe, to conſider whence the diſcontents in this country ariſe, and what are the moſt effectual means of allaying the ſame." Lord Caſtlereagh, in a long, an able, and an animated ſpeech, contradicted his groundleſs aſſertions, and refuted his arguments, by taking a retroſpect of the ſtate of Ireland for many years preceding; and by deducing, from incontrovertible facts, that the only object of the traitorous combinations, unremittingly attended by nocturnal robbery and aſſaſſination, was the ſubverſion of the conſtitution, and the ſeparation of the two kingdoms. On a diviſion there appeared but nineteen members in ſupport of the motion, and one hundred and fifty-ſix againſt it.

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* Report of the ſecret committee, Appendix, No. XIV. p. 115.

We cannot ſufficiently applaud the wiſdom and firmneſs of parliament, in refuſing their aſſent to ſuch wild and fatal conceſſions, propounded by the earl of Moira and ſir Laurence Parſons; and if any proof of this were neceſſary, it would be ſupplied by a reſolution entered into by the rebel provincial committees of Ulſter and Leinſter on the ſame day, the nineteenth of February, 1798, and both in the ſame words, one at Armagh, the other at Dublin: "That we will give no attention whatever to any attempt made by either houſe of parliament, to divert the publick mind from the grand object we have in view; as nothing ſhort of complete emancipation of our country will ſatisfy us."

This dreadful conſpiracy, which aimed at the deſtruction of Ireland, its ſeparation from England, and conſequently the ſubverſion of the Britiſh empire, was diſcovered and defeated in the following manner by the wiſdom and mercy of Providence:

Mr. Thomas Reynolds, of the county of Kildare, where he had numerous and reſpectable connections, was bred to the buſineſs of a ſilk manufacturer, which he followed very extenſively for many years in the city of Dublin; but having acquired a landed property at Kilkea caſtle, in his native county, he retired and reſided there, ſome years previous to the rebellion, and had conſiderable influence among the Romaniſts.

Lord Edward Fitzgerald and Oliver Bond, two leaders in the conſpiracy, having, for theſe reaſons, conſidered him a proper perſon to aſſiſt in forwarding their treaſonable deſigns, practiſed every art of ſeduction to attach him to their cauſe; and having at laſt ſucceeded, he was ſworn an united Iriſhman at the houſe of Oliver Bond in Dublin, in the beginning of the year 1797, was induced to accept the commiſſion of colonel, the offices of treaſurer and repreſentative of the county of Kildare, and at laſt, that of delegate for the province of Leinſter.

Soon after he was raiſed to this elevated ſituation in the union, having diſcovered that the conſpirators, inſtead of intending to reform the abuſes of the ſtate, and to aboliſh all religious diſtinctions, which was their profeſſed object at firſt, meditated the ſubverſion of the conſtitution, the maſſacre of the leading members of government, and of ſuch perſons as ſhould oppoſe their deſigns, he reſolved to defeat them, by embracing the firſt opportunity of communicating them to ſome perſon in whom he could confide.

He had very great friendſhip and reſpect for Mr. Cope, an eminent merchant of the city of Dublin, who having lamented to him, in the courſe of converſation, the crimes and atrocities which were conſtantly committed, and which were undoubted ſymptoms of an approaching rebellion, Mr. Reynolds, upon whom his converſation made a very deep impreſſion, ſaid, that he knew a perſon connected with the united Iriſhmen, who, he believed, would defeat their nefarious projects, by communicating them to government, in order to make an atonement for the crime he had committed in joining them. Mr. Cope aſſured him, that ſuch a perſon would obtain the higheſt honours and pecuniary rewards that the adminiſtration could confer; and that he would be admired and applauded by the moſt virtuous and valuable portion of ſociety. But Mr. Reynolds ſaid, that nothing could tempt him to come forward and avow himſelf. However, after the moſt earneſt and preſſing ſolicitations repeatedly made on the part of Mr. Cope, for whom he had filial reverence, he ſaid, that his friend would appear in perſon, and diſcloſe the particulars of the plot, on the following conditions: That he ſhould not proſecute any united Iriſhmen; that the channel through which the information came ſhould be kept a ſecret, at leaſt for a time; that as his life would be in danger upon its being known, and he muſt leave the country and go to England till matters were ſettled, which would de-range his affairs, and put him to conſiderable expence, he expected to receive ſome compenſation. Mr. Cope then told him, that he might draw on him for any ſum not exceeding five hundred guineas. On that, he told Mr. Cope, that the Leinſter delegates were to meet at Oliver Bond's, on the twelfth of March, to concert meaſures for an inſurrection, which was ſhortly to take place; but did not at that time acknowledge that the information came directly from him, but inſinuated that it was imparted by a third perſon.

In conſequence of this, juſtice Swan, attended by twelve ſerjeants in coloured clothes, arreſted the Leinſter delegates, thirteen in number, while ſitting in council in the houſe of Oliver Bond in Bridge-ſtreet, on the twelfth of March, 1798; and ſeized at the ſame time the papers in Appendix, No. IX.* which led to the diſcovery of the plot, and the intended inſurrection; and on the ſame day, Thomas A. Emmett, a barriſter, William James Mc. Nevin, meſſieurs Bond, Sweetman, Henry Jackſon and Hugh Jackſon: And warrants were granted againſt lord Edward Fitzgerald, Richard Mc. Cormick and counſellor Sampſon, who were all leaders in the conſpiracy; but the three laſt made their eſcape.

It is certain that the leaders of the conſpiracy did not intend to bring forward an inſurrection till the French came to their aſſiſtance; and they meant in the mean time to continue to encreaſe their numbers, and to add to their ſtock of arms; but in the ſpring of 1798, the deluſion of the people was ſo rapidly and ſo extenſively yielding to the wiſe meaſures of government, who, while they treated with ſeverity the obſtinately guilty, in every inſtance held forth mercy to the repentant; that the chief conſpirators both in Dublin and in the provinces began to perceive that their cauſe was loſing ground, and that they had no alternative but to hazard a general riſing, or to relinquiſh their hopes.

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* Report of the ſecret committee, Appendix, No. XIX.

The arreſt of the Leinſter committee, and of many other leaders on the twelfth of March, tended ſo much to the diſcloſure of their fatal deſigns, and to break the links of their organization, that the conſpirators found themſelves under an abſolute neceſſity of making a deſperate effort. A plan was therefore digeſted by the military committee for a general riſing, in which it was propoſed to ſeize Dublin,* the camp at Laughlinſtown, and Chapelizod, the ſtation of the artillery, on the ſame night; and the counties of Dublin, Wicklow, and Kildare, were to co-operate in this attack.† The inſurrection being commenced in the metropolis and its vicinity, the ſignal for announcing it to the North and South, which would alſo riſe, was to be the detention of the mail coaches.‡

During the months of February, March and April, robbery and aſſaſſination continued to be perpetrated in different parts of the kingdom, and ſhocking outrages were committed in the metropolis, particularly in Francis, Thomas, and James's-ſtreets; where the centinels on guard were frequently fired at. §

On the twenty-eighth of February, Arthur O'Connor and father Quigley, and three more traitors, were arreſted at Margate, when they were on the point of embarking for France, whither they were going to accelerate an invaſion of Ireland, which the French republick at that time meditated, at the inſtance of the Iriſh executive directory.

On the ſeventh of March, ſir Henry Mannix, who had made himſelf obnoxious to the rebels by his activity as a magiſtrate, was fired at and wounded near the city of Cork; where the conſpiracy was more extenſive and terrifick than in Dublin.

Major Allen was ſerved in the ſame manner in the county of Kildare.

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* Report of the ſecret committee, Appendix, No. XIV.

† Ibid. ‡ Ibid.

§ The reader may form ſome idea of the ſtate of Dublin, from an affidavit in Appendix, No. XIII.

On the thirteenth of March, Mr. Buckley, a proteſtant, and noted for his loyalty, was murdered near Rathcoole, in the county of Kildare, and butchered with ferocious barbarity; and it has been diſcovered, that ſome of the popiſh yeomen of that place were concerned in the perpetration of this horrid act. One of their bayonets was found ſticking in his body. About the ſame time Mr. Burchell of Kilteele in the ſame county was aſſaſſinated. This month a centinel was murdered on his poſt at Armagh.

It would exceed the extent of my deſign, and fill the reader with horror and diſguſt, if I were to enumerate the aſſaſſinations which took place at this time.

Every night great quantities of pikes were diſcovered in the metropolis by the magiſtrates; and ſo eager were the leaders of the conſpiracy to encourage the fabrication of them, that blackſmiths were detected in the act of making them even in the day.

An affidavit was ſworn in my preſence, importing that ſome perſons took the leaden gutters from their houſes, for the purpoſe of making bullets, and that they ſubſtituted wooden ones in their ſtead.

So prone to inſurrection were the lower claſs of people in Dublin, that in the month of April, a numerous mob of rebels roſe in the Liberty, and attempted to pull down the houſes of ſome loyal perſons there, but were prevented by the yeomen.

An active and intelligent magiſtrate of the city of Dublin informed me, that when he was granting licenſes to ſome publicans in March, 1797, they boaſted, with a ſtern and inſolent air, that that was the laſt time they would apply for them; and that they made the ſame declaration in March, 1798. So ſure was the maſs of the people that a complete ſubverſion of the government would take place!

On the thirtieth of March, the lord lieutenant iſſued a proclamation, giving the moſt poſitive and direct orders to the officers commanding his majeſty's forces, to employ them with the utmoſt vigour and deciſion for ſuppreſſing the traitorous conſpiracy, for the deſtruction of the conſtitution, and the eſtabliſhed government, which broke out into acts of open violence and rebellion.

On the ſixth of May, Mr. Reynolds was arreſted at Caſtledermot by a party of the military, and conveyed a priſoner to Dublin.

On the eighth of the ſame month, the united Iriſhmen, by ſome means or other, having diſcovered that he had revealed, and in a great meaſure defeated their machinations, formed many plots againſt his life. He therefore found it neceſſary to put himſelf under the protection of government, who provided him with apartments in the Caſtle.

As the members of the union, during his reſidence there, circulated the moſt infamous calumnies againſt his character, he reſolved, in its vindication, to bring thoſe miſcreants to condign puniſhment, and to diſcloſe the whole of their plots, and to proſecute them.

Some time in the month of April, 1798, Matthew Dowling, meſſieurs Bird, Stoyte, O'Neil, Bacon the tailor, and others, held a conference at Harold's Croſs, about carrying off the children of lord Camden, or lord Clare, as hoſtages; but they preferred thoſe of the latter. One of the parties made a full confeſſion of this to alderman James.

About the ſame time, major Sirr received a poſitive information, which I drew, of a conſpiracy to ſhoot the lord chancellor, as he went to the courts.*

On the twenty-ſecond of April, Mr. Jenkin, ſurveyor at Ring's-end, arreſted thirteen united Iriſhmen ſitting in deliberation in a wherry in the port of Dublin; for they found it unſafe to hold their committee in the city, from the great vigilance and activity of the magiſtrates, who purſued and diſcovered them in their lurking holes and moſt ſecret receſſes.

As it was diſcovered through various channels of information, that lord Edward Fitzgerald was the principal leader of the conſpiracy; and as it appeared by papers found in his writing-deſk, that his deſigns were of a moſt dangerous and malignant nature, a proclamation iſſued on the eleventh of May, offering a reward of 1000l. for apprehending him.

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* It was planned by one of the traitors ſent to Scotland.

As great numbers of people, charged with ſeditious and treaſonable practices, had fled from different parts of the kingdom to Dublin, for the purpoſe of ſecreting themſelves, and eluding juſtice, the lord mayor, on the ſame day, iſſued a proclamation, requiring all houſekeepers in the city or liberties thereof, to return a liſt of ſuch ſtrangers as ſhould be lodged or entertained by them.

On Wedneſday the ninth of May, ſheriff Hone ſeized ſome pike heads in the houſe of Mr. Sweetman, who had been ſo long the ſecretary of the Catholick committee.

On the night of May the eleventh, juſtice Swan, major Sirr, and captain Ryan diſcovered and ſeized five pieces of cannon, two ſix-pounders, and three four-pounders, in a brewer's yard in North King-ſtreet; and on Thurſday preceding, major Sirr ſeized in Bridgefoot-ſtreet, five hundred pike-handles, from nine to fourteen feet long.

It was obſerved that the conſpirators kept the pike-heads and the handles ſeparate, at leaſt in the metropolis, as they could mount them with the utmoſt celerity; and the loſs of one did not involve that of the other.

On the twelfth of May, ſeven delegates were ſent by the united Iriſhmen from the metropolis to Chapelizod, to ſeduce the corps of artillery, and attempted to ſwear them to ſpike the guns; but, much to their honour, they diſcloſed the infernal ſcheme of theſe traitors, who were arreſted and committed. On the ſame day a large quantity of arms was ſeized in a houſe on the Cuſtom-houſe quay by juſtice Swan, an active and intrepid magiſtrate, by whoſe zealous exertions the moſt eſſential ſervice was rendered at this alarming and critical juncture.

On the night of that day, a man of the name of Lynch was found murdered in Watling-ſtreet.

On the night of the thirteenth of May, Mr. Sirr, the town major, and captain Ryan, two magiſtrates diſtinguiſhed for their unabated zeal and undaunted courage, ſeized four pieces of cannon in a houſe in Townſend-ſtreet, and next day a ſwivel, concealed at Ring's-end.

On the eighteenth of May, juſtice Drury ſeized, at noonday in Thomas-ſtreet, a blackſmith, his journeyman and apprentice, in the act of forging pikes; and he led them through the ſtreets to the Caſtle, the former having his head and ſhoulders garniſhed with a number of theſe deſtructive weapons. On entering the forge, three pikes only could be found; but on threatening to inflict ſome bodily puniſhment upon the journeyman, unleſs he diſcovered where the remainder of the pikes were concealed, he acknowledged, that a number of thoſe which they had fabricated, had been ſent to different houſes in Thomas-ſtreet, by which many conſpirators, their pikes, and ammunition, were immediately diſcovered in that quarter. The journeyman alſo confeſſed, that many pikes, which they had recently made, were concealed in a hole in the wall, which communicated with the adjoining houſe, and buried in the floor of the forge, which, having dug up, he diſcovered above three hundred pikes well finiſhed. On the following day, he detected another blackſmith, at the Croſs-poddle, in the Liberty, in the act of making pikes; and, upon a diligent ſearch, found a great number of them buried under the floor of his forge.

As lord Edward Fitzgerald had abſconded ever ſince the twelfth of March; as government had the ſtrongeſt reaſons for thinking that he was unremittingly attentive in forwarding the conſpiracy in which he was ſo deeply engaged; and as he had always diſplayed great courage, and conſiderable abilities as an officer, they were under apprehenſions that he was doing very great miſchief wherever he happened to be.

On the eighteenth of May, major Sirr, having received poſitive information that he would paſs through Watling-ſtreet that night; that he would be preceded by a choſen band of traitors, as an advanced guard; and that he would be accompanied by another, repaired thither, attended by captain Ryan, Mr. Emerſon of the attorney's corps, and a few ſoldiers in coloured clothes. They met the party which preceded him, and had a ſkirmiſh with them on the quay at the end of Watling-ſtreet, in which ſome ſhots were exchanged; and they took priſoner one of them, who called himſelf at one time Jameſon, at another time Brand.

The arreſt of lord Edward Fitzgerald, which was effected next day, the nineteenth of May, in the following manner, tended very much to defeat the malignant deſigns of the conſpirators, as he was the chief projector of the intended inſurrection, and they entertained the higheſt opinion of his courage and military abilities:

Government, having received poſitive information that he had arrived in Dublin, and was lodged at the houſe of one Murphy, a featherman in Thomas-ſtreet, ſent major Sirr to arreſt him. He, attended by captain Swan of the Revenue corps, and captain Ryan of the Sepulchre's, and eight ſoldiers diſguiſed, about five o'clock in the afternoon repaired in coaches to Murphy's houſe. While they were poſting the ſoldiers in ſuch a manner as to prevent the poſſibility of an eſcape, captain Swan, perceiving a woman run haſtily up ſtairs, for the purpoſe, as he ſuppoſed, of alarming lord Edward, followed her with the utmoſt ſpeed; and, on entering an apartment, found lord Edward lying on a bed, in his dreſſing jacket. He approached the bed, and informed his lordſhip that he had a warrant againſt him, and that reſiſtance would be vain; and he aſſured him, at the ſame time, that he would treat him with the utmoſt reſpect.

On that, lord Edward ſprang from the bed, and ſnapped a piſtol, which miſſed fire, at captain Swan. He then cloſed with him, drew a dagger, gave him a wound in the hand, and different wounds in the body; one of them under the ribs was deep and dangerous, and bled moſt copiouſly.

At that moment captain Ryan entered, and miſſed fire at lord Edward with a pocket piſtol; on which he made a lunge at him with a ſword cane, which bent on his ribs; but affected him ſo much, that he threw himſelf on the bed, and captain Ryan having thrown himſelf on him, a violent ſcuffle enſued, during which lord Edward drew a dagger, and plunged it into his ſide. They then fell on the ground, where captain Ryan received many deſperate wounds; one of which in the lower part of his belly was ſo large, that his bowels fell out on the floor. Major Sirr, having entered the room, ſaw captain Swan bleeding very much, and lord Edward advancing towards the door, while captain Ryan on the floor, and in the woeful ſtate which I deſcribed, was holding him by one leg, and captain Swan by the other, he therefore fired at lord Edward with a piſtol, and wounded him in the ſhoulder, on which he cried out for mercy, and ſurrendered himſelf. His lordſhip was then conveyed to the Caſtle, but was on the point of being reſcued before he left Thomas-ſtreet; for Edward Ratigan, a major of the rebels, aſſembled a great number of them, and gave them a conſiderable quantity of carbines and pikes, out of St. Catherine's watchhouſe, of which he was a director, and called on them to reſcue lord Edward; and which they would have effected, but that major Sirr received the aſſiſtance of the Rainsford-ſtreet guard, and the picquet guard of the Caſtle, conſiſting moſtly of cavalry, for which he had ſeaſonably ſent a meſſenger.

Samuel Neilſon confeſſed afterwards, that he was in another quarter with five hundred pikemen, and that he would have attempted a reſcue, had not the guards arrived in due time.

Edward Ratigan, and Patrick Gallagher, a rebel colonel, ſeized Mr. Cuſack, a loyal ſubject of the Revenue corps, that evening, kept him a priſoner ſome time, and threatened his life if he gave information of what he had ſeen of their conduct.

In conſequence of this, major Sirr, who had been ſome time convinced of the diſaffection of Ratigan, ſearched his houſe on the Monday following, and having found there many ſtand of arms, a large quantity of ammunition, and ſome thouſand printed oaths of the united Iriſhmen, demoliſhed his houſe, and burnt a large quantity of timber which he found in his yard.

Captain Ryan received no leſs than fourteen wounds, of which he died a few days after, univerſally and deſervedly lamented; as he was a man of great probity and firmneſs of mind, and a zealous loyaliſt.

The arreſt of lord Edward viſibly occaſioned a ſtrong ſenſation among the maſs of the people in Dublin, as their hopes of getting poſſeſſion of the metropolis on the approaching inſurrection which they meditated, reſted much on his valour and ſkill as an officer. Numbers of them were ſeen going from one part of the town to the other, with a quick pace and a ſerious countenance. Others were perceived in ſmall parties, converſing with that ſeriouſneſs of countenance and energy of geſticulation, which ſtrongly indicated the agitation of their minds. A riſing to effect a reſcue was expected that night; the yeomen therefore, and the garriſon, which it was to be lamented was very thin, remained on their arms all night, and were ſo judiciouſly diſpoſed as to prevent the poſſibility of an inſurrection.

By the papers found in lord Edward's writing-box, and on his perſon, the extent of the plot, and the malignant deſigns of the perſons engaged in it, were diſcoverable.*

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* See them in Appendix, No. XIV.

Major Sirr found in his lodgings at Murphy's a green uniform, turned up with black, and a curious cap of the ſame colour, which he was to have worn when he headed the inſurrection; and at the ſame time the official ſeal of the Iriſh union.

The plan for taking a city, found among lord Edward's papers, alludes to Dublin, ſhews the bold deſigns of the rebels, and how terrifick the inſurrection would have been, but that it was defeated by the vigilance of government.

Meſſieurs Henry and John Sheares, brothers, both barriſters, and natives of Cork, and Patrick Byrne, a bookſeller of Grafton-ſtreet, were arreſted and committed on charges of high treaſon, on Monday the twenty-firſt of May. In the houſe of the former a magiſtrate found a proclamation,* which ſhewed the ſanguinary deſigns of the rebels. It was to have been publiſhed and circulated the morning after the intended inſurrection and maſſacre had taken place.

On the morning of the twenty-firſt of May, lord Caſtlereagh, by the deſire of the lord lieutenant, wrote to the lord mayor, to acquaint him, "That "his excellency had diſcovered that the diſaffected "in the city and neighbourhood of Dublin, had "formed a plan of poſſeſſing themſelves, in the "courſe of the preſent week, of the metropolis, and "of ſeizing the executive government, and thoſe in "authority within the city."

The government and the loyal ſubjects ſtill continued in an awful ſtate of ſuſpenſe, as the frequent diſcovery of the fabrication of pikes, even at noon-day, and of treaſonable committees forming plans of inſurrection, unqueſtionably evinced that the volcano was on the point of burſting.

On the twenty-ſecond of May, 1798, lord Caſtlereagh preſented a meſſage to the houſe of commons, from his excellency the lord lieutenant, "That his "excellency had received information that the diſaffected had been daring enough to form a plan for the purpoſe of poſſeſſing themſelves, in the courſe of the preſent week, of the metropolis, of ſeizing the ſeat of government, and thoſe in authority within the city; that, in conſequence of this information, he had directed every military precaution to be taken, which ſeemed expedient; that he had made full communication to the magiſtrates, for the direction of their efforts; and that he had not a doubt, by the meaſures which would be purſued, the deſigns of the rebellious would be effectually and entirely cruſhed."

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* Appendix, No. XIII.

To this meſſage, the houſe of commons voted an addreſs, "To aſſure his excellency that the intelligence which it communicated, filled them with horror and indignation, whilſt it raiſed in them a ſpirit of determined reſolution and energy; that they relied on the vigilance and vigour of his excellency's government, which they truſted would continue unabated, until the conſpiracy, which ſo fatally exiſted, would be utterly diſſolved."

The ſpeaker and all the members immediately waited on his excellency with the addreſs; and to ſhew their zeal, and to encreaſe the ſolemnity of the proceeding, they walked through the ſtreets on foot, two and two, preceded by the ſpeaker, the ſerjeant at arms, and all the officers of the houſe.

The government and the loyal ſubjects ſtill continued in a woeful ſtate of ſuſpenſe and tribulation, not knowing on what night the inſurrection might take place; and it is probable that they would have been ſurpriſed and murdered in their beds, but that it was fortuitouſly diſcovered a few hours before the rebels were to have riſen.

THE BREAKING-OUT OF THE REBELLION.

THE earl of Ely commanded a corps of yeomen cavalry at Rathfarnham, a village about three miles diſtant from Dublin, of which a ſerjeant and twelve men mounted guard every night, and patroled through the adjacent country.

Lord Camden, having received information that the rebels meant to attack and cut off that ſmall party on the night of the twenty-third of May, 1798, recommended to the commanding officer that the whole troop ſhould mount guard, which, eventually, was very fortunate; for ſoon after they were aſſembled, a man, about nine o'clock, went to lieutenant Latouche, who commanded on that night, and offered to conduct him to a place where two hundred rebels were aſſembled; but on arriving there, there was no appearance of them. It proved afterwards, that the deſign of this traitor was to have led the patrole, conſiſting of a ſerjeant and twelve men, into an ambuſh, by which they would have been cut off; but a numerous body of rebels, who meditated their deſtruction, intimidated by the unexpected arrival of the whole troop, concealed themſelves in the adjacent hedges.

At their return to Rathfarnham, they were informed by a perſon, ſuppoſed to be connected with the rebels, that the village would be attacked, and that they would be diſarmed by a numerous body of them, who were aſſembling on the mountains. Lieutenant Latouche having urged the neceſſity of communicating this intelligence to the viceroy, Samuel Bennet, a private in the corps, and ſon of Samuel Bennet, a coachmaker in Aungier-ſtreet, with laudable ardour, offered his ſervice on the occaſion, and carried a letter to the viceroy; who returned for anſwer, that no troops could be ſent to them, as an inſurrection in the metropolis was apprehended; and his excellency deſired that an expreſs ſhould be ſent to him, if the rebels ſhould appear to move towards the city.

The corps, having heard two ſhots fired, proceeded to Harold's-croſs, and were informed there, that the rebels, about five hundred in number, and variouſly armed, had paſſed through Rathfarnham in their abſence, and had proceeded towards Crumlin, headed by David Keely, a deſerter from their troop.

Mr. Bennet returned to Rathfarnham in the abſence of his troop, and having heard a great ſhouting at a place called the Ponds, he repaired thither, and ſaw a great concourſe of rebels armed with muſkets, pikes and piſtols, and was on the point of being ſurrounded by them. They had two carts laden with pikes and ammunition, which they were to have diſtributed among ſuch rebels as ſhould join them in their progreſs. He therefore, with great fortitude, and with that zealous loyalty which would have procured wealth and fame for a perſon in a leſs humble ſituation, undertook the perilous ſervice of communicating to the viceroy what he had ſeen; and it was really perilous, for the rebels in great numbers were riſen, and were in the road and in the adjacent fields as he went to Dublin. In the city, particularly in the ſuburbs, he ſaw a great number of rebels with pikes, in the gate-ways, alleys and ſtable-lanes, waiting the beat of their drums, and the approach of rebel columns from the country, which they expected; and as he paſſed, they frequently cried out, animating each other, "Come, on boys! who's afraid?"

A lady, reſident at Rathfarnham, informed me, that they paſſed cloſe by her houſe, with two carts filled with pikes, which made a dreadful rumbling noiſe, and which, joined to their yells, filled her with horror. As they proceeded they cried out frequently, "Liberty, and no king!"

Beſides the above Keely, they had as leaders two men of the names of Ledwich and Wade, Roman catholicks, and deſerters from lord Ely's corps, Edward Keogh and James Byrne, all of the ſame perſuaſion, and in very good circumſtances. They proceeded to the Fox and Geeſe common near Clondalkin, where a numerous body of rebels were to have aſſembled, and to have proceeded thence to Dublin, for the purpoſe of co-operating with its diſaffected inhabitants, in a general inſurrection.

The corps of yeomanry, at their return to Rathfarnham, having diſcovered that the rebels had riſen, immediately ſent intelligence of it to the viceroy, who communicated it to the lord mayor, and to the principal civil and military officers in the metropolis, and ordered them to take the moſt deciſive and vigorous meaſures to defeat the malignant deſigns of the inſurgents.

The yeomen, in number about three thouſand five hundred, and the few military who were in garriſon, repaired to their reſpective alarm-poſts, with uncommon celerity; and as it was known, that a ſtrong ſpirit of diſaffection had exiſted among the troops quartered at Lehaunſtown camp, ſeven miles from Dublin; and as it was ſuſpected that they would come to the aſſiſtance of the inſurgents in the metropolis, the lord mayor, alderman Thomas Fleming,* poſted the city of Cork regiment, noted for its loyalty, with their two battalion guns, at the North ſide of Stephen's-green, and remained all night at their head.

It very fortunately happened, that the two canals formed a complete fortification on the North and South ſides of the city, being fifty feet broad, and twelve deep. The Royal canal, extended from the river Liffey to the Broad-ſtone on the North, and the Grand canal completely environed the South, from the river on the Eaſt ſide, to the Royal hoſpital. The bridges on it, which the troops occupied, were at ſuch diſtances, that they could have flanked the intermediate ſpace, and prevented an enemy from paſſing over the canal ; and in a day or two after the rebellion broke out, palliſades and gates were erected on the bridges ; however it was afterwards diſcovered that many rebels had paſſed over the bridges before the troops took poſt on them. The bridges on the river, which biſected the city, were alſo occupied, and diſconcerted the rebels by cutting off all communication between them on either ſide.

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* I think it is a tribute due to this gentleman to ſay, that he diſplayed ſingular ſagacity, good ſenſe and firmneſs at this alarming period; and his attention and humanity to the ſuffering proteſtants, who fled to Dublin from the daggers of the aſſaſſins, after the loſs of their property, ſhould never be forgotten.

It has been ſince diſcovered and proved, that the rebel drums were to have beaten to arms, an hour after ours ; and it is well known, that if they had preceded us by ever ſo ſmall a ſpace of time, the fate of the city and its loyal inhabitants would have been decided ; for the maſs of the people, armed with pikes and other weapons, were lurking in lanes, alleys and bye-places, ready to ſtart forth on the firſt beat of their drums, and would have occupied all the ſtreets, and aſſaſſinated the yeomen before they could have reached their reſpective ſtations ; and the ſafety of the metropolis depended chiefly on them, as there were but few regular troops in it.

There were many alarming indications of the deſperate deſigns of the rebels, even before the alarm was given by the viceroy. The doors of the loyal ſubjects, particularly the yeomen, were marked with chalk, to point the rebel vengeance againſt them ; and knowing that darkneſs would be favourable to the accompliſhment of their traitorous purpoſes, they prevailed on the lamp-lighters not to do their duty.

The lord mayor, being very much alarmed at perceiving that the lamps were not lighted, ſent to the board that ſuperintends that buſineſs, to know the reaſon of it ; and they returned in anſwer, that the lamp-lighters were deeply concerned in the plot : the yeomen therefore compelled theſe traitors, at the point of the bayonet, to light the lamps.

The gate-ways and lanes in Church-ſtreet, and Mary's-lane, were crowded with pikemen. Numbers were ſeen in the way leading to the burial-ground of St. Michan's, and pikes were found concealed there next morning.

As the rebels expected that the Rathfarnham corps of cavalry would come to the relief of the city, they planted a number of men with muſkets behind a wall in New-ſtreet, to fire on them as they entered.

It was proved that two ſmiths, employed in the ordnance, had been ſeduced and bribed to ſpike all the cannon there.

In the watch-houſes of St. Luke, St. Catharine, and Vicar-ſtreet, the carabines were left charged, that the rebels might ſeize them.

It is a poſitive fact, that near three thouſand men entered the city on the North ſide of it, through one turnpike, on the evening and the night of the twenty-third of May, for the purpoſe of joining the inſurgents.

Samuel Neilſon meditated an attack upon Newgate, for the purpoſe of reſcuing lord Edward Fitzgerald, and other ſtate priſoners who were confined there; and he was to have been aſſiſted by a numerous band of rebels, to whom he had aſſigned their different ſtations the preceding night. *

Southwell Mc. Clune, a rebel colonel, who had ſurrendered himſelf to government, and obtained his pardon, declared upon oath, that Neilſon had aſſembled at a houſe in Church-lane, a noted rendezvous for rebels, fifteen colonels; and having produced a map of Dublin, aſſigned to each the poſt which he and his regiment were to occupy that night. †

A numerous party of his followers were about Clontarf, and in the demeſne of ſir William Newcomen; another party in the fields contiguous to Eccles-ſtreet.

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* John Sheares oppoſed his deſign, wiſhing that he would direct his attack againſt the government and the city in general, and not againſt the gaol. See his letter found in Neilſon's pocket, Appendix, No. XIII.

† The city of Dublin was divided into four diviſions, with officers and detachments appropriated to each. Report of the ſecret committee, Appendix, No. LVI.

When Neilſon went to reconnoitre Newgate, about ten o'clock at night, he formed a line of poſts at certain intervals, in order to have them called ſpeedily to his aſſiſtance.

It appeared afterwards by information upon oath, that the officers of the rebel corps, poſted near Eccles-ſtreet, were one Kearney of Abbey-ſtreet, a member of the Merchants corps, who held the rank of colonel in the former; one Byrne of the hotel in Earl-ſtreet, was lieutenant-colonel, and one Whelan was major, all Roman catholicks.

Captain Medlicot of the Rotunda corps of yeomanry ſeeing a large body of people aſſembled in Eccles-ſtreet, deſired them to diſperſe, on which one of them ſnapped a piſtol at him.

A party of the Merchants corps of cavalry, who were ordered to patrol at Clontarf, hearing the drums beat to arms in Dublin, returned rapidly to it, thinking that the inſurrection had begun. They fortunately went by the Strand-road; for had they gone by the upper one, near ſir William Newcomen's, they would have been cut off by a numerous party of rebels, who were on each ſide of the road.

Neilſon, in his attack upon Newgate, was to have been ſeconded by a large body of rebels, headed by one Seagrave, who was to have taken poſſeſſion of Mr. Halpin's diſtillery, at the corner of Pettycoat-lane, the windows of which flanked it, and they were to have kept up a conſtant fire on the front of the priſon, while another party ſcaled its walls in a different quarter.

Mr. Gregg, the gaoler of Newgate, perceiving a perſon reconnoitring it between nine and ten o'clock, approached him; but on doing ſo, he turned away, and endeavoured to conceal his face. Gregg, on cloſing him, recogniſed Neilſon; and having ſeiſed him, a ſcuffle enſued, in the courſe of which he proſtrated him on the ground, and threw himſelf on him. After ſtruggling ſome time, Neilſon drew a piſtol from his boſom, and endeavoured to fire it;

but Mr. Gregg was ſo fortunate as to let the powder out of the pan.

While this conflict laſted, he expected to be perforated by the daggers of the aſſaſſins, which probably would have been the caſe, but that two yeomen came up, drew their ſwords, and deſired Mr. Gregg to do his duty. At laſt, with their aſſiſtance, he overpowered and committed him. On this fortunate event, ſome thouſand rebels, who were to have cooperated with him, and were on the tip-toe of inſurrection, having loſt their leader, diſappeared.

The large body of rebels, armed with pikes and muſkets, which had aſſembled in Eccles-ſtreet and its environs, were ſo terrifick to the inhabitants of that quarter, that a number of well-dreſſed women fled in the greateſt conſternation about ten o'clock to Mr. John Claudius Beresford's riding-ſchool, and claimed the protection of his corps.

Major Sirr ſtopped a man on Cork-hill, about ten o'clock at night, with ſix pike-heads, which he was going to get mounted. Sir John Macartney, in proceeding to Smithfield, the alarm-poſt of the Attornies corps, which he commanded, and of the Lawyers and Barrack corps, having obtained intelligence that numbers of ſuſpicious perſons were aſſembled in Greek-ſtreet, near Pill-lane, went thither with ſix or ſeven of his corps, and perceiving a man paſſing by, he ſeized him by the breaſt, and hearing ſomething rattle under his coat, about a dozen pike-heads of excellent workmanſhip, tied up in a piece of cloth, fell to the ground; and captain Furlong of the ſame corps, who was of his party, caught as many more falling on his other ſide. He ſaid his name was Murphy, and that he had received theſe pike-heads from one Ryan a ſtone-cutter. Keeping Murphy a priſoner, they proceeded to Greek-ſtreet, where they heard that ſome rebels were aſſembled; but they being alarmed, went through a back paſſage to Church-ſtreet, and croſſing the tops of ſome houſes, they were fired at by another party of the Attornies corps, who ſoon after apprehended a man concealing himſelf in St. Michan's church-yard, with ſeveral pikes lying by him.

On examining this man at the guard-houſe, he ſaid that his name was Ryan, and that he was a ſtone-cutter; but declared that he was perfectly ignorant of Murphy: That he knew nothing of pikes, or pike-heads; and that he fled into the church-yard merely to avoid the firing: And Murphy, on being confronted with Ryan, pretended that he was unacquainted with him; but on receiving a few laſhes of a cat-and-nine tails, their recollection being reſtored, they acknowledged that Murphy was ſerjeant in a company of united Iriſhmen, of which Ryan was captain; and that they were waiting for the orders of Neilſon to riſe in arms that night, in concert with ſome thouſands of that body, to liberate the priſoners in Newgate and Kilmainham, and to ſurpriſe the caſtle and the city.

In conſequence of the intelligence received from Murphy and Ryan, they repaired to a yard in Dirty-lane near Thomas-ſtreet, and found a great quantity of ready-made pikes, ſome pike-heads and pike-handles, a paper of new nails, and a hammer cloſe to it, for the purpoſe of mounting thoſe weapons; and ſeveral newly-finiſhed pikes.

In the ſame yard, they found a travelling forge, which, from its conſtruction, appeared to have belonged to his majeſty's board of ordnance; but the motto written on it at that time, in chalk, was, *God damn the king*.

On the information of Ryan and Murphy, they apprehended many united Iriſhmen, and ſeized arms of various deſcriptions; one parcel of pikes in particular, in an obſcure garden behind Eccles-ſtreet, buried about two feet and a half under ground, and cabbages planted over them. They were fifteen feet long, and perfectly well finiſhed.

Great numbers of men having pike-heads concealed were thus diſcovered in going from one part of the city to the other.

The caſtle was to have been attacked in front and in rear, by two deſperate bands of ruffians, armed with piſtols and cutlaſſes. A ſelect party was to have aſcended with long ladders into the bed-chambers of the principal members of government, and to have murdered them, or carried them off as hoſtages.

The city was to have been ſet on fire in different places; and the baſon which ſupplied it with water, and the pipes through which it was conveyed, were to have been deſtroyed.

As it was intended that the inſurrection ſhould be general all over the kingdom, and as ſoon as poſſible after it took place in Dublin, it was agreed that the rebels in remote parts ſhould riſe, if the mail-coaches which ſet out daily from the metropolis did not arrive at their reſpective deſtinations as uſual.

The Belfaſt coach therefore was deſtroyed and burnt near Santry, the Cork mail-coach at Naas, and that going towards Athlone at Lucan. The perſons who performed that ſervice at Santry, deſired the inhabitants of the neighbouring cottages to riſe and join them; having aſſured them that the caſtle and city of Dublin were at that time in poſſeſſion of their friends. So ſure were they that the conſpirators muſt ſucceed!

Near the Curragh of Kildare, the rebels murdered the guard, and the coachman of the mail-coach going to Limerick.

Numerous bodies of rebels were advancing towards Dublin, from Kilcock, Maynooth, Leixlip and Chapelizod;* another party from towards the Black-bull; but being informed by their ſpies and videts that the garriſon was under arms, they retreated. Holt, a rebel leader, was to have deſcended from the Wicklow mountains, as ſoon as he had received intelligence that the rebels had riſen in Dublin.

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* It appeared by the papers found on the perſon of lord Edward Fitzgerald, that he had planned that before hand.

For ſome nights, previous to the twenty-third of May, fires were ſeen on the Wicklow mountains, whoſe luminous appearance by night, and whoſe ſmoke by day, ſerved as ſignals to the diſaffected in the metropolis, and in all the adjacent country. The ſame practice took place on all the mountains which extend from the Scalp in the county of Wicklow, to Mount Leinſter in the county of Wexford.

From a houſe in an elevated ſituation in Dublin, I could diſcern them at a great diſtance with a teleſcope; and it is aſtoniſhing with what celerity they encreaſed or diminiſhed the number of them, by which they anſwered in ſome degree the purpoſe of a telegraph.

From the circumſtances which appeared on the trials of Weldon, Brady, Hart, the conſpirators againſt Hanlon, and thoſe of Dunn and Carthy, which I have already quoted, the reader muſt be convinced that the maſs of the Roman catholicks in Dublin harboured the moſt ſanguinary deſigns againſt their proteſtant fellow-ſubjects, whom they meant ultimately to have extirpated, though they had inveigled a few of them.

The wanton barbarities indiſcriminately committed by them on all perſons of the eſtabliſhed religion, in the counties of Wexford, Wicklow, Carlow and Kildare, muſt remove every doubt in our minds on that ſubject.

We may well conceive then how far the licentious and deſtructive rage of the popiſh multitude in the metropolis would have extended, but that the ſeaſonable diſcovery of the intended inſurrection, by the wiſdom and mercy of Providence, enabled the yeomen to come forward with their united force, and to prevent it from taking place.

The ſun never roſe on ſuch a ſcene of carnage and conflagration as the metropolis would have exhibited on the morning of the twenty-fourth of May;

for it appears from various ſources of information, preſented to the publick by the ſecret committee of the houſe of commons, that the inhabitants of the counties of Dublin, Wicklow and Kildare, were to have ruſhed into the city as ſoon as the inſurgents had ſucceeded in getting poſſeſſion of it, or as ſoon as the conflict had begun; and it was expected, that the North and South would have riſen in conſequence of the detention of the mail-coaches, which was the ſignal for that purpoſe.

The proclamation found in the houſe of the meſſieurs Sheares,* and which they intended to have circulated on the morning of the twenty-fourth of May, will ſhew the reader the malignant deſigns of the leaders of the conſpiracy; and we cannot entertain a doubt, but that the inferior rebels would have exceeded and prevented their wiſhes and expectations.

All the loyaliſts would have been aſſaſſinated; their wives would have been violated by the ruthleſs pikemen, that murdered their huſbands; the accumulations of induſtry would have been pillaged; every monument of the elegant arts would have been defaced or deſtroyed; and whatever might have eſcaped the rapacious and deſtructive rage of the rebel plunderer, would probably have fallen a prey to the flames.

The dangers which impended over the metropolis, were very much encreaſed by the following circumſtances:

It was diſcovered that near nine-tenths of the Roman catholicks in the yeomanry corps were united Iriſhmen, and had taken an oath to be true to the rebels, in direct contradiction to their ſworn allegiance;† and that many of them, after having taken the united oath, had, by deliberate and predetermined perjury, joined the yeomanry corps for the purpoſe of getting arms in their hands, learning the uſe of them, and turning them againſt the loyaliſts, perhaps in the very moment of danger.

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* Appendix, No. XIII. See alſo lord Edward Fitzgerald's plan of attacking a city, Appendix, No. XXI. 3.

† See pages 45 and 46. This was ſanctioned by the Romiſh church.

The conſequences might have been horrible, had they not been prevented by a timely diſcovery; for if any of the projected nightly inſurrections had taken place, the loyal yeoman, rouſed from his bed, might have treacherouſly fallen by the bayonets of thoſe whom he haſtened to join as friends and fellow-ſoldiers.

It is remarkable, that in the city of Dublin, above two thouſand catholicks ſolicited admittance into the ſeveral yeomanry corps during the ſix weeks immediately preceding the inſurrection; and that moſt of them were propoſed by catholick yeomen, who afterwards either proved to be rebels, or were diſarmed on ſtrong ſuſpicion.

In one company of the Rotunda diviſion infantry, there were, at the breaking-out of the rebellion, twenty-two privates yeomen catholicks; and of theſe fourteen were proved to be ſworn united Iriſhmen, ſome of them deeply concerned in the plans of inſurrection and maſſacre; ſix others were diſarmed on ſuſpicion of the ſtrongeſt kind; ſo that two only remained faithful out of twenty-two. All theſe men had frequently and anxiouſly endeavoured to introduce ſeveral of their friends into the corps, inſomuch as to produce ſtrong diſſenſions in the company.

The popiſh yeomen of the St. Sepulchre's corps conſpired to aſſaſſinate their proteſtant officers and fellow-ſoldiers, who were the minority of that corps, and they were therefore diſarmed.

In the Coolock corps, there was ſo much diſſatisfaction from the ſame cauſe, that they were diſarmed; and its loyal members enrolled themſelves in another body of yeomanry.*

In the county of Wicklow it was diſcovered by an accident, which I ſhall more fully explain hereafter,

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* About one half of the Rathdown corps were in this predicament.

after, that the Roman catholick yeomen did not conſider an oath of allegiance preſcribed by law to a proteſtant ſtate, as obligatory, and that they would refuſe to take a teſt oath framed by their officers. The captain of a corps in that county preſented ſuch a teſt to the members of it, and nineteen out of twenty of the Roman catholicks refuſed to take it, and were therefore diſmiſſed.

The ſame experiment having been made with many corps in Dublin, they refuſed to ſwear it, though they had taken the uſual oath of allegiance, and were therefore diſbanded, or they voluntarily laid down their arms.

The dangers which hung over the city of Dublin were very much encreaſed by the following circumſtance: It was diſcovered that the popiſh ſervants, both male and female, with very few exceptions, had taken the united oath, and were to have aſſiſted in the inſurrection and maſſacre on the night of the twenty-third of May, by which domeſtick ſecurity was completely deſtroyed; for, while the loyaliſt truſted to the protection of his houſe, his domeſticks in the dead hour of the night would have admitted the aſſaſſins, who would have butchered him in his bed. A friend of mine, who had his ſervant arreſted, aſſured me, that he acknowledged that he knew of twenty thouſand ſervants, ſworn and attached to the united cauſe, who were to have joined in the inſurrection.

A proteſtant houſekeeper of my acquaintance, who had a popiſh kitchen-maid, prone to ebriety, informed me, that ſhe, when intoxicated, ſaid to her, about a fortnight before the rebellion broke out, "Miſtreſs, you had better go to maſs; for the pikemen will ſoon come into the city, and pike all of you proteſtants."

The lord mayor, alderman Thomas Fleming, was to have been murdered by his own ſervant, and a body of ruffians whom he was to have admitted into the mayoralty-houſe in the dead hour of the night;

and as a reward for his treachery, he was to have ſucceeded his maſter. To prevent the lord mayor from defending himſelf, he drew the charge of the piſtols which he kept by his bed-ſide.

Information of his treachery having been given to the honourable captain Cavendiſh and captain Beresford, they arreſted him about midnight: The lord mayor aroſe; aſſured them that he had not a doubt of his fidelity; that there muſt be ſome miſtake as to the charge againſt him, and he requeſted that they would treat him with tenderneſs; but the information which they had received turned out to be well founded, and even the delinquent acknowledged the truth of it.

Though the firſt effort of the rebels to riſe in the metropolis was defeated by the vigilance of government, and by the ſpirit and loyalty of the yeomen, as it was well known that they entertained the moſt ſanguine hopes of ſucceeding in another attempt, general Lake, commander in chief, publiſhed the following notice on the morning of the twenty-fourth of May:

NOTICE.

"Lieutenant-general Lake, commanding his majeſty's forces in this kingdom, having received from his excellency the lord lieutenant full powers to PUT DOWN THE REBELLION and to PUNISH REBELS in the moſt ſummary manner, according to martial law, does hereby give notice to all his majeſty's ſubjects, that he is determined to exert the powers entruſted to him in the moſt vigorous manner, for the immediate ſuppreſſion of the ſame; and that all perſons acting in the preſent rebellion, or in any wiſe aiding or aſſiſting therein, will be treated by him as rebels, and puniſhed accordingly.

"And lieutenant-general Lake hereby requires all the inhabitants of the city of Dublin, (the great officers of ſtate, members of the houſes of parliament,

ment, privy counſellors, magiſtrates, and military perſons in uniform excepted) to remain within their reſpective dwellings from nine o'clock at night till five in the morning, under pain of puniſhment.

By order of lieutenant-general LAKE,
Commanding his majeſty's forces in this kingdom,
G. HEWETT, adjutant-general."
Dublin, adjutant-general's office,
24th May, 1798.

The better to ſecure the peace of the city, the lord mayor publiſhed the following proclamation:

By the right honourable the lord mayor of the city of Dublin.

THOMAS FLEMING.

"Whereas the circumſtances of the preſent criſis demand every poſſible precaution: Theſe are therefore to deſire all perſons who have regiſtered arms forthwith to give in, in writing, an exact liſt or inventory of ſuch arms at the town clerks' office, who will file and enter the ſame in a book to be kept for that purpoſe; and all perſons who have not regiſtered their arms are hereby required forthwith to deliver up to me, or ſome other of the magiſtrates of this city, all arms and ammunition of every kind in their poſſeſſion: And if, after this proclamation, any perſon having regiſtered their arms ſhall be found not to have given in a true liſt or inventory of ſuch arms; or if any perſon who has not regiſtered, ſhall be found to have in their power or poſſeſſion any arms or ammunition whatever, ſuch perſon or perſons will, on ſuch arms being diſcovered, be forthwith ſent on board his majeſty's navy, as by law directed.

"And I do hereby deſire that all houſe-keepers do place upon the outſide of their doors a liſt of all perſons in their reſpective houſes, diſtinguiſhing ſuch as are ſtrangers from thoſe who actually make part of their family; but as there may happen to be perſons who, from pecuniary embarraſſments, are obliged to conceal themſelves, I do not require ſuch names to be placed on the outſide of the door, provided their names are ſent to me. And I hereby call upon his majeſty's ſubjects within the county of the city of Dublin immediately to comply with this regulation, as calculated for the publick ſecurity; as thoſe perſons who ſhall wilfully neglect a regulation ſo eaſy and ſalutary, as well as perſons giving falſe ſtatements of the inmates of their houſes, muſt, in the preſent criſis, abide the conſequences of ſuch neglect.

Given at the Manſion-houſe, the 24th of May, 1798.

Signed by order,

JOHN LAMBERT, ſecretary."

In conſequence of the intelligence received by lord Camden, that the rebels had riſen at Rathfarnham, his excellency ſent lieutenant O'Reily, with a troop of the 5th dragoons, in purſuit of them, and he was joined by the earl of Roden and lieutenant-colonel Puleſton of the Ancient Britons, as volunteers; and having been informed at Rathfarnham, that they had gone towards Rathcool, they proceeded in queſt of them; and in their way they met a corps of yeomen, who were retreating, after having attacked the rebels, and been repulſed by them.

Lieutenant O'Reily having halted the troop for the purpoſe of conſulting what was moſt adviſable to be done, it was agreed that lord Roden with one half of the troop ſhould take the road to the right, and that lieutenant O'Reily ſhould proceed to the left, in order to ſurround the rebels.

Lord Roden's party came up with them at the firſt turnpike gate on the Rathcool road, and after a ſhort ſkirmiſh drove them to the place where lieutenant O'Reily was poſted; and he having fallen in with them, killed two, and wounded a good many of them, after which the main body made their eſcape;

eſcape ; for the country was ſo much encloſed, as to prevent the poſſibility of a purſuit.

The bodies of James Byrne and James Keely, two of their leaders, whom they killed, were brought into the caſtle-yard, and exhibited to publick view ; and Edward Keogh, another of their leaders, was brought in there deſperately wounded.

Ledwich and Wade, the two deſerters from lord Ely's corps, were hanged on the Queen's-bridge in Dublin, on Saturday the twenty-ſixth of May.

On the night of the twenty-third of May, lieutenant-colonel Finlay patroled with a party of ſoldiers near Clondalkin, four miles from Dublin, where he met a body of rebels, proceeding to join thoſe from Rathfarnham. After a ſlight ſkirmiſh, he killed three of them, whoſe bodies were ſuſpended next morning in Barrack-ſtreet, as an example to the diſaffected inhabitants of that quarter of the city.

So ſure were the rebel inhabitants of the country adjacent to Dublin, that their fellow traitors would overpower the government and get poſſeſſion of it, that a number of them remained under arms until eleven o'clock in the morning near Artane, within two miles of the city, expecting a ſummons to co-operate with them ; and they threatened the lives of ſome loyal ſubjects in the neighbourhood of that village.

On Saturday the ſecond of June, Thomas Bacon, a tailor, of the proteſtant religion, was hanged at Carliſle-bridge, purſuant to a ſentence of a court-martial.

Though deeply concerned in the conſpiracy for ſome years, he declared in his laſt moments to major Sandys and other gentlemen, that he did not diſcover, till the rebellion broke out and the maſſacre of proteſtants took place, that religious bigotry had a prevailing influence in it ; and that he meant for that reaſon to have withdrawn himſelf from it. He was bred a proteſtant, and died in that profeſſion. He was reputed an honeſt man, and in extenſive buſineſs, till volunteering made him an idler and a ſpeculatiſt in politicks; and at laſt, a rage for political innovation led him from a peaceful induſtrious ſphere into the vortex of rebellion.

In the country for many miles round Dublin, the rebellion broke forth in various places, made a formidable appearance, and produced the moſt fatal effects.

The right honourable David Latouche had between ſeventy and eighty labourers employed in his work, at Marlay, the twenty-third of May, and the whole, except about ten, attended the Rathfarnham rebels.

A party of rebels entered the houſe of Mr. Minchin at Grange, headed by Curran his gardener, and Mc. Donogh his gate-keeper, about ſeven o'clock in the evening, when he and his family were in Dublin. They plundered it of various articles of houſehold furniture, which they carried off in two of his carts. Curran declared that all Ireland was riſen that night, and that he would return in a day or two, and take poſſeſſion of the houſe and demeſne as his own.

Major Sirr the elder, the father of Mrs. Minchin, a venerable gentleman who had paſſed a very long life in the ſervice of his majeſty, and a female ſervant of the name of Middleton, were the only proteſtants in the houſe at that time; and the latter overheard the wife of Mc. Donough declare, that ſhe would cut their throats, which ſhe probably would have effected, but that ſome other women, who aſſiſted her in plundering the houſe, diſſuaded her from it.

It was proved afterwards, and acknowledged by ſome of the aſſociates of Curran and Mc. Donough, that ſome aſſaſſins had been poſted that evening with muſkets in the avenue leading to the houſe, who were to have ſhot Mr. Minchin as he approached it; but it fortunately happened that he remained in Dublin.

On the ſame evening, a large party of rebels ſhot at Tibbradden, about two miles beyond Rathfarnham, Mr. Philip Proſſor, a proteſtant, formerly an eminent ſilk-throwſter in Dublin, and who then reſided there, becauſe he refuſed to deliver up his fowling-piece.

All the farmers and peaſants in that large tract of country, between Dublin and the Wicklow mountains, were in a ſtate of inſurrection, waiting the ſignal which they expected, to enter the metropolis, and aſſiſt their fellow traitors there; and in the mean time, they continued to commit various acts of outrage. In every other part of the adjacent country the rebels were equally terrifick and deſtructive.

A numerous body of them, variouſly armed, entered the town of Dunboyne, ſeven miles from Dublin, on the morning of the twenty-fourth of May, murdered its proteſtant inhabitants, among whom was Mr. Creighton, a revenue officer, and rifled and plundered their houſes; but did not injure the perſon or property of any Roman catholick.

In the police-houſe there were ſix conſtables on guard, of whom they aſſaſſinated three, who were of the eſtabliſhed religion: but did not moleſt the remainder who were papiſts.

They then proceeded to the houſe of the reverend Mr. Duncan, vicar of Dunboyne, the only remaining proteſtant in that town; but he having made his eſcape, they plundered it of various valuable articles to the amount of 500l.

Mr. Wynne, of Clonſillagh, having been informed by two of the yeomanry corps, which he commanded, of the inſurrection and of theſe atrocities, proceeded about ſix o'clock in the morning, with four of them, and eleven Angus highlanders, commanded by lieutenant George Armſtrong of the artillery, to Ratoath, * where the rebels were in force, and had in their cuſtody captain Gorges, member for the county

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* Plate I. 6.

county of Meath, Mr. Corbally the lieutenant of his corps, and ſome of his privates, whom they ſurpriſed, and were on the point of hanging.

Mr. Wynne, having been at this time ſeaſonably reinforced by Mr. Frederick Falkiner, with eighteen of the fifth dragoons, they charged and diſperſed the rebels, and killed thirty-five of them in the purſuit.

Soon after they ſet out to return home; and the dragoons having left them, the rebels, perceiving the diminution of their numbers, purſued them as far as Clonee-bridge, where the highlanders under lieutenant Armſtrong diſplayed prodigies of valour; ſix of them having been killed in attempting to ſtop the progreſs of the rebels. Previous to this, lieutenant Armſtrong had diſperſed a party of them near Eſkar, and had taken two of their leaders, of the name of Geraghty; and he had diſperſed another body near Lucan, headed by one Daly, the greater part of whom he had killed or taken priſoners, after having received a warm and well-directed fire from them.

On the ſame day, they murdered ſix of the Angus fencibles, who were guarding the baggage of that regiment, and were on their route to Dublin.

A large party of rebels, headed by one Gilſhahan, a popiſh farmer, entered the town of Dunſhaughlin,† in the county of Meath, and ſearched for arms in a ſmall barrack in which they had been depoſited; but having been informed that they were removed to the oppoſite houſe, in which the reverend Mr. Neilſon lived, they, after firing a volley at the windows, ruſhed into it, killed Mr. Neilſon, his brother-in-law Mr. Pendleton, and a gardener, all of the proteſtant religion. They then plundered the houſe of arms, and of every valuable article of furniture which they could carry off. They did not injure the perſon or property of any popiſh inhabitant of that town; but did not ſpare one of thoſe of the proteſtant religion.

A party

† Plate I. 6.

A party of ruffians, headed by Thomas Connor, and Thomas Atkinſon, entered and plundered the houſe of Mr. John Braſſington of Ballymacarney, in the county of Meath, of arms and other articles, and carried off four horſes.

On the trial of theſe men, by court martial, held the twelfth of July, 1798, at the barrack of Dublin, meſſieurs John and James Braſſington proved upon oath, that Connor and Atkinſon declared, at their houſe, that they were ordered to kill all hereticks,* and to wade in their blood; and they boaſted that they had killed the Police-men at Dunboyne, and the Ray Fencibles at Clonee-bridge.†

On the ſame morning, they entered and plundered Woodpark, the ſeat of Mrs. Sheil, near the Black-bull, of various valuable articles; and robbed miſs Bradſhaw, her gueſt, of a large ſum of money. One of their leaders declared, that his orders were to put all proteſtants to death.

Twenty of the Fermanagh regiment were quartered at Weſtfieldſtown, near Balbriggen, under the command of enſign Cleland. As he was returning to his quarters on the evening of the twenty-third of May, he was fired at from behind a bridge, by a ruffian with a blunderbuſs; but though ſeverely wounded in different parts of his head and body, he was able to ride to Swords,‡ where his wounds, which appeared to be mortal, were dreſſed.

On the ſame evening, his detachment at Weſtfieldſtown, was ſurpriſed by about two thouſand rebels, who diſarmed and carried them off as priſoners, after having wounded ſome of them.

As the inhabitants of Ballyboghill, noted for diſaffection, were principally concerned in this outrage, a company a company of the Fermanagh regiment joined the Swords yeomanry, and burned the houſes of the diſaffected in that village. While major King was engaged in doing ſo, an officer arrived, and informed him of the diſaſter which had befallen the detachment at Weſtfieldſtown; he therefore purſued the rebels, who carried their priſoners off, for about ſix miles, and found that they had plundered and deſtroyed in their progreſs the houſe of every proteſtant which had come in their way, and compelled great numbers of people to join them.

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* Theſe expreſſions are to be ſeen in the bloody oath found upon the rebels in different parts of the province of Leinſter. See it at the end of Grandy's affidavit, Appendix, No. XX. 7.

† Theſe worthy men have not ventured to reſide at Ballymacarney ſince the proſecution of theſe ruffians, leſt they ſhould be aſſaſſinated.

‡ Plate I. 6.

The major took priſoner a rebel leader, of the name of Carroll, a cotton manufacturer in good circumſtances, and of the Romiſh perſuaſion, whom they found in arms, and he was hanged the twenty-ſixth of May, on one of the bridges in Dublin.

Mr. Sherwood, a revenue officer, ſeeing, on the night of the twenty-third of May, a number of rebels aſſembled near Dalkey, who were on the point of going to attack the camp at Lehaunſtown, in which they expected the aſſiſtance of a number of ſoldiers attached to their cauſe, with laudable zeal, though at the riſk of his life, harangued them for the purpoſe of diſſuading them from ſo baſe and ſo dangerous an enterpriſe.

Four hundred conſpirators were to have attacked the houſes of the earl of Clare and Mr. Lees at the Blackrock. The conſpirators had ſeduced ſome of the ſoldiers of the King's county militia, quartered at Blackrock for its defence; and they were to have co-operated with them; but two of the grenadiers of that regiment having given information of the plot, completely defeated their nefarious deſign. The noted loyalty of this noble lord and Mr. Lees marked them as objects of rebel vengeance; but their ſingular humanity and charity ſhould have awakened ſuch a degree of gratitude in the breaſts of theſe fanatical ruffians towards their benefactors, as ſhould have made them relent.

On the night of Friday the twenty-fifth of May, a party of rebels attacked and entered Mr. Blair's extenſive iron works at Lucan, carried off a conſiderable quantity of arms and ammunition, and compelled ſome of his artificers to attend them to the hill of Tara. This party was headed by George Cummins, a popiſh yeoman, of the Clonſillagh corps, who became a traitor on the breaking-out of the rebellion, though he had taken the oath of allegiance; for which he was convicted in Dublin the tenth of July, 1798, and was afterwards pardoned.

The following paragraph appeared in the Dublin Journal the twenty-fourth of May:

ROMAN CATHOLICKS.

"An addreſs to the lord lieutenant, intended to be immediately preſented, and containing a declaration of political principles applicable to the circumſtances of the preſent moment, lies, for ſignature, at Fitzpatrick's, bookſeller, Ormond-quay; at the earl of Fingall's, Great George's-ſtreet, Rutland-ſquare; lord viſcount Kenmare's, Great George's-ſtreet; Malachy Donelan's, eſquire, Mountjoy-ſquare, and counſellor Bellew's, No. 6, Upper Gardiner's-ſtreet, Mountjoy-ſquare.——All ſignatures muſt be given in on or before Saturday next.—May 24th, 1798."

A yeoman officer, and a magiſtrate, who patroled the country for four miles round Rathcool in the county of Dublin, aſſured me, that he did not find a ſingle man but one in above a hundred cabins and farm-houſes, which he ſearched for arms, the night before the rebellion broke out; their inmates having aſſembled, in order to concert meaſures for the general inſurrection.

Captain Charles Ormſby, who commanded the Rathcool infantry, conſiſting of forty-three privates and three officers, was ordered to maintain that poſt at all riſks.

The rebels intended to attack Rathcool on the night of the twenty-third of May, when all the garriſons in the county of Kildare were ſurpriſed; and captain Ormſby's corps, who were all, with a few exceptions, papiſts and traitors, intended to have murdered him, his brother, who was his lieutenant, and one or two more proteſtants, who were privates in it, and to have joined the rebels on the firſt attack; but they were fortunately deterred from perpetrating their nefarious deſign by the following incidents:

Twenty of the Armagh regiment, brave, loyal, and well-diſciplined, were ſtationed with him, and twenty of the ſame corps at Newcaſtle, at the diſtance of about one mile and a half. The Rathcool cavalry commanded by captain Kennedy, of whom many were proteſtants, compoſed alſo part of his little garriſon.

The rebels, whom they could diſcern, in great numbers, every evening exerciſing on the adjacent hills, had appointed many different nights to make the attack, in which captain Ormſby's traitorous yeomen, who kept up a conſtant correſpondence with them, were to have joined; but they were intimidated by a few brave men of the Armagh who were poſted there.

General Lake, conſidering the importance of the place, and the ſmall force deſtined for its defence, ſent there a reinforcement of eighty of the Angus fencibles, commanded by colonel Hunter, an experienced officer, which completely put an end to the hopes of the rebels to ſurpriſe that poſt.

Captain Ormſby diſcovered the conſpiracy of his corps in the following manner: The garriſon being ſhort of proviſions, he went to a hill over Rathcool with a party to forage; and finding there a ſhepherd's boy, who was conſtantly watching his flock, he aſked him, whether he had ſeen any people aſſembled on that or the adjacent hills? and he anſwered in the negative. On which he ſeized him by the ſhoulder, gave him three or four ſtripes with the ſcabbard of his ſword, and ſaid, that he had told him a falſehood. The boy immediately exclaimed, "Oh! ſir, take me from this place, and I'll tell you the whole truth!"

Having led him to Rathcool, he next day acknowledged that he had ſeen frequent meetings of the rebels on the hills, to the number of two or three thouſand, and among them ſeveral men with croſs belts; and he alſo pointed out John Shee and his brother, privates in the corps, to whoſe father he had been ſhepherd.

Captain Ormſby having taken up John Shee, and given him a few ſtripes, he diſcloſed the whole of the treaſonable deſigns of the corps, whom he inſtantly ordered to parade, in preſence of a party of the Cavan regiment under arms, and he diſarmed them; and committed ſerjeant Walſh, corporal Dillon, corporal Byrne, John Shee and William Harvey, leaders among the rebels, and principals in the plot.

Walſh, ſoon after he was committed, confeſſed the whole of their treaſonable ſchemes; and that he and ſerjeant Rourke had been ſworn by Mr. Clinch, a Romaniſt, and the ſecond lieutenant of the corps.

Felix Rourke, the permanent ſerjeant, had been early appointed a colonel of the rebels, and had deſerted to them ſome days before the rebellion broke out. He and they took oaths of allegiance, His brother had been a competitor with lieutenant Clinch for a captaincy in the rebel corps of Rathcool; but the influence of Felix was ſuch, as to obtain ſucceſs for his brother; and the zeal of Clinch in the rebel cauſe was ſo great, that he continued to ſerve in it as a ſerjeant.

Lieutenant John Clinch was the ſon of a very wealthy man, had received ſome education, was naturally humane and benevolent, but was perſuaded by the malignant influence of father Harold, his pariſh prieſt, to violate his oath of allegiance, and to become a traitor; for which he was tried and executed in Dublin the ſecond of June.

He acknowledged the juſtice of his ſentence, and died loading with curſes father Harold, his pariſh prieſt; at whoſe inſtigation, he ſaid, the inhabitants of Rathcool, and all the adjacent country, had ſwerved from their allegiance, and became traitors. He declared alſo, that the organization of rebellion had taken place at his houſe, which was conſtantly the rendezvous of the rebel leaders; yet, that very prieſt frequently exhorted his flock to loyalty from the altar, for three months before the rebellion broke out; and on Sunday preceding that event, he preached two ſermons eminently loyal, at the chapels of Saggard* and Newcaſtle, in the preſence of captain Ormſby and lieutenant Chriſtopher Clinch† of the Rathcool cavalry.

It was proved alſo, that Harold encouraged his rebellious ſectaries to ſurrender ſome bad pikes, and to keep their good ones, in order to deceive the magiſtracy.

As ſoon as the conſpiracy at Rathcool was diſcovered, he and many of its popiſh inhabitants fled; but having been afterwards taken, government offered him his choice, either to be tranſported, or to ſtand his trial for his life; and, conſcious of his guilt, he preferred the former. He was therefore ſent to Botany bay, where he was engaged a ſecond time in a conſpiracy of united Iriſhmen, who had procured a great quantity of pikes to be fabricated, and meditated an inſurrection againſt the governor of the garriſon; but, fortunately, their deſigns were diſcovered and defeated.

I mentioned before that Mr. Buckley, a reſpectable gentleman farmer, was murdered near Rathcool, on the thirteenth day of March.

On the trial of the traitors of that town, the following circumſtances were brought to light: Being on his return from Dublin, through Rathcool, he was prevailed on, by ſome of the inhabitants of that town, to continue drinking in the houſe of one Doyle, till nine o'clock at night: After which he was murdered, and his body was mangled with ſavage barbarity, a little beyond that village, and near the houſe of Felix Rourke, in conſequence of his noted loyalty.

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* Plate I. 7.

† This is a proteſtant gentleman, conſpicuous for his loyalty, and no way connected with Clinch the traitor.

Captain Ormſby having diſcovered that a bayonet belonging to one of his corps was found ſticking in Mr. Buckley's body, ordered them to parade, but did not find that any of them wanted a bayonet.

Felix Rourke, who abſented himſelf, was believed to have been concerned in the murder.

Lieutenant Clinch, a ſhort time before his execution, confeſſed to captain Ormſby, that four of the corps had been concerned in the murder; and that he roſe on the night of its perpetration, and gave a bayonet out of the ſtore, which was under his care, to one of the aſſaſſins, to replace that which he had left ſticking in Mr. Buckley's body.

At the cloſe of the rebellion, one Phillips, a youth of the age of eighteen, and a private in the Rathcool cavalry, was decoyed into the adjacent mountains by three or four rebels, and barbarouſly murdered. After a ſearch of ſome days, his body, mangled with wounds, was found in the gripe of a ditch, lightly covered with earth. This unfortunate young man was well beloved and reſpected by every officer and man in his corps. Soon after the aſſaſſination of Phillips, a party of ruffians entered and plundered his father's houſe, and declared, that their vengeance was occaſioned by their ſon having been a proteſtant and in the yeomen.

The roads leading to the metropolis were ſo completely obſtructed by bands of rebels, who roamed through and pillaged all the adjacent country, that no mail-coach arrived there from the twenty-fourth of May to the thirty-firſt of the ſame month.

On the firſt of June, the lord mayor, attended by Mr. Dawſon the high-conſtable, paſſed above two hours in ſearching the vaults and cellars under the parliament-houſe, leſt gunpowder or any other combuſtibles ſhould have been laid there by the rebels.

A minute recital of individual outrage committed in the neighbourhood of the metropolis would be tedious and diſguſting to the reader: I ſhall therefore proceed to deſcribe ſome of the achievements performed by the rebels in the county of Kildare, which gave ſtronger indications of their boldneſs and malignity.

In the year 1795, defenderiſm had ſpread ſuch deſtruction and diſmay in it, by the conſtant commiſſion of nocturnal robbery and aſſaſſination, that many of the loyal families were obliged to ſecure the lower windows of their houſes with bricks and mortar; and ſuch of them as had been active in checking its deſtructive progreſs, were obliged to introduce ſome of the military into them for their protection; and as defenderiſm had made the popiſh multitude peculiarly ſuſceptible of the doctrines of the united Iriſhmen, which were introduced into the county of Kildare in the year 1796; and as they were diffuſed and ſublimated by the reſidence and the active malignity of lord Edward Fitzgerald, the rebellion broke out with deſtructive rage in that county.

His lordſhip had laid a plan of ſurpriſing all the military poſts in it, which occaſioned much carnage, though it fortunately did not ſucceed in the extent which he expected.

In the beginning of the year 1797, the rebels robbed the houſes of proteſtants of arms from Athy to Monaſtereven, Kildare, Kilcullen, Dunlavin, Timolin, and Caſtledermot;* and were ſo ſucceſsful, that none eſcaped, but thoſe who fortified their habitations, and maintained a party of the military in them.†

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* See Plate I. 7 and 8, for theſe places.

† This fulfilled the prophecy of ſir Laurence Parſons in the year 1795. See page 160.

An encampment of ſome regiments of cavalry on the Curragh of Kildare, in the ſummer of that year, furniſhed a plauſible pretext to the diſaffected of ſpreading a report that orangemen, aided by the military, were to murder all the Roman catholicks; in conſequence of which, numbers of the lower claſs of people, intimidated by ſuch tales, propagated for the worſt of purpoſes, lay in the open fields, where they were ſworn and organized.

The following ſymptoms of the approaching rebellion appeared in the county of Kildare, in the years 1797 and 1798: Conſtant nightly meetings which the utmoſt vigilance of the magiſtrates could not prevent: The abſtinence of the lower claſs of people from ſpirituous liquors, to a degree of ſobriety too unuſual and general not to be ſyſtematick: The infrequent application to magiſtrates in matters of diſpute: The declining to pay rent or any debts whatſoever, by thoſe who had means to do ſo, and who had been before very regular: The conſtant reſort of the popiſh multitude to the confeſſion-boxes of their clergy: The refuſal to take bank notes, from an idea that the approaching convulſion by ſubverting the government, would put an end to the currency: The eagerneſs of the people to take oaths of allegiance to lull the magiſtrates.

I ſhall now proceed to deſcribe the operations of the rebels in that county.

ATTACK UPON NAAS.*

In the month of May, the garriſon of Naas conſiſted of one hundred and fifty of the Armagh militia, commanded by colonel lord Gosford, with two field pieces, thirty five of the Ancient Britons, commanded by major Wardell, twenty-four of the fourth horſe, and ſixteen of the North Naas cavalry, commanded by captain Neville.

On the evening of the twenty-third of that month, two anonymous letters were received, one in the morning by the honourable lieutenant-colonel Acheſon, the other in the evening, by lord Goſford; informing them, that the town would be attacked that night by three thouſand men.

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* Plate I. 7.

In conſequence of this information, the guards were doubled, and every meaſure neceſſary for their defence was adopted. As the garriſon continued unmoleſted till two o'clock in the morning of the twenty-fourth, many of the officers had gone to bed, thinking the information they had received was groundleſs; but about half paſt two o'clock, a dragoon from an out-poſt came in, and informed major Wardell, that a very large body of rebels were moving towards the town; on which the drums beat to arms, and the guards repaired to the different poſts which they were deſtined to occupy.

Soon after, three thouſand rebels, who had been poſted at the quarries of Tipper, advanced rapidly and quietly to the town, and entered it at four different places, the greater part from the North, by the Johnſtown road, and penetrated almoſt to the gaol, where they made a moſt deſperate attack; but were repulſed by a party of the Armagh, with one piece of cannon, and a detachment of the Ancient Britons.

Captain Davis having received ſome pike wounds in the beginning of the action, of which he died the next day, his men were ſo enraged, that they charged too ſoon, and prevented the cannon from playing on the enemy with the deſired effect.

Large parties of the rebels, who ſtole unnoticed into the town, through the houſes and narrow lanes, fought ſometime in the ſtreets, and ſtood three vollies from a party of the Armagh militia, poſted oppoſite to the barrack, before they gave way; at laſt they fled precipitately in every direction, when the cavalry charged, and killed a great number of them in the purſuit. Thirty of the rebels were killed in the ſtreets; and, from the numbers found dead in back houſes and in the adjacent fields, a few days after, it is imagined that no leſs than three hundred could have fallen.

They dropped in their flight a great quantity of pikes, and other arms, of which a great number were found in pits near the town, where they alſo ſeized three men with green cockades, whom they inſtantly hanged in the publick ſtreets. Another priſoner, whom they ſpared in conſequence of very uſeful information which he gave, told them, that the rebel party was above one thouſand ſtrong, and that they were commanded by Michael Reynolds, who was well mounted, and dreſſed in yeoman uniform. He made his eſcape, but his horſe fell into the hands of our troops.

One of the rebels concerned in the attack, who obtained the royal mercy by ſurrendering himſelf under the proclamation, informed me, that one of the gunners, who directed the cannon at the gaol, having been ſeduced by the rebels, elevated it ſo much as not to injure the aſſailants.

ATTACK ON THE TOWN OF PROSPEROUS.

The rebels were more ſucceſsful in this enterpriſe than in that at Naas, having contrived it with more ingenuity.

On Sunday the twentieth of May, captain Swayne arrived there, with a detachment of the city of Cork regiment, and immediately repaired to the chapel, where he, the reverend Mr. Higgins, pariſh prieſt, and doctor Eſmond, a phyſician, ſucceſſively exhorted the people to return to their allegiance, and to ſurrender their arms; but as their exhortations produced no effect, he, agreeably to the order for exerciſing free quarters, diſtrained the cattle, and did ſome injuries to the property of perſons well known to be diſaffected, and to have concealed arms in their poſſeſſion; but it produced no other effect than the ſurrender of two or three pikes and firelocks, on the morning of the twenty-third of May.

Father Higgins and doctor Eſmond informed captain Swayne, that the people were become repentant, would have brought in their arms, and have left them in the ſtreets during the night, but that they were afraid of the ſentinels. The captain therefore, at their deſire, ordered the ſentinels not to challenge them, which order proved fatal to the garriſon.

Beſides the city of Cork detachment in Proſperous, there was a party of the Ancient Britons, conſiſting of a lieutenant, a quarter-maſter, and twenty privates. Twelve of them were lodged in a houſe oppoſite the barrack of the city of Cork company, and the remainder were at ſingle billets, except a few who ſlept over the ſtables where their horſes were.

About two o'clock on Thurſday morning the twenty-fourth of May, the two ſentinels were ſurpriſed, and killed; and both the barracks were aſſaulted, while the ſoldiers were faſt aſleep. The barrack of the Cork company conſiſted of a hall, an apartment on each ſide, the ſame in the next ſtory, and under ground offices. A party of the rebels ruſhed into captain Swayne's apartment, which was on the ground floor, and murdered him. Some ſoldiers, who ſlept in the oppoſite apartment, alarmed at the noiſe, came forth with their firelocks, and expelled thoſe ruffians from the barrack, after having killed two or three of them.

The houſe was at that time ſurrounded with a great number of rebels variouſly armed. A fierce conflict enſued between the aſſailants and the beſieged; but it was ſoon put an end to by the following malignant device of the former: There was a great quantity of ſtraw in the under-ground office, to which the rebels ſet fire, and to increaſe the flame introduced ſome faggots into it. The ſoldiers were ſoon in a ſtate of ſuffocation; and the heat being ſo great, that they could not endure it, they retreated to their comrades in the upper ſtory; but the flame and the ſmoke ſoon reached them there, as the rebels continued to introduce lighted faggots into the

apartments

apartments under them. Enveloped with thick ſmoke, and overcome with heat, ſome of them leaped out of the windows; but were immediately received on the pikes of the aſſailants, who gave a dreadful yell whenever that happened.

At laſt, the barrack being in a ſtate of conflagration, the ſoldiers reſolved to ruſh forward, and fight their way through their aſſailants; but they, who were very numerous, formed a half moon round the front of the barrack, and received them on their pikes, ſo that but few of them eſcaped.

Previous to this, the rebels were ſo much galled by the conſtant and well-directed fire of the ſoldiers, that, deſpairing of ſucceſs by force of arms, they ſent two of their men into the hall, who cried out, "We will deal honourably by you; we will ſpare ſuch of you as deſcend and deliver up your arms:" But thoſe who yielded to their deluſive promiſes, were inſtantly perforated with pikes.

Nicholas Eldon, the deputy barrack-maſter, his wife and children, and the families of ſome of the Cork ſoldiers, remained in one of the under-ground offices, during this ſcene of carnage, having retired there for ſafety. At laſt, preceded by Mrs. Eldon, they endeavoured to eſcape from the flames; when a ferocious ruffian, ready to diſpatch them with his pike, exclaimed, "Let the heretick remain to be burnt." They returned and continued to pray, till the flames forced them out again.

She ruſhed out, and dropped on her knees, ſurrounded by three young children, having one of them in her arms. Her tears and entreaties, and her piteous ſituation, altogether ſuſpended their fury for a moment. James Mc. Evoy, a young man of humanity, though a rebel, arrived, and conducted them to the houſe of Hugh Mc. Evoy, his father.

However, nothing could have ſaved them, if the following event had not taken place: A ſhort time before, expreſſes arrived from Naas and Clane, which the rebels had attacked the preceding night, to inform the people of Proſperous, that their friends had been repulſed at both; and to deſire that they would ſpare the lives of the proteſtants, and the ſoldiers wives and children, that they might be ſaved in their turn.

James Mc. Evoy confeſſed, that they intended to have burnt all the proteſtants in the barrack, but for that fortuitous circumſtance; and it was remarkable, that they had placed over their doors ſentinels, who were withdrawn as ſoon as the expreſſes had announced the above intelligence.

Mr. Brewer, an Engliſhman, noted for his humanity and benevolence, had embarked very extenſively in the cotton manufacture at Proſperous, where he maintained numbers of people, who had been ſteeped in poverty. Hugh Mc. Evoy was his foreman, and his ſon was employed under him. They conducted Eldon and his family to the houſe of Mr. Brewer, who, ſeeing them almoſt naked, inſtantly ſupplied them with ſome of his own clothes. He had remained alone at his houſe, vainly thinking that his active benevolence, and his charitable diſpoſition would be his beſt ſhield among the inhabitants of Proſperous, whom he had fed and clothed, by employing them in uſeful induſtry. Hugh Mc. Evoy informed Mr. Brewer and Eldon, that they had been both condemned,* and that he feared he could not ſave them; but that he would do his utmoſt for that purpoſe. He alſo ſaid, when he was leaving him, "Sir, if they aſk you to ſwear, by no means refuſe them;" and he promiſed to comply.

During Mc. Evoy's abſence, Mr. Brewer's houſe was ſurrounded by a large body of rebels, who broke in ſome of the windows, and were proceeding to break open the door, when Mr. Brewer ordered it to be opened, not ſuſpecting that he could have an enemy in the country, and deriving great fortitude from religious faith. When the mob entered his

houſe,

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* This was by a committee of aſſaſſination.

houſe, James Tobin, an inhabitant of the town, and a tailor by trade, ruſhed into his apartment, and made a lunge at him with a pike, ſo vehemently, that he perforated his body, and turned the edge of the weapon againſt the wall, ſo much, that he had ſome difficulty in extracting it. Having then drawn a ſcymitar, he cleft his ſkull from his ear to his forehead; and aided by one Patrick Farrell, a native of the town, he carried the body to the front door, when Andrew Farrell,† who was leader of the party, cried out aloud, "Behold the body of a heretick tyrant!" which was repeated by the whole party, who gave three cheers.

Barnaby Dougall, a cotton weaver, employed by Mr. Brewer, attended there on the horſe of captain Swayne, fully accoutred, and ſaid, he was a much better man than the captain.

When Hugh Mc. Evoy returned, he exclaimed, "Oh! you villains, have you murdered the good man who kept us all from ſtarving? If I knew the man that did ſo, I would ſhoot him, though I were to loſe my own life by it." Mc. Evoy had great difficulty in ſaving the life of Eldon, as Andrew Farrell ſwore he would kill him, and made a ſtroke of a ſabre at him.

At that inſtant an alarm was ſpread among the rebels of Proſperous, by an expreſs from their friends at Clane, who called for a reinforcement, as they had been defeated there. They therefore marched towards Clane, and put Eldon, five of the Ancient Britons who were their priſoners, and ſome other proteſtants, in their front rank; but when they had advanced a ſhort way, they found their friends retreating and diſperſed.

The attack on Downings, the houſe of Mrs. Bonynge, about half a mile from Proſperous, was attended with circumſtances of brutal ferocity. One Dunn, a deſerter from the Clane corps, galloped up to it in his uniform, at the head of a large party of rebels. This villain, a traitor to his king and country, called out for Mr. Johnſton, who was hateful to them, on account of his noted loyalty and zeal in the publick ſervice. He was a member of the Clane corps, and was then defending that town from three attacks which the rebels made on it. Dunn was ſoon convinced of his abſence, by ſigns made by the popiſh ſervants of the houſe, who were attached to the cauſe of the union.

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† He was a deſerter from the Clane corps, and had aſſiſted in attacking the town that morning with doctor Eſmond.

As Mrs. Bonynge had fed ſome of the Cork ſoldiers the preceding night, Dunn, ſuppoſing them to be in her houſe, inſiſted on having them delivered up to him; but being diſappointed in this, he vowed deſtruction againſt the houſe, unleſs Mr. Stamers was ſurrendered to him. He was proprietor of the principal part of Proſperous, and went there occaſionally to receive his rents. Mrs. Bonynge, who preſerved the moſt unſhaken preſence of mind, had previouſly inſiſted on his concealing himſelf in the back yard; and on her declaring that he was not there, they diſmounted, and in a turbulent manner ſearched every part of the houſe. On being diſappointed, they were on the point of ſending for an additional party to demoliſh the houſe and furniture, when Mr. Stamers generouſly came forth and ſurrendered himſelf, to ſave the houſe in which he had been ſo hoſpitably entertained. Falling on his knees, he implored the ſanguinary wretches to ſhoot him there, as an act of mercy, rather than put him to a cruel death, which their menaces and their furious appearance gave him reaſon to dread; and he alſo beſought them to ſpare the houſe, and its inhabitants; all of whom conjured them, in the moſt pathetic manner, to ſpare the life of that worthy and unoffending gentleman. They promiſed compliance, but inſiſted on conducting him among his townspeople. One fellow, who had captain Swayne's horſe, required (as a matter of kindneſs) that he ſhould ride him; but he ſubmitting quietly to his fate, walked through the town, and was ſhot at the other end of it.

I ſhall refer the reader to Appendix, No. XV. * for a deſcription of the horrors of Proſperous on that woeful morning. The rebels, on leaving Downings, vowed vengeance againſt captain Williams, a half-pay officer, and nephew to Mrs. Bonynge, for no other reaſon than that he was a loyal ſubject.

It is remarkable that lieutenant Power of the Cork regiment, and his wife, both of the popiſh perſuaſion, remained unmoleſted in Proſperous, during this dreadful ſcene of carnage.

The rebels murdered a man above ſeventy years old, who had ſerved the greateſt part of his life in the army as a ſerjeant, and had retired on a penſion to Proſperous, merely becauſe he was a proteſtant.

Of the city of Cork detachment they killed one captain, two ſerjeants, one drummer, twenty-three privates, and wounded eight, of whom two died afterwards: The remainder of the company happened very fortunately to be ſent on a party a day or two before, a few miles off.

The loſs of the Ancient Britons was, nine killed, five taken priſoners, and the remaining eight leaped out of the windows, and made their eſcape over the bog of Allen.

A circumſtance attended the attack on Proſperous, which evinces the force of fanaticiſm even on perſons of enlightened minds, and of its baneful influence in extinguiſhing all religious and moral rectitude. Doctor Eſmond, brother to ſir Thomas Eſmond, was of a very antient popiſh family in the county of Wexford. He ſettled as a phyſician in the county of Kildare, where he had conſiderable practice, till he married a lady with ſo large a fortune, that he became indifferent about the emoluments ariſing from his profeſſion. Joined to a handſome countenance, and a very good figure, he had ſuch urbanity

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* Davis's affidavit.

urbanity of manner, and ſuch attractive convivial qualities, that he was regarded as a very pleaſing companion. In conſequence of theſe mental and perſonal qualifications, Mrs. Eſmond became enamoured of him. In private life, he was conſidered as honourable and humane; but on this occaſion, he yielded to the deluſions of bigotry, which rendered him a traitor to his king, and inſpired him with a malignant deſire of ſubverting the beſt conſtitution in the univerſe, and of erecting, on its ruins, the pandemonium of France, with all its concominant horrors. Aſſuming the ſemblance of loyalty, he applauded the exertions of captain Swayne, and even cooperated with him in extinguiſhing that ſpirit of diſaffection, which prevailed among the inhabitants of Proſperous and its vicinity. He dined with him at an inn there on the twenty-third of May, and continued to enjoy the glow of ſocial mirth with him, till a few hours before the perpetration of that bloody ſcene, which he had for ſometime meditated.

> " Talibus inſidiis, perjurique arte Sinonis,
> " Credita res."

He was lieutenant of the Clane cavalry, commanded by captain Griffith, and he perſuaded many privates of the corps to deſert their colours, and to join him in the attack on Proſperous, which is about three miles from Clane.

ATTACK UPON CLANE BY THE REBELS.

The garriſon there, conſiſted of a company of the Armagh militia, commanded by captain Jephſon, and a few of the Clane yeomen cavalry. Early on the morning of the twenty-fourth of May, the main body of the rebels ſtole into the town unperceived; but a drummer and the trumpeter having been alarmed, the former, after beating a few ſtrokes of his drum, was driven into the guard-houſe; however, the trumpeter alarmed the garriſon.

Captain Jephſon, on looking out of his window, ſaw the ſtreets crowded with rebels, armed with different weapons : The ſoldiers, who were at billets in the town, endeavoured to come forth ; but as each houſe was beſet by a body of pikemen, they were obliged ſingly to fight their way through them ; and in attempting to do ſo, two of them were killed on the ſpot, and five were badly wounded. However, the remainder, notwithſtanding the ſurpriſe, aſſembled, and gallantly repulſed the rebels. In the ſecond attempt which they made, ſix rebels, dreſſed in the clothes and mounted on the horſes of the Ancient Britons, entered the town, with the view of impoſing themſelves as yeomen, an artifice which in ſome meaſure ſucceeded ; for captain Jephſon approached them, laid his hand on the neck of one of the horſes, and aſked the rider, whence he came ; on which he damned him, drew his ſabre, and made a cut at him ; for which he was inſtantly ſhot by one of the ſoldiers, and the remainder were wounded in their retreat.

About three o'clock captain Griffith received an expreſs at Millicent, his ſeat, by a yeoman, that a large body of rebels had attacked the guard of Clane : The captain arrived there in fifteen minutes, and found that, by the ſteady conduct of part of his troop, who were armed with carbines, which they uſed with good effect, the inſurgents had received ſuch a check, as to afford time to about forty of the Armagh to turn out. The yeomen and militia had not fired more than three rounds, when the rebels diſperſed ; and the captain, on his arrival, found the troops purſuing them, and burning the houſes on the common, in which they had taken refuge. They killed a good many of them, and took ſix priſoners of the popiſh perſuaſion, four of whom were captain Griffith's tenants. One of them was condemned and hanged at the drum-head in Clane ; the other five were hanged the ſame day at Naas.

At his return to Clane, about five in the morning, he heard of the carnage at Proſperous. On muſtering the guard, he found his ſecond lieutenant, a ſerjeant and ſeventeen privates, one of whom was ſeverely wounded; the other three had deſerted with their own arms, and thoſe belonging to other yeomen of his troop. He had hardly time to draw up the yeomen and militia in the ſtreet, when a party of rebels, mounted on the horſes and furniſhed with the arms and accoutrements of the Ancient Britons, made a charge into the town. By one volley they brought down ſix or ſeven of them; the remainder fled precipitately, and took ſhelter behind a ſtrong party of rebel infantry, which were approaching from Proſperous, and which made a formidable appearance, not ſo much from their numbers, though conſiderable, as from the brightneſs of their arms, and the ſcarlet coats and helmets of which they had plundered the ſoldiers at Proſperous.

As they were not ſtrong enough to attack ſo numerous a party, and thinking it diſhonourable to retreat, the captain, in concurrence with the militia officers, reſolved to take poſt on an elevated ſpot near the Commons, where they could not be ſurrounded or out-flanked; and there they waited for the enemy, who began a ſmart fire on them, but without effect, as the elevation was too great. Our troops, having returned the fire, killed and wounded a conſiderable number of them, on which they fled in great diſmay, and were charged by the captain and his ſixteen yeomen, who cut down many of thoſe whoſe heads were ornamented with the helmets of the Ancient Britons, or the hats of the Cork regiments. In their flight, they dropped a great quantity of pikes, pitch-forks, muſkets and ſabres.

He returned to Clane, refreſhed his men, and ſet out for Naas, whither he had orders to march; but a ſhort time before he left Clane, he was joined by one of his yeomen, of the name of Philip Mite, who ſecretly delivered him a letter, in which he communicated to him the conduct of Eſmond, who, he ſaid, had commanded at the attack of Proſperous; and that he (Mite) had accompanied him to the entrance of that town, and then made his eſcape. He had ſcarce received this intelligence, when Eſmond appeared and joined the troop, with his hair dreſſed, his boots and breeches quite clean, and fully accoutred. The captain had fortunately ſufficient command over himſelf, to repreſs his indignation on ſeeing him, and to hold his peace till he arrived at Naas, where, having drawn up his troop in front of the gaol, he committed Eſmond in five minutes after they halted.

When Mite was awakened, and was compelled to join the rebels, who were proceeding to Proſperous, he objected againſt attending them; on which Eſmond, who headed the party, deſired him to baniſh his fears, as, he ſaid, the maſs of the people of Ireland would riſe that night.

He was afterwards conveyed to Dublin, was tried by a court-martial, and convicted of high treaſon, on the cleareſt evidence, and was hanged on Carliſle bridge the fourteenth of June. He ſummoned captain Griffith to give evidence on his trial, and as it was not as favourable to the doctor as he and his friends expected, a banditti the next night but one plundered and damaged his property at Millicent to the amount of 3000l.

INSURRECTION NEAR DUNLAVIN.

On the night of the twenty-third of May, the rebels having broke open the gaol of Ballymore-euſtace, one of the priſoners, who made his eſcape, arrived at Dunlavin, and informed captain Ryves, who commanded a corps of yeomanry there, that the town would be attacked by a numerous body of rebels that night, or early in the morning.

At the dawn he perceived large columns of them moving round the adjacent country, and many proteſtant houſes on fire; and knowing, from the cruel and ſanguinary ſpirit which the rebels had diſplayed at Ballymore-euſtace, that they meditated the total extermination of all proteſtants and loyaliſts, he was driven to the neceſſity of adopting a meaſure, which nothing but motives of ſelf-preſervation and the emergency of the occaſion could juſtify. The only troops in Dunlavin were his corps of yeomen, and the light company of the Wicklow militia, commanded by captain Richardſon; and the number of priſoners confined in the gaol there for treaſon far exceeded that of the garriſon.

The captain marched out of the town with a party of yeomen cavalry to encounter the rebels; but they were ſo numerous and deſperate, that he was obliged to return, after ſome of his men had been piked.

The officers, having conferred for ſome time, were of opinion, that ſome of the yeomen who had been diſarmed, and were at that time in priſon for being notorious traitors, ſhould be ſhot. Nineteen therefore of the Saunders-grove corps, and nine of the Narramore, were immediately led out and ſuffered death.

It may be ſaid, in excuſe for this act of ſevere and ſummary juſtice, that they would have joined the numerous bodies of rebels who were moving round, and at that time threatened the town. At the ſame time they diſcharged the greater part of the priſoners, in conſideration of their former good characters.

ATTACK ON BALLYMORE-EUSTACE.

As the united Iriſhmen in the neighbourhood of Ballymore-euſtace were known to have an immenſe quantity of arms, captain Beevor was ſent there on the tenth of May with detachments of the ninth dragoons, the Tyrone, Antrim and Armagh militia, to compel a ſurrender of them, by living at free quarters. He had every reaſon to believe, that he had completely ſucceeded in the object of his miſſion, as he received three thouſand ſtand of arms of different deſcriptions ; and particularly, as, on the morning of the twenty-third of May, four ſerjeants of united Iriſhmen marched in their quota of men, eleven each, with their pikes on their ſhoulders, and received protections. As ſeveral committee-men had done the like on that and the preceding day, captain Beevor was ſo convinced that the people were ſincere in their profeſſions of renouncing their rebellious deſigns, and of returning to their habits of peaceful induſtry, that he ſent off one hundred and twenty men of his garriſon, and kept but about forty, to lighten the diſtreſs of the people, who were obliged to maintain them.

About the hour of one o'clock, he was awakened by the cry of a perſon, that the rebels would have his blood ; and on riſing, two men ruſhed into his bed-chamber, one armed with a piſtol, the other with a pike. The former, who fired at him, very fortunately miſſed him ; on which he ſeized a piſtol, which lay at his bed-ſide, and ſhot him through the body. The other made a lunge at him with his pike, which he ſtrove to avoid, and received but a ſlight wound in the ſhoulder. The ruffian, ſeeing that he was reaching for the ſecond piſtol, ſeized him in his arms, and carried him ſome way towards the head of the ſtairs, where he ſaw a number of pikemen ready to receive him ; but, being ſuperior to him in ſtrength, he got his arms looſe, reſcued himſelf, and dragged the rebel into a room, where a yeoman was ſtanding with his ſword drawn, and whom he ſolicited to run him through the body, but he never offered to ſtir. It appears that he was a papiſt, and was afterwards diſmiſſed from his corps for noted diſaffection.

At that moment, lieutenant Patrickſon arrived, and ran him through the body. The pikemen, at the foot of the ſtairs, finding that their two comrades had been killed, were making off, but were met by ſome of the dragoons, who were rallying from all points round the captain's quarters, and who killed moſt of them. Twenty-eight dragoons joined the captain and took poſt in his houſe, which was attacked for near two hours by a large body of rebels, whom they at length repulſed, after having killed a number of them.

In the mean time, the rebels ſet fire to ſeveral houſes in which the ſoldiers were quartered; and, aſſiſted by the owners, who treacherouſly ſecreted their arms, murdered ſeven dragoons and four of the Tyrone militia, and deſperately wounded three of the former, and two of the latter.

At length, captain Beevor ſallied out with twelve dragoons, and routed them in every direction. Lieutenant Mc. Farland, of the Tyrone militia, a moſt excellent officer, was ſhot through the body and died.

They entered the houſe of Mr. Henderſon, a revenue officer and a proteſtant, and ſhot him in his bed.

Next morning they took a rebel priſoner, who gave the following information, as to their number and their mode of attack: The ſoldiers were quartered in eight different houſes, each of which was to be attacked at the ſame moment, by the ſignal of a gun fired in the church-yard. The number of the aſſailants was eight hundred. They loſt three captains, and near one hundred men. Captain Beevor's ſervant was ſhot in his bed. He, lieutenant Patrickſon, cornet Maxwell, and all the privates of the dragoons and the militia, diſplayed ſingular ſpirit and intrepidity againſt ſo great a ſuperiority of numbers. *

INSURRECTION AT KILDARE. †

For ſome days previous to the twenty-third of May, the inhabitants of Kildare and the adjacent country continued in great numbers to ſurrender arms, to take oaths of allegiance, and to obtain protections.

About

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* Had captain Beevor whipped one or two vagabonds a day or two before this woeful event, he would have diſcovered and averted it.

† Plate I. 7.

About two o'clock in the afternoon of that day, general Wilford ordered the troops under his command at Kildare to march to Kilcullen, for the purpoſe of reinforcing general Dundas, who had had an engagement with the rebels.

John Conſtable, a private of captain Neville's corps of yeomen cavalry, who conveyed the orders to him for that purpoſe from general Dundas, was ſhot outſide the town; yet he lived to deliver his diſpatch, but dropped dead ſoon after.

On leaving the town, general Wilford ordered Mr. Cooper, innholder, to collect his baggage, and that of the Suffolk fencibles, and to lodge them in the guard-houſe. He alſo ſent orders to captain Winter, commanding a detachment of the Suffolk, and a ſmall party of the 9th dragoons at Monaſtereven, to follow him.

When captain Winter arrived at Kildare, he received written orders from the general, to burn all the camp equipage lodged at Kildare; but Mr. O'Reilly, late major of the Kildare, having repreſented to him the danger of ſetting fire to the town, and having informed him that its inhabitants would protect the baggage, which they treacherouſly promiſed to do, he deſiſted from burning it.

In about an hour after the king's troops had left the town, the inhabitants rung the market-bell, as a ſignal for a general inſurrection, which accordingly took place.

About two thouſand † rebels, headed by one Roger Mc. Garry, marched into the town, and ſeized all the officers' baggage and the camp equipage, which had been lodged in the guard-houſe, and a conſiderable quantity of pikes and fire-arms, which they had ſurrendered a few days before, as a proof of their ſincerity to renounce their treaſonable deſigns, which they promiſed by oath to do. The proteſtant inhabitants, fearing that they ſhould be maſſacred, immediately fled to Naas or Monaſtereven, for protection, and on their departure, their houſes and their property were plundered and deſtroyed. Mr. Cooper loſt to the amount of 2000 l. in Kildare and the Curragh.

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† Their pikes had croſſes painted on them.

The following horrid circumſtances attended the murder of George Crawford, and his grandchild of the age of fourteen years. He had formerly ſerved ſo long in the fifth dragoons, as to be entitled to a penſion, and was at that time a permanent ſerjeant in captain Taylor's corps of yeomen cavalry. He, his wife, and granddaughter, were ſtopped by a party of the rebels as they were endeavouring to make their eſcape, and were reproached with the appellation of hereticks, becauſe they were of the proteſtant religion. One of them ſtruck his wife with a muſket, and another gave her a ſtab of a pike in the back, with an intent of murdering her. Her huſband, having endeavoured to ſave her, was knocked down, and received ſeveral blows of a firelock, which diſabled him from making his eſcape. While they were diſputing whether they ſhould kill them, ſhe ſtole behind a hedge, and concealed herſelf. They then maſſacred her huſband with pikes; and her granddaughter having thrown herſelf on his body to protect him, received ſo many wounds in the breaſt, the head, and thighs, that ſhe ſoon after expired. Theſe circumſtances of atrocity have been verified by affidavit ſworn by Crawford's widow the twentieth day of Auguſt, 1798, before alderman Jenkin. The fidelity of a large dog, belonging to this poor man, deſerves to be recorded, as he attacked theſe ſanguinary monſters, and fought bravely in defence of his maſter, till he fell by his ſide, perforated with pikes.

Mr. James Williams, a revenue officer, of the proteſtant religion, having made his eſcape, they plundered his houſe, and deſtroyed his property; and having hung up his favourite dog, they fired many ſhots at it, lamenting at the ſame time, that they had not an opportunity of treating his heretick maſter in the ſame manner.

About eleven o'clock that night, they ſtopped and plundered the Limerick mail-coach, and maſſacred one of the paſſengers, lieutenant William Giffard of the 82d regiment, and ſon to captain John Giffard of the royal Dublin regiment. The ſavages, having ſhot one of the horſes ſo as effectually to prevent the coach from proceeding, demanded of lieutenant Giffard, who, and what he was? to which he anſwered without heſitation, that he was an officer, proceeding on his way to Chatham, in obedience to orders he had received. They demanded, whether he was a proteſtant? and being anſwered in the affirmative, they held a moment's conſultation, and then told him, that they wanted officers; that if he would take an oath to be true to them, and join them in an attack to be made next morning upon Monaſtereven, they would give him a command, but otherwiſe he muſt die. To this the gallant youth replied, that he had already ſworn allegiance to the king; that he would never offend God Almighty by a breach of that oath; nor would he diſgrace himſelf by turning a deſerter, and joining the king's enemies; that he could not ſuppoſe an army of men would be ſo cruel as to murder an individual who had never injured them, and who was merely paſſing through them to a country from whence poſſibly he never would return; but if they inſiſted on this propoſal, he muſt die; for he never could conſent to it. This brave and yet pathetick anſwer, which would have kindled ſentiments of generous humanity in any breaſts but thoſe of Iriſh rebels, had directly the contrary effect upon them: With the utmoſt fury they aſſaulted him; he had a caſe of pocket piſtols, which his natural courage, and the love of life, though hopeleſs, prompted him to uſe with effect. Being uncommonly active, he burſt from them, and vaulting over a ſix-feet wall, he made towards an houſe where he ſaw light, and heard people talking. Alas! it afforded no refuge! it was the houſe of poor Crawford, whom, with his granddaughter, as before mentioned, they had juſt piked for being proteſtants. A band of the barbarians, returning from this exploit, met lieutenant Giffard; there he fell, covered with wounds and with glory; and his mangled body was thrown into the ſame ditch with honeſt Crawford and his innocent grandchild. Thus he expired, at the age of ſeventeen, a martyr to religion and honour, whoſe memory will ever be reſpected by the virtuous and the brave!

While theſe blood-hounds continued their ſanguinary orgies in the night, they conſtantly exclaimed againſt hereticks and orangemen.

About one o'clock in the morning, they marched for Monaſtereven, from thirteen to fifteen hundred in number, and commanded by captain Mc. Garry.

As by far the greater part of the popiſh members of the yeomen corps in the county of Kildare joined the rebels, or were known to be diſaffected, I think it right to mention that fourteen of that perſuaſion in the Monaſtereven corps, much to their honour, ſhewed on all occaſions the utmoſt fidelity to their king and country. *

In their march to Monaſtereven, they killed ſuch proteſtants as they could lay their hands on, and plundered their houſes. They gave many wounds with a pike to Thomas Birch, pariſh clerk of Kildangan, a man above eighty years old; and then drove him into his houſe, which they ſet fire to, with an intent to burn him; but he eſcaped out of the back door, and recovered afterwards.

They murdered dean Keatinge's pariſh clerk, a very old man; and they took a proteſtant boy of the name of Higginbotham to their camp at Knockallin, and ſhot him there. They piked one Miley, a carpenter, near Dunlavin, and major Ponſonby's

ſervant,

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* Mr. John Caſſidy, a brewer of that town, and a Romaniſt, ſhewed ſingular zeal on all occaſions, as a loyaliſt, in that corps.

ſervant, one of the fifth dragoon guards, as he was croſſing the Curragh.

ATTACK UPON MONASTEREVEN.*

In this town there was a corps of yeomen cavalry, another of infantry. Having received intelligence on the twenty-fourth of May, that one of their members was barbarouſly murdered, and that another was a priſoner with the rebels, they made circuits of ſeveral miles round the country, to give the loyal inhabitants an opportunity of retreating to the town. They met great numbers of rebels repairing to their reſpective leaders, with whom they had ſome ſkirmiſhes, and in one of which they were ſo fortunate as to reſcue three ſoldiers of the Ancient Britons, part of a detachment from Kildare, conſiſting of a warrant officer, and four privates, one of whom they had barbarouſly murdered. One of the troop, who raſhly purſued ſome rebels too far into a bog, received many deſperate pike wounds. In their circuit they repaired to the houſe of Mr. Darragh, for the purpoſe of eſcorting him and his family to Monaſtereven; but he was in ſuch imminent danger, and ſuch excruciating pain, that he could not be removed.†

Between four and five o'clock in the morning, one of the videts galloped into the town, with intelligence that the rebels were advancing; one column approached by the canal, covering the road to a great extent, and was oppoſed by the infantry, commanded by lieutenant Bagot, who ordered his men to preſent; and the rebels having ſuddenly halted, the infantry recovered their arms and advanced, on which the rebels retreated, with an intention of attacking the town in another quarter.

The cavalry, commanded by captain Hayſtead, then came forward, turned down the road towards the turnpike, and fell in with another body, whom they routed, after killing many of them.

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* Plate I. 7.

† See the attempt on his life, vol. i. p. 241.

The third column advanced into the main ſtreet, where the action became very ſerious.

The infantry maintained a warm and well-directed fire on the rebels, and at laſt broke them.

The cavalry, taking advantage of their confuſion, charged them, and purſuing the fugitives, killed and wounded a great number of them; no leſs than ſixty rebels lay dead in the ſtreets. On the part of the loyal yeomen, John Nicholſon, Chriſtopher Cox, John Pilſworth, Edward Simpſon, and Richard Hetherington, and nine horſes, were killed.

I think it is a tribute due to the memory of theſe brave men, that their names ſhould be recorded in the page of hiſtory. It redounds much to the honour of the Monaſtereven yeomanry, that they defended their town againſt thirteen hundred rebels, well appointed with arms, without the aſſiſtance of the militia or regular troops.

A prieſt of the name of Prendergaſt was hanged at Monaſtereven, having been convicted on the cleareſt evidence of being deeply concerned in the rebellion.

A day or two before it broke out, he called on a proteſtant gentleman in its vicinity, for whom he had a particular regard, and informed him, that he was very deſirous of ſaving him and his wife; but that he feared it would be impoſſible to do ſo, unleſs they would conſent to be chriſtened, to confeſs to him, and to embrace the Roman catholick religion; that on ſuch terms he would ſave alſo his brother; but that he could not ſave his wife, as ſhe was an orangewoman. *

When the rebels were entering the town of Monaſtereven, they attacked, and were on the point of breaking into the houſe of Mr. John Chriſtian, with a deſign of murdering him, his family, Charles Bowen, eſquire, and his lady, Mr. and Mrs. Chriſtian

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* By this he alluded to her being ſiſter to a gentleman of noted loyalty, who was very active in checking the progreſs of the conſpiracy.

and their child, all proteſtants; but were driven from it by the fire of the yeomen.

On the twenty-fourth of May, while Mr. Darragh of Eagle-hill was lying on the bed of pain and ſickneſs, his houſe at Eagle-hill was attacked by a numerous body of rebels, who came from their camp at Knockallin-hill, about three miles off. It was defended by Mr. Dalton, his brother-in-law, Mr. Bolton his ſurgeon, two other gentlemen, two ſoldiers, and two ſervants; the whole under the direction of Mr. Dalton, who fought with great bravery, the reſt of his domeſticks having joined the rebels. They had juſt time to place the barricadoes to the windows, which Mr. Darragh had been obliged to make uſe of to defend his houſe for twelve months before, and to diſtribute the ammunition. As the rebels approached the houſe, they ſent forth a terrifick yell, like ſavages, and ſwore they would carry off, on their pikes, all the heads of the inmates. They had but two guns, three piſtols, and two ſwords, beſides the ſoldiers muſkets, for their defence. A furious aſſault was made immediately on the houſe, and many vollies were fired into the windows of the ground floor, and middle ſtory; and ſome balls found their way through the port-holes into the drawing-room, where Mr. Darragh lay, accompanied by Mrs. Darragh, her mother, ſiſter, the maid ſervant, two men ſervants, and two ſoldiers. They were ſo fortunate as to rout the whole party, after killing and wounding a great number of them. The rebels carried off all the killed, except one ruffian, who fell when he was endeavouring to break open, with his pike, a window near the hall. He had in his pocket captain Swayne's protection, in conſequence of having taken the oath of allegiance, and ſurrendered a pike, a few days before; and the following prayer:

"My God, I offer unto thee my ſleep, ſubmitting it with a pure intention to thy holy will; and that I may recover new vigour to ſerve thee.* I wiſh that every breath I am to take this night, may be an act of praiſe and love of the divine Majeſty, like the happy breathings of the ſaints and angels who never ſleep; and ſo I compoſe myſelf to ſleep in the arms of my Saviour."

This wretch lived about a mile and a half from Eagle-hill, and had a ſhort time before been brought through a malignant fever, and his life ſaved, by the benevolent aſſiſtance of Mrs. Darragh, who ſupplied him with medicines, wine, and other neceſſaries and comforts.

He kept a ſchool, and a nightly roſary, which was ſome ſuperſtitious inſtitution like the ſcapular, that ſerved as a vehicle for treaſon.

ATTACK ON RATHANGAN.

On Thurſday morning the twenty-fourth day of May, the inhabitants of the country for ſome miles round Rathangan were in a ſtate of inſurrection; and as they approached the town, towards evening, in great bodies, and with much vociferation, captain Langton, who was quartered there with a company of the South Cork militia, fearing that he ſhould be ſurpriſed and cut off, kept patroles all that night on the different avenues leading to it, which was very fortunate, as they had ſkirmiſhes with, and repulſed different parties of the rebels who were advancing towards the town. Purſuant to orders which he had received from general Wilford, he would have marched that day to Sallins; but he was perſuaded to remain there by Mr. Spenſer, who promiſed to excuſe him to the general, and who ſent a Mr. Gatchell to Kilcullen for that purpoſe.

On his arrival there, he found that it had been evacuated by the king's troops, and was in poſſeſſion of the rebels, who attacked and endeavoured to ſeize him; but he narrowly eſcaped, after having been ſeverely wounded. He received intelligence on the road, that the mail-coach had been deſtroyed near Naas by the rebels; who, in large bodies, had been deſolating the preceding night all the country contiguous to thoſe towns with fire and ſword.

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* Every popiſh rebel imagined that he ſerved his God in oppoſing a proteſtant, or injuring his proteſtant fellow-ſubjects.

The loyal inhabitants of Rathangan were in the utmoſt conſternation all that night, as they could diſcern, from the tops of their houſes, a great number of habitations on fire in the adjacent country; and their owners, who were all proteſtants, came flocking into the town, after having narrowly eſcaped with their lives. They could alſo perceive multitudes of the rebels moving round the fires; and could hear them uttering the moſt dreadful ſhouts and yells.

Captain Langton, having received a peremptory order from general Dundas, marched from Rathangan on Friday, about three o'clock in the afternoon, and endeavoured to perſuade Mr. Spenſer to accompany him, as he was very obnoxious to the rebels, from his noted loyalty; but he reſiſted his earneſt entreaties.

The inhabitants remained under arms on Friday night, expecting to be attacked every moment. It was not until Saturday the twenty-ſixth, about three o'clock, that the rebels, in great numbers, and variouſly armed, entered the town; of whom the principal part approached and ſurrounded Mr. Spenſer's houſe, which he had barricadoed, and introduced into it ſome of his labourers, in whom he thought he could confide, and three proteſtant farmers, two of them yeomen. They broke in the window-ſhutters with the but-ends of their muſkets, and thruſt into the rooms large quantities of burning ſtraw, on the end of their pikes. They alſo ſet fire to the back-door, and to the windows of the under-ground offices. Mr. Spenſer, perceiving that reſiſtance would be fruitleſs, aſſured them, from a window in the firſt floor, that he would quietly ſurrender his arms,

arms. Having deſired him to deſcend, he complied with their wiſhes, and approached them in a moſt reſpectful conciliating manner; on which a fellow of the name of Doorley, to whoſe family Mr. Spenſer had always been very kind, and whoſe brother was a yeoman in his corps, approached him with a menacing aſpect, and flouriſhed a ſcymitar over his head, uſing at the ſame time ſome inſolent and opprobrious language. Mr. Spenſer aſked him, "What he had ever done to offend him?" Doorley replied, "You would not give me a protection againſt the ſoldiers, when they came into this country upon free quarters." Mr. Spenſer aſſured him, "That he would have done ſo, if he had applied to him for that purpoſe."

Mr. Spenſer, perceiving that they began to grow turbulent and furious, retired into his houſe, and was purſued by a party of them, who murdered him on his ſtair-caſe, having ſhot him through the head, and mangled his body with pikes in a moſt ſavage manner. They then carried it out and laid it on the ground, in the front of the houſe, as if to ſatisfy the rebel multitude, that their wiſhes had been accompliſhed. Next day the ſervants obtained permiſſion to bury it; but without a coffin.

Thus this worthy gentleman, who was an active and intelligent magiſtrate, and as remarkable for the amiableneſs and affability of his manners, as the benevolence of his heart, fell a ſacrifice to the fanaticiſm of thoſe ſavages, to whom he had been unremittingly a kind and generous benefactor.

As his houſe was a ſhort diſtance from the town, Mrs. Spenſer, who was led to it in the midſt of theſe monſters, had the anguiſh to ſee the mangled corpſe of her huſband lying at his door.

When they killed him, they proceeded to maſſacre George Moore, James his ſon, and John Heaſlip his ſon-in-law, the three proteſtants who were in the houſe;

houſe: The labourers joined the mob, and were not injured; for their religion preſerved them.

Mr. Spenſer was captain of a yeoman corps, which made him hateful to the rebels, who were joined by almoſt the whole of the popiſh members of his troop. Of theſe, Martin Hinds, to whom he had been ſingularly kind and generous, and Molloy, an opulent farmer, who was his ſecond lieutenant, became leaders among the inſurgents.

Mr. Moore, his firſt lieutenant, was an Engliſh gentleman, who had long ſerved with reputation in the king's ſervice, and had retired to Rathangan, a very pretty village, in which a few reſpectable families formed a pleaſant ſociety. On the approach of the rebels, he and about fifteen of the yeomen infantry, together with a few loyal inhabitants, retreated into the houſe of Mr. Neal, a quaker, as it was more defenſible than his own. They aſked him to ſurrender his arms, having aſſured him that his perſon ſhould not be injured.

For ſome time having refuſed to comply, Mrs. Spenſer, and ſome more reſpectable females, went to the front of the houſe, and on their knees beſought him to accept of the terms offered by the rebels; from a conviction that reſiſtance would be vain, and that it would terminate in the deſtruction of the beſieged. They at laſt acceded to the terms which had been deluſively offered; but theſe amiable females found, alas! that they had been deceived by theſe bloodhounds, whoſe cruelty could be equalled by nothing but their treachery; for they murdered every proteſtant in the houſe, by leading them into the ſtreet, and butchering them with ſavage exultation: But it is remarkable, that they did not injure a ſingle papiſt whom they found there.

They led Mr. Moore about the ſtreets, mocking and inſulting him. His wife, who lay-in three days before, had been removed to the houſe of captain Grattan five or ſix hours previous to the maſſacre; and, having conducted him oppoſite to it, they reſolved to aſſaſſinate him there, to encreaſe the bitterneſs of death, and to wound the feelings of his innocent wife, whoſe ſenſibility was heightened by the delicacy of her ſituation; but ſome of the ſavages, more humane than the reſt, objected to that refinement in cruelty. They then led him to another part of the town, and ſhot him; and ſoon after they maſſacred ſix proteſtants who had been in Mr. Neal's houſe with him; of whom the youngeſt, of the name of Foſter, was but fourteen years old.

One of the Foſters eſcaped in the following manner: While they were torturing his brother, he reſcued himſelf by main force, darted from them into an adjoining houſe, cloſed the door, and got into a little cloſet under the ſtairs, where he remained above forty hours, almoſt double; and when the ſavage pikemen purſued him, the maid ſervant humanely ſaid, that he paſſed through the houſe, and made his eſcape; for which inſtance of humanity ſhe merited the greateſt applauſe, as it might have brought on her the vengeance of the rebels, particularly as ſhe was a Roman catholick.

On the whole, they murdered nineteen proteſtants in that little village, and ſome of them with ſuch circumſtances of cruelty, as nothing but fanaticiſm, operating on the moſt barbarous ignorance, could dictate.

They cut off the arm of Robinſon, a carpenter of the proteſtant perſuaſion, before they put a period to his exiſtence.

On firing at one Whelan, a proteſtant, he fell to the ground, and then received many pike wounds; yet he recovered and is ſtill alive. The ruffian who fired at him exclaimed, "There goes a proteſtant!"

They killed one Coyle a ſhoemaker, far advanced in years, becauſe he could not croſs himſelf; but on finding him to be a heretick, they compelled him to croſs himſelf as well as he could with his left hand, ſuperſtitiouſly believing, that the doing ſo would inevitably doom him to eternal damnation.

They were inclined to kill Mr. Dawſon, a proteſtant gentleman, who lived at Rathangan; but ſome of them objected to it, and ſaid, ‘ He is married to one of us,’ meaning a papiſt.

A woman urged them to kill doctor Bagot, an aged and infirm gentleman, who never denied medical aſſiſtance to the poor. One of the rebels objected to it, and ſaid, he is a good man: She replied, ‘ You ſhould get rid of him; for his children ſing ‘ Croppies, lie down.’ However, they led him out to execution, and compelled him to wear a green wreath in his hat; but his wife ſaved him, by ſaying, he would be uſeful in dreſſing their wounds. There is not a doubt but that he would have ſhared the fate of the other proteſtant inhabitants of Rathangan, if they had not hoped to avail themſelves of his ſkill as a ſurgeon; for, through the courſe of the rebellion, they were careful of the lives of ſuch perſons as were verſed in the medical art.

Theſe ſavages continued all night to expreſs the joy which they felt at their ſucceſs, by ſhouts and yells, uttered with barbarous diſſonance, and to boaſt of their achievements in the preſence of thoſe perſons whoſe relations they had maſſacred.

The following expreſſions were related to me by ſome ladies of undoubted veracity, who heard them uttered by theſe cannibals: “ We have got rid of our friends, and have ſent their ſouls jumping to hell.” “ We have at laſt got what we had a right to, our own county to ourſelves,” * meaning the county of Kildare.

One of them, ſoon after the murder of Mr. Spenſer, aſked one of his ſervants, whether they were all Roman catholicks? and on ſaying they were, the houſekeeper excepted, he replied, ‘ The bitch muſt be put an end to.’

Lieutenant-

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* The popiſh multitude are taught to believe, that the proteſtants have no right to reſide in Ireland, or to any property in it.

Lieutenant-colonel Mahon of the 7th dragoon guards, marched to the relief of the town, on Monday the twenty-eighth of May, with a detachment of his regiment, and ſome yeomen cavalry from Tullamore, which is ſeventeen miles from Rathangan. Some time before he arrived there, he divided the ſquadron into two parts, with a view of approaching the town by two different roads, in order to ſurround the rebels. One party arriving firſt, paſſed through it without any moleſtation, and having joined the other, they returned to ſee that every thing was right; but in paſſing through it, they received a moſt tremendous fire of muſketry from the windows, by which three men were killed, and eleven were wounded; and ſix horſes were killed, and twelve were wounded. It is ſurpriſing that they eſcaped ſo well, as the ſquadron, conſiſting of eighty, were cloſe together; but the great duſt which they raiſed prevented them in ſome meaſure from being ſeen. Lieutenant Malone, whoſe horſe was ſhot under him in the ſtreet, became their priſoner, and had a narrow eſcape, as he was ſhot through his clothes, and there were many ſhots in his ſaddle and holſters. One of the ſavages was ſeen to give many ſtabs of a bayonet to one of the dragoon horſes which lay dead in the ſtreets; and every time he repeated them, exclaimed, " Take that, proteſtant!"

On Monday morning one James Curry, a leader of them, and ſuppoſed to be a muſter-maſter, cried out in the ſtreets, " What is become of the boys of Coolelan and Ballinure?* damn them, ſtick them to the heart, for not joining us." The ſavages ſwore vehemently that they would do ſo; and ſaid, we are the boys that will do their buſineſs. That villain was between ſixty and ſeventy; he was hanged in two hours after.

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* Two town-lands in the county of Kildare. The inhabitants of every town-land were regularly enrolled and regiſtered.

They fired up into the ſteeple of the church, ſuppoſing that Wilſon the ſexton was there; but he lay concealed in a hay loft, and eluded their ſavage fury.

On Sunday, one of their leaders, mounted on Mr. Spenſer's horſe with all his accoutrements, arrived at Rathangan; and after haranguing them ſome time, ſaid, "Let there be no more bloodſhed, as we have got poſſeſſion of the caſtle and the barrack of Dublin."

They frequently boaſted of the murders they had committed. A young man having declared vauntingly, in the preſence of Mrs. Watſon, that he killed captain Moore, and committed other barbarities; ſhe, who is a quaker, and has much religious fortitude, exclaimed: "Oh! thou wretch! If thou art ſo great a monſter at thy age, what muſt thy father be?"

On Monday afternoon, the city of Cork militia, under colonel Longfield, with a detachment of dragoons, and two field-pieces, approached Rathangan. The rebels ſhewed the utmoſt terror and conſternation; ſome were for giving battle, others for abandoning the town; one was heard to ſay, "Thank God, I heard three maſſes yeſterday!" A large party of them called out for holy water; and having obtained it, retired to Mrs. Pym's yard, went on their knees, and were ſprinkled with it.

Lieutenant-colonel Longfield having appeared at ſome diſtance from the town, the rebels ſent a man on horſeback, with a flag of truce, towards him; and major Millar having advanced to meet him, received a letter from him for the commanding officer; importing that they would inſtantly put Mr. Malone their priſoner, to death, if the king's troops did not retire; but the colonel, diſregarding their menace, advanced precipitately, after having fired ſome diſcharges of round ſhot at the town, which diſlodged the rebels, and put them to flight; and ſuch was their confuſion, that they fled without injuring Mr. Malone.

Colonel Longfield obtained ample vengeance for the death of the loyaliſts, having killed in the attack and the purſuit between fifty and ſixty rebels, and hung ſome of their leaders, who fell into his hands; among whom was Molloy, Mr. Spenſer's renegado lieutenant.

They were on the point of hanging one Keogh, a glazier, who had been active among the rebels at Mr. Spenſer's houſe. Having pleaded that he was compelled by force to join them, they ſpared his life; but obliged him to execute thoſe whom they ſentenced to death.

When the military appeared, the rebels had begun to ſtrip the lead from the roof of the church, for the purpoſe of making bullets; and then they intended to have burned it.

Doorley owned afterwards, that in one day more they would have put all the proteſtant women and children to death, if the king's troops had not arrived; and there is every reaſon to think ſo, as their fanatical fury, inflamed by conſtant ebriety, had fermented to a very high pitch.

The barbarous treatment of Michael Shenſtone, a proteſtant, deſerves to be circumſtantially related. He was led into the ſtreet, with the other unfortunate proteſtants, and received eighteen ſtabs of pikes.

A woman of the name of Farrel, who was infamouſly active in this ſanguinary buſineſs, informed them, that they did not know how to kill orangemen; on which a ruffian ſtepped forward, and trampled on the dead and dying. He then put a piſtol cloſe to Shenſtone's hand, and the ball entering near the ear, came out under the eye, having fractured the cheek-bone in a moſt ſhocking manner. In ſome hours after he was put into a cart with the bodies of ſeventeen proteſtants who had been murdered, and was conveyed to the church-yard to be interred; but ſome alarm preventing it, he remained among the dead that night. Next morning, at the interceſſion of ſome of the rebels, his body was delivered to his wiſe, by whoſe care and proper medical aſſiſtance he recovered, and regained the uſe of his limbs. Theſe facts were related to me by a gentleman who ſaw Shenſtone ſoon after; and they have been verified by his affidavit, ſworn before Oliver Nelſon a magiſtrate, and by Mr. Bayly, curate of Rathangan, and Mr. Pym, his landlord.

I ſhall mention here an incident, which throws great light on the ſpirit of the conſpiracy and rebellion, and the ſecret deſigns of the great body of the rebels. One Dennis, an apothecary and a proteſtant, was the county delegate, and the chief conductor of the plot in the King's county,* which was to have exploded in a few days; but the wanton maſſacre of proteſtants at Proſperous and Rathangan having convinced him that their extirpation was the main object of the Romaniſts, though they had with ſingular diſſimulation concealed it from him, who was their leader, he repaired to Tullamore to general Dunn, who commanded in that diſtrict, threw himſelf on the mercy of government, expoſed the whole plot, and the names of the captains, who were immediately arreſted. He ſaid to the general, "I ſee, ſir, that it will ſoon be my own fate."

ATTACK ON KILCULLEN.†

For a fortnight or three weeks previous to the twenty-third of May, the rebels continued to take oaths of allegiance, and to obtain protections, in conſequence of having ſurrendered pikes and muſkets, which they did to the number of between ten and fifteen thouſand, to general Dundas, who reſided at Caſtlemartin, within half a mile of Kilcullen-bridge. In conſequence of this, the civil magiſtrates, and the officers, were thoroughly convinced that the diſaffected had completely renounced their rebellious deſigns.

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* Plate I. 7.

† Ibid.

A perſon aſſured me, that he rode alone on the morning of the twenty-third of May, from Tallagh-hill to Kilcullen-bridge, without ſeeing any perſons on the roads or in the fields; and yet at four o'clock in the afternoon, Mr. Robert Douglaſs of Gormanſtown, came into Kilcullen, and informed the garriſon, that about three hundred rebels had aſſembled at the Rath of Gilltown the preceding night; and that he was very well informed, that they meant in a large body to attack the town, and to take general Dundas priſoner by ſurpriſe. In conſequence of this intelligence, patrols were ſent to all the avenues leading to the town, and the army and the yeomanry were ordered to be in readineſs.

At half paſt eight, two of captain Latouche's corps, John Farange and Hugh Gribbin, were ſent expreſs to Ballymore-euſtace, to appriſe the garriſon there of the riſing. About midway, they fell in with five hundred pikemen, at a ſudden turn of the road. They knocked Gribbin off his horſe, and gave him ſeveral ſtabs of pikes; however he is ſince recovered. Farnage returned, and entered the town, crying aloud, "To arms!"

About twelve o'clock, a priſoner was brought in, who, on being whipped, confeſſed, that the rebels were at that time on the point of attacking Naas.

The town remained quiet till ſeven next morning, when general Dundas ordered forty cavalry of the 9th dragoons, and the Romneys, and twenty-two of the Suffolk fencibles, commanded by captain Beale, whoſe conduct merited the higheſt praiſe, to proceed to Old Kilcullen, where the rebels were aſſembled. Three hundred of them were ſtrongly entrenched in the church-yard, which was defended on one ſide by a high wall; on the other, by a quickſet hedge, with a dyke before it.

General Dundas ordered the Romneys and the 9th dragoons to charge the rebels, though it was up-hill, though the ground was broken, and many of the rebels were in a road cloſe to the church-yard, in which not more than ſix of the cavalry could advance in front.

They however charged with great ſpirit, though their deſtruction was conſidered by all the ſpectators to be the certain and inevitable conſequence of it; for what could cavalry do, thus broken and divided, againſt a firm phalanx of rebels, armed with very long pikes; nevertheleſs, they made three charges, but were repulſed in each; and at every repulſe the general urged them to renew the attack.

It was with the utmoſt difficulty that captain Cooks and captain Erſkine could prevail upon their men to renew the charge, after the firſt defeat. In the laſt charge, captain Cooks, to inſpire his men with courage by his example, advanced ſome yards before them; when his horſe, having received many wounds, fell upon his knees; and while in that ſituation, the body of that brave officer was perforated with pikes; and, he, captain Erſkine, and twenty-two privates, were killed on the ſpot, and ten ſo badly wounded, that moſt of them died ſoon after.

Had general Dundas waited for the arrival of twenty-two of the Suffolk fencibles, who were advancing, and joined them in a very ſhort time, that affair would have had a more fortunate iſſue.

Captain Beale, who commanded the Suffolk fencibles, with great coolneſs advanced within thirty yards of the rebels, broke and diſperſed them with one well-directed volley, every ſhot having taken place.

General Dundas, defeated at Old Kilcullen, retired with his little force to the village of Kilcullen-bridge, where he halted for ſome time; but the rebels, elate with their ſucceſs, determined to follow up their victory with vigour, and knowing that they could not hope to force the ſtrong and narrow paſs of Kilcullen-bridge, defended by regular troops, they took a circuitous route, and fording the Liffey a little below Caſtle-martin, marched up to the Turnpike-hill, and took a poſition between Kilcullen and Naas,* with intent to cut off general Dundas and his forces from the poſſibility of retreating.

The general upon this occaſion put himſelf at the head of twenty-ſeven Suffolk fencible infantry, his cavalry in the rear, and marched boldly up to the rebels, whoſe ſucceſs had encreaſed their numbers to many thouſands.

The rebels were drawn up in a regular line, three deep, with three ſtands of green colours. They began the attack by firing four rounds, accompanied with loud ſhouts. They were broken and diſperſed by the ſecond or third diſcharge of the Suffolk fencibles; on which the cavalry charged, routed them, and killed great numbers in the purſuit.

Mr. Latouche's corps made a diſtinguiſhed figure in this affair, in which three hundred rebels were killed.

After the engagement, general Dundas abandoned Kilcullen, and marched to Naas, for the purpoſe of concentering the forces under his command, as near the metropolis as poſſible; having well-grounded apprehenſions, that it would be attacked by the enemy in great force.

Soon after the general marched from Kilcullen, the rebels plundered all the houſes of the proteſtants in it and its vicinity, and murdered ſuch of the inhabitants as could not make their eſcape. They killed quarter-maſter King of the 9th dragoons, a man ſeventy years old, who remained behind in the town; and two dragoons of the ſame regiment, who guarded the reverend doctor Cramer's houſe, were treacherouſly murdered by ſome wretches who were drinking with them. They piked out one eye of a Mrs. Burchell, aged ninety; they alſo aſſaſſinated ſome wounded ſoldiers who had been left in the town, and a Mr. John Cheney at Donard. All the preteſtants near Kilcullen, who were ſo fortunate as to

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* Fourteen miles to the ſouth of Dublin, Plate I. 7.

to eſcape from the ſavage rebels, fled to Naas, where they remained ſome days in the utmoſt diſtreſs.

On the twenty-fifth of May, the houſe of the reverend Henry Anneſley of Newpark, was ſurrounded by a party of rebels, headed by one Hetherington of Kildare, who, after taking a plentiful repaſt, and plundering it of proviſions and various articles, ſet fire to it, and eight out-offices, which were ſoon conſumed.

One of the leaders of this party was Laurence Byrne, a blackſmith, who lived under and was kindly protected by Mr. Anneſley's family, at Ballyſax. This ruffian made ſeveral attempts to ſtab him with a pike, but was prevented. He repaired the ſame evening to Ballyſax, with a cocked piſtol, and compelled Mr. Anneſley and his nephew to go to Knockallin camp.

All the proteſtant clergy in the county of Kildare, except one,* were obliged to fly from their houſes.

On Saturday the twenty-ſixth of May, the houſes of Mr. Eyre Lindſay, Mr. David Burchell, and Mr. John Jones, all proteſtants, were burnt near Ballyſax.

There were ſix rebel encampments in the county of Kildare,† one at Knockallin near Old Kilcullen, one at Barnhill near Kildare, one at Hodgeſtown, one at Hortland, one at Redgap, and one at Timahoe.

On Saturday the twenty-ſixth of May, a rebel army, above three thouſand in number, compoſed for the greater part of thoſe that had been ſtationed at Knockallin and Barnhill, ſent a deputation to general Dundas, to ſignify that they would ſurrender their arms, and return to their reſpective houſes, provided their priſoners that were taken were liberated; but he refuſed theſe terms. They then offered an unconditional ſurrender; but he heſitated to negotiate with them without the ſanction of government.

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* The peculiarity of his connections protected him.

† Plate I. 7.

General Lake having been ſent to him by lord Camden, the two generals received their arms and their ſubmiſſion, and granted them pardon; yet the greater part of them joined their friends in their different camps in the county of Kildare, with the protections of thoſe generals in their pockets; and others repaired to the county of Wexford, to join their fellow traitors there.

It is univerſally allowed, that this negotiation of general Dundas with the rebels, though well intended, produced the worſt effects; for it made them elate and inſolent, by ſhewing them that treaſon might be committed with impunity; and it encouraged them in the commiſſion of murder and rapine for two years after, which will appear in the ſequel.

General ſir James Duff, quartered in Limerick, having heard that the inſurrection was very general and terrifick, inſomuch as to threaten the metropolis, and to obſtruct all the roads leading to it, marched from Limerick with two light ſix-pounders, ſeventy of lord Roden's fencible cavalry, and two hundred and fifty of the city of Dublin regiment of militia. They were joined on their route by about two hundred of the South Cork regiment of militia, and their two battalion guns; and by about fifty of the 4th dragoon guards, and a party of gallant yeomen. They arrived at Kildare by forced marches in forty-eight hours, and then repaired to a place called the Gibit Rath, where the rebels were poſted in a Daniſh fort.

General Wilford had been deputed by general Dundas to receive their ſubmiſſion; but, unfortunately for that body of rebels, ſir James Duff arrived there half an hour before him.

The general, on his arrival there, after having diſpoſed his army in order of battle, ſent a ſerjeant and twelve of the cavalry to the rebels, to deſire they would quietly ſurrender their arms; but they wantonly and without provocation fired on the king's troops, of whom they killed one, and wounded three; but ample vengeance was ſoon obtained; for above three hundred and fifty of the rebels were killed, and ſeveral wounded by lord Jocelyn's fencible cavalry, who fell in with them pell mell; ſo that the artillery and infantry were unable to act without the riſque of deſtroying their friends.

The reverend Mr. Williamſon, a proteſtant clergyman, not being able to make his eſcape, from the ſuddenneſs of the inſurrection, would have fallen a victim to rebel fury, but that he was humanely protected by Mr. Nowlan the pariſh prieſt. Being at the mercy of the rebels, he was compelled by them to go to meet general Duff, accompanied by Mr. Nowlan, to inform him that the rebels of Kildare had obtained the royal mercy, on condition of ſurrendering their arms, and returning to their allegiance; but the troops not knowing them, and ſuſpecting their ſincerity, would have hanged them, but that colonel Sankey, brother-in-law of Mr. Williamſon, arrived and undeceived them.

Next day, ſir James Duff, having received information that a large body of rebels were encamped at Blackmore-hill, whither great numbers of thoſe pardoned by general Dundas had repaired with their protections in their pockets, he marched to attack them; and by a few diſcharges of artillery they were routed, and a good many of them were killed.

No praiſe can equal the merit of ſir James Duff, and his gallant little army; for in forty-eight hours they marched ſeventy miles without halting. At Kildare, they found the murdered bodies of honeſt Crawford, of his innocent granddaughter, and of the gallant young Giffard, who preferred death to diſhonour, and whom they interred with military honours.

It is to be lamented that the diſaffection of the popiſh yeomanry of the county of Kildare was highly diſgraceful.

Of a corps of fifty yeomen cavalry at Caſtledermot,* there were but five who were not implicated in the rebellion; and their lieutenant, Mr. Daniel Caulfield, was committed by government.

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* Plate I. 8.

A neighbouring corps of yeomanry, called the Sleumarigue, under the command of Mr. Bambrick, with great modeſty gave up their arms, conſcious of the improper engagements they had made with the united Iriſhmen.

A proteſtant corps of the ſame name, formed under the command of Mr. Gerald Fitzgerald, have rendered the moſt effectual ſervice to their country.

A well-mounted corps of fifty yeomen, called the Athy cavalry, were raiſed under the command of Thomas Fitzgerald, eſquire, of Geraldine, whoſe commander was committed to the caſtle of Dublin, where he remained a cloſe priſoner for ſome months; and ſoon after his arreſt, the corps were diſarmed publickly, in the market-ſquare of Athy, for diſaffection.

An attempt was made to admit ſuch as were without cenſure, into the loyal corps of Ballylinan, commanded by Steward Weldon, eſquire; but very few were found eligible.

All the Roman catholicks in the Rathangan corps joined the rebels. Molloy their lieutenant, and ſeveral more, were hanged; many were pardoned under the proclamation, and others of them abſconded.

In the North Naas corps, there were ſo many implicated in the rebellion, that but very few except proteſtants could be depended on to do duty. There was very great defection among the popiſh yeomen of the Furnace corps.

Though the Clane corps were ſixty-ſix ſtrong, ſuch diſaffection prevailed among the Roman catholick yeomen, that but twenty-four muſtered on the twenty-fourth of May.

ATTACK ON CARLOW.*

The mail-coach from Dublin always reached Carlow in the morning about eight o'clock; and, as its not arriving on the morning of Thurſday the twenty-fourth of May was to be the ſignal for riſing there and in its vicinity, the rebels could not make their intended attack on that town till the morning of the twenty-fifth.

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* Plate I, 8, and II. 1.

About two o'clock on that morning they aſſembled in great force, moſtly from Grange, Hacketſtown, Tullow,* Leighlin,† and that part of the country between Rathvilly and Borris,‡ headed by one Roach a farmer. They gave a moſt dreadful yell as ſoon as they entered the town, where they were joined by moſt of the lower claſs of the popiſh inhabitants, and numbers of people who had been ſecretly coming into it the whole of the preceding day and night. They marched, in number about two thouſand, through Tullow-ſtreet, till they arrived at the potatoe market, where their progreſs was interrupted by two ſentinels poſted at the collector's door, and a loyal proteſtant who joined them; and they, by a conſtant and well-directed fire, defeated their deſign of uniting with the Queen's county rebels, (who were to have met them at Graigue-bridge) and drove them acroſs the potatoe market towards the gaol, where two ſentinels, with equal ſpirit, checked them in their career, and forced them to retreat through Bridewell-lane, towards the court-houſe; where having received a few ſhots from the houſe of a loyal proteſtant, they cried out that they were ſurrounded by the ſoldiers, threw down their arms, and, in the greateſt conſternation, endeavoured to retreat by the road through which they had at firſt advanced; but, fearing to meet the army in that direction, numbers of them retired into the houſes in Tullow-ſtreet, which it is believed were inhabited by their aſſociates; for when the ſoldiers ſet fire to them, to make the rebels bolt, there was not a woman or child in any of them. Some ruſhed out through the flames, and were ſhot or bayoneted; others remained in the houſes till they were conſumed. The other miſcreants who had taken different routes, were ſhot by the loyal inhabitants from their windows; and ſuch of them as eſcaped, were purſued and killed by the ſoldiers and yeomanry; ſo that the ſtreets, the roads, and fields contiguous to the town, were ſtrewed with carcaſes. That evening, and all next day, nineteen carts were conſtantly employed in conveying the dead bodies to the other ſide of the Graigue-bridge, where four hundred and ſeventeen bodies were buried in three gravel-pits, and covered with quick lime. On the whole, it was believed, that no leſs than ſix hundred of the unfortunate wretches periſhed, including thoſe who were conſumed in the houſes, and thoſe who fell in the roads and fields, and were ſecretly interred by their friends.

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* Plate II, 1, 2. † Ibid. 3, 4. ‡ Ibid. 7.

The Queen's county rebels were to have met, and joined thoſe of the county of Carlow, at Graigue-bridge; but having heard that there were two pieces of cannon poſted there, they changed their route; and, headed by one Redmond, and one Brennan, who had been a yeoman, they burned ſome proteſtant houſes in the village of Ballyckmoiler, and attacked the houſe of the reverend John Whitty, a proteſtant clergyman, near Arles, about five miles from Carlow; but it was bravely defended, by himſelf and eleven proteſtants, who kept up a conſtant fire, killed twenty-one rebels, and baffled all their attempts to ſtorm or burn it. The conflict continued from three till ſix o'clock in the morning; when Mr. Whitty's ammunition being nearly expended, he ſent two of his party to a neighbour to borrow more; but they were ſurrounded and overpowered after a gallant defence. The corpſe of one of them, whom they killed, was mangled in a barbarous manner. They left the other, whoſe name was Impey, ſuppoſing him to be dead; but he afterwards recovered: He ſought for a draught of water from ſome perſons who were preſent, but they would not relieve him, till he aſked for a prieſt, and then they ſupplied him with it. This party was firſt informed, by emiſſaries from Carlow, About the ſame time, captain O'Ferrall, of the Ballina cavalry, mounted a permanent guard at Johnſtown; but as there were ſtrong apprehenſions of a general inſurrection, he was permitted to join the guard at Clonard every night for protection, and returned every morning at four o'clock to Johnſtown.

At laſt, the outrages and atrocities increaſed to ſuch an alarming degree, that lieutenant Tyrrell repaired to Dublin, and applied to lord Caſtlereagh for a reinforcement of regular troops. His lordſhip aſſured him, that, from the peculiar ſtate of the country, government could not comply with his requeſt; but recommended to him to raiſe ſome ſupplementaries among the proteſtants of the country, and told him that they ſhould be ſupplied with arms and ammunition.

During this repreſentation to adminiſtration, the rebels burned the proteſtant charter-ſchool at Carbery, and ſeveral houſes of proteſtants in it and its vicinity. They then proceeded towards Johnſtown, burning all the proteſtant houſes they met with in their progreſs, which terminated at Gurteen, where they plundered and burned the houſe of Mr. Metcalf.

Mr. Barlow, ſecond lieutenant of the Clonard corps, marched out with part of his guard, and being joined by captain O'Ferrall, purſued the rebels to Gurteen; but finding they were poſted behind hedges, at each ſide of the road, which was ſo deep and ſo narrow, that the cavalry, though expoſed to the enemy's fire, could not deploy, or make any offenſive or defenſive operations, they were under the neceſſity of retiring.

On the thirtieth of May, Mr. Tyrrell arrived from Dublin, and next day enrolled and armed nineteen well-affected proteſtants, to act as infantry. By this time the rebels had collected in very great numbers, and encamped on an iſland in the bog of Timahoe,* and at Mucklin and Drihid; and for ſome time they continued to plunder the houſes of all the proteſtants in the neighbourhood, and carried off all the horſes and cattle they could find; and even intercepted the ſupplies of oxen and ſheep which were going from remote counties to the capital.

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* A gentleman who was priſoner with them, informed me, that he ſaw a prieſt there, who encouraged the rebels to perſiſt in the rebellion,

Government having received intelligence of theſe enormities, ſent general Champagne, on the fifth of June, to conſult with lieutenant Tyrrell, who was well acquainted with the country, on the beſt and moſt feaſible mode of attacking the enemy's camp. General Champagne was eſcorted to Edenderry by lieutenant Tyrrell; but finding no troops there, he ſent an expreſs to Philipſtown, to order a party from thence to attack the enemy; and they arrived at Edenderry on the evening of the ſeventh of May; and on the next day, the general, having arranged his plan of operation, proceeded to attack the enemy with the following forces: A detachment of the Limerick militia, commanded by lieutenant-colonel Gough; the Cooleſtown yeomanry cavalry, by captain Wakely; the Canal Legion, by lieutenant Adam Williams; the Clonard cavalry, by lieutenant Tyrrell; and the Ballina cavalry, by captain O'Ferrall.

The general diſpoſed the cavalry, ſo as to ſurround the bog, while the infantry attacked the camp, which was on an iſland in it. The conteſt laſted for ſome time, as the number of infantry was but ſmall; however, their valour amply compenſated the paucity of their numbers; for the Limerick, led on by the gallant colonel Gough, and ably ſupported by the Canal Legion, commanded by lieutenant Williams, at laſt forced the camp, and diſperſed the rebels; of whom great numbers were cut off, in their flight, by the cavalry.

Lieutenant Tyrrell having received information that a numerous body of rebels had taken poſt on a hill near his houſe of Kilreny, where they were committing depredations and various enormities, went to Kinnegad,

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rebellion, by aſſuring them, that all the people in Connaught were in a ſtate of inſurrection.

Kinnegad himſelf for the troops quartered there, and ſent an expreſs for thoſe who were ſtationed at Edenderry, to co-operate with them.

The following troops aſſembled on the thirtieth of June, and attacked the rebels, who, to the number of ſix hundred, were poſted on Foxes-hill: A detachment of the Limerick, the Cooleſtown, the Canal Legion, and a ſmall party of the Northumberland fencibles. The rebels were ſoon routed with conſiderable ſlaughter; and one Caſey, their commander, his brother, and another leader, were killed, and their bodies were expoſed for ſome days at Edenderry.

Caſey had been principally concerned in the atrocities committed at Rathangan; the uniform great coat of Mr. Spenſer, and the boots of Mr. Semple, a yeoman, murdered there, having been found upon him.

Lieutenant Tyrrell entertained the moſt ſanguine expectations that ſuch deciſive advantages againſt the rebels would have reſtored peace and tranquillity; but the arrival of four thouſand Wexford rebels in the county of Kildare, commanded by general Perry, and one Kearns, a popiſh prieſt, blaſted all his hopes, and ſpread deſolation in the country which he was appointed to defend. I ſhall poſtpone a deſcription of their progreſs and operations, till I have mentioned their defeat in the county of Wexford.

The following anecdote will ſhew the reader to what a ſtate of debaſement the popiſh multitude were reduced by the ſanguinary and fanatical principles which were conſtantly infuſed into their minds, to prepare them for the approaching inſurrection and rebellion: John North, of Nurney, in the county of Kildare, a fellow of mean parentage, and plebeian manners, married a handſome young woman of the name of Carrol, of the proteſtant religion, and reſpectably connected; but whoſe diſtreſſes compelled her to make ſo diſagreeable and unequal a connection. Being a bigotted papiſt, and of a ferocious diſpoſition, he became an enthuſiaſt in the cauſe of the united

Iriſhmen, and gradually contracted an envenomed hatred againſt his wife, on account of her religion; inſomuch, that he uſed conſtantly to beat her with great cruelty, and to reproach her with the appellation of heretick; and his relations, harbouring an inveterate averſion towards her for the ſame reaſon, would not ſuffer her to ſuckle her only child, a new-born infant. At laſt, impelled by fanaticiſm, he attempted to murder her with a knife, and would have effected it, but that his mother, on her knees, deprecated his anger.

He kept an inferior kind of publick houſe, which was the rendezvous of all the rebels of the adjacent country; particularly of one Prendergaſt, a prieſt, who was hanged at Monaſtereven, on the breaking-out of the rebellion. As ſhe heard them at their nightly meetings forming treaſonable plots, and expreſſing their determination to deſtroy all hereticks, ſhe was kept in a conſtant ſtate of terror.

At laſt ſhe found, among his papers, a letter from a rebel captain, adviſing him to kill her, and to bury her in an adjacent fallow field; on which ſhe fled, and repaired to her relations in the county of Wicklow.

Soon after, this ruffian having a quarrel with a proteſtant yeoman of the name of Croſs, a challenge took place, and the combatants agreed to decide it with piſtols. North fired firſt, and miſſed his antagoniſt, on which Croſs deſired him to beg his life; but he ſwore he never would do ſo of an orangeman; on which Croſs fired and killed him.

ATTACK UPON KILCOCK.

The day after the rebels ſurrendered their arms at Knockallin to general Dundas, a party of them, encamped at Timahoe, ſent their delegate the reverend father Murphy, a prieſt, to ſir Fenton Aylmer, poſted at that time at Kilcock, with the Donadea cavalry which he commanded, conſiſting of one captain, one lieutenant, three ſerjeants, and thirty privates, for the purpoſe of aſſuring him of their penitence, and their determination of ſurrendering their arms; and to requeſt that he would go to their camp, which he might do with the utmoſt ſafety, as they had the greateſt reſpect and regard for him: He, agreeable to their deſire, having gone there, accompanied by one friend, and eſcorted by two dragoons, had a long conference with their leaders; and in conſequence of the ſtrong aſſurance of their pacific diſpoſition, and of an ardent deſire to return to their allegiance, he repaired firſt to general Dundas, and afterwards to lord Camden, to obtain an amneſty for them.

While ſir Fenton Aylmer was conferring with the rebel chiefs in their camp, his friend perceived two of the inferior rebels ſteal behind a hedge, and preſent their muſkets at him; on which he told the leaders, that he and his friend would inſtantly ſhoot them, if the aſſaſſins did not immediately deſiſt: on which the chieftains made an apology, and ſaid it was done without their knowledge. They then, at their inſtance, accompanied them to a place about a mile from the camp; and as a proof of their ſincerity, they obſerved, that they had no arms; but they no ſooner arrived there than they ſaw ſix rebels with their muſkets, going behind a hedge, to ſhoot at them.

Notwithſtanding his exertions to ſerve them, they treacherouſly made an attack on him at Kilcock, with their whole force ſtationed at Timahoe, which is ſeven miles diſtant, on the Monday following; ſaying, "That all they wanted was the bloody ſir Fenton Aylmer, and Michael Aylmer his lieutenant, and their bloody Orange crew."

One of his videts having informed him of their approach, he advanced with his corps, with an intention of charging them; but perceiving their great ſuperiority of numbers, he ſounded a retreat, after having narrowly eſcaped being ſurrounded by them.

The rebels, after entering the town, ſearched every receſs, and every chimney in the inn, for him and his officers.

Sir Fenton Aylmer then fell back, and joined a ſmall corps of yeomen infantry, commanded by captain Jones, about a mile at the other ſide of the town, determined to give them battle.

On taking his ground, which was in ſir Percy Gethin's lawn, he found, to his mortification, that the infantry had retreated, and that all his corps, except fourteen who were proteſtants, had deſerted him; the remainder, who were Romaniſts, not being able, as they ſaid, to mount their horſes in the hurry, remained behind; and the rebels were ſo friendly to them, that they only deprived them of their arms, without offering them any injury.

The papiſts in captain Jones's corps retired to their reſpective houſes, in the ſame manner, without being moleſted by the enemy. The rebels then burned the houſe of Joſeph Robinſon, a proteſtant, an active conſtable, and clerk of the pariſh church of Donadea, then the barrack, and afterwards Courtown, the ſeat of lieutenant Aylmer; ſwearing at the ſame time, that they would burn the houſe of every bloody proteſtant. They afterwards proceeded to Donadea, to burn the houſe of ſir Fenton Aylmer, but were diverted from doing ſo, by being informed that their own friends had lodged many valuable articles in it for ſafe cuſtody; and they gave orders to have them removed, that they might execute their malignant purpoſe. But having been engaged in ſome other enterpriſe, they fortunately forgot it.

Nicholas Newenham, one of ſir Fenton's videts at Kilcock, having, from exceſſive zeal, advanced too far, was taken priſoner by the rebels, and was a witneſs of the deſtruction of his father's houſe, cloſe to Donadea, which they burnt, becauſe he was a proteſtant; for they publickly announced their determination to deſtroy the property of every perſon of that perſuaſion.

Having led young Newenham to their camp, they compelled him to dig his own grave; and during five or ſix days they carried him often to the brink of it, and threatened to throw him in and bury him alive; and whenever they did ſo, they compelled him to ſay his prayers at the edge of it; and while performing his devotion, they mocked his religion, and curſed him, as a heretick; at laſt one of them, more humane than the reſt, ſhot him, threw his body into the grave, and covered it lightly with earth.

Theſe facts have been ſubſtantiated by the affidavits of different rebels, who afterwards obtained their pardon.

About a month after, as ſir Fenton Aylmer was coming to Kilcock with fourteen dragoons, he was way-laid near Clane, and had a narrow eſcape, as the hedges were thickly lined with rebels. Very fortunately for him, he had an advanced guard, conſiſting of four men, of whom they killed three, which alarmed them, and enabled them to make their retreat to Sallins. One of the advanced guard was Archibald Noble, a proteſtant, and late of the Fermanagh militia, noted for his courage and loyalty; and ſuch was their hatred towards him, that they fired the inſtant they ſaw him, by which the remainder of the party were ſaved.

William Aylmer, a rebel general, declared afterwards, that he ſhould have cut off the whole of them by the ambuſh which he had laid, but that he could not reſtrain the impetuoſity of his men.

Next day they lay in wait a ſecond time for him and his party.

Of eighteen papiſts in ſir Fenton Aylmer's corps, eleven deſerted on Sunday the eleventh of June, 1798, with their full arms and accoutrements. The other ſeven that remained faithful, were officers ſervants, or perſons who immediately depended on proteſtant gentlemen for their ſubſiſtence.

A reſpectable proteſtant clergyman was taken priſoner, and conveyed to the camp at Timahoe, where he ſaw a prieſt haranguing the rebels; and he aſſured them that they muſt ſucceed, as all the people in Connaught were up and under arms.

INSURRECTIONS IN THE COUNTRY NEAR ATHY AND NARRAGHMORE, AND COUNTY OF KILDARE.

On the ſeventeenth of March, 1798, John Glennan, a proteſtant, was murdered near the Moat of Ardſcull; and a few days after, John Lucas, pariſh clerk at Narraghmore, a man far advanced in years, was decoyed out of his houſe by his brother-in-law, and aſſaſſinated.

Theſe atrocities, and the conſtant robbery of proteſtant houſes of arms, alarmed the loyaliſts ſo much, that they invited Mr. Rawſon, of Glaſſealy near Athy, to command them; and he was ſoon at the head of one hundred and forty men, ſteady in ſupport of their king and country. By their active exertions and the diſcoveries that were made under the direction of that excellent officer general Campbell, the leaders of inſurrection were ſpeedily apprehended in the vicinity of Athy. Many hardened rebels ſought for chieftains in more diſtant parts, and ſeveral hundreds acknowledged their crimes and ſurrendered their pikes.

Colonel Keating, a moſt active magiſtrate and intelligent officer, perceiving that the ſtorm was gathering, raiſed ſixty yeomen cavalry and twenty infantry for the preſervation of the peace; and it is to be lamented, that the Roman catholick members of thoſe corps, with few exceptions, proved afterwards to be diſaffected; and that many of them, in violation of their oaths of allegiance, turned their arms againſt their king and country.

This amiable gentleman went to the different popiſh chapels, and frequently exhorted the multitude to renounce their treaſonable deſigns, and to return to their allegiance; but finding all his efforts fruitleſs, he left the country in deſpair; an ill-fated event for the neighbourhood where he reſided! for, had he remained, his good ſenſe would have contributed much to avert the ſtorm which hung over the county of Kildare.

In the month of January, 1798, captain Rawſon, to undeceive and conciliate the people, publiſhed addreſſes at all the chapels in his neighbourhood, of which ſee a copy in Appendix, No. XV. and for this, his noted loyalty, and his active exertions as a magiſtrate, he was condemned by a committee of aſſaſſination, which ſat in his vicinity; and the ruffian who made an attempt on the life of Mr. Darragh, having been employed to murder him, lay in wait for him at different times, in a ſhrubbery near his houſe, and would have aſſaſſinated him, but that he was fortunately attended by his ſon, who was armed.

On the memorable twenty-fourth of May, an expreſs arrived from Dunlavin to general Campbell, and intelligence was brought to captain Rawſon, that the popiſh multitude were in a ſtate of inſurrection on every ſide, and the proteſtant inhabitants of Narraghmore requeſted to know what meaſures they were to take for their protection. The general ſent an expreſs to Dunlavin, with directions how to proceed; and captain Rawſon ſent another to Narraghmore, with orders to the loyaliſts to fall back on Glaſſealy, with an aſſurance that a party would ſoon go to their aſſiſtance; but both the expreſſes were murdered by the way; and ſuch of the unfortunate proteſtants of Narraghmore as could not effect their eſcape, remained in the village, without any aſſiſtance.

General Campbell ſent a detachment of the Suffolk fencibles, under the command of major Montreſor, by Glaſſealy, to the aſſiſtance of the Narraghmore loyaliſts, whilſt he went with another towards Mulloghmaſt-hill.

Early in the day, James Murphy of the water-works, as principal in command, with a number of rebel captains, collected the whole country, men, women, and children; in ſhort, every one capable of bearing a pike; and they, with their united force, proceeded to attack the village of Narraghmore. Nine loyaliſts, who retired into the court-houſe, ſucceſsfully reſiſted them for two hours, and at laſt beat them off.

John Jefferies, the permanent yeoman ſerjeant of the Narraghmore corps, having a houſe with much property which he wiſhed to defend, imprudently led his little party into it. The routed rebels were met by Daniel Walſh, a traitorous yeoman of that corps, who has been ſince deſervedly hanged; and he rallied, and brought them back to the attack. Jefferies's houſe being ſoon ſet on fire, the loyaliſts parleyed, and the rebels promiſed that their lives ſhould be ſpared, provided they ſurrendered their arms; but the inſtant they came forth, the pikemen fell to butcher them. No leſs than ſix traitors were ſtabbing together at Thomas Young; but the claſhing of their pikes, and the confuſion which aroſe from their eagerneſs to ſhed his blood, having ſuſpended his fate for a moment, Fitzpatrick, one of the traitors of the Narraghmore corps, cried out to the pikemen to clear his way; and he inſtantly blew out the brains of his fellow ſoldier, with the muſket which he had received to ſerve his king and country; he then ſeized a pike, and transfixed the body to the ground, crying out, "That's the way to kill a heretick!"

Thomas Alcock, and Moſes Borroughs, an old man of eighty years, (whoſe venerable locks ſhould have protected him,) were next inhumanly butchered. The other ſix were reſerved to be hanged in the adjoining wood of Narraghmore. The rebels then ſet fire to every proteſtant houſe in the town, in which the women were particularly active. On their retiring, the mangled body of poor old Borroughs was ſeen by Fitzpatrick, who thruſt a pike into it, and pitched it into a dyke of water, exclaiming, "Fogh! I ſmell a proteſtant carrion."

This barbarian was apprehended by the Athy loyaliſts, tried by a court-martial, executed on the ſpot where he had committed ſome of his enormities, and his head is now on the gaol of Athy. In his laſt moments he declared that he died innocent.

Lieutenant Eadie of the Tyrone militia, who had been ſtationed for ſome months at Ballytore, was ordered, on the morning of the twenty-fourth of May, to join his company at Calverſtown. Having proceeded with twenty-three privates, by Narraghmore, he received a preſſing invitation there to breakfaſt, which was very unfortunate, as by that delay he was prevented from arriving in time to ſave the lives of the loyaliſts.

He had not proceeded far with his party, when he heard the ſhouts of the ſavages, exulting over their victims, as they conveyed them for execution.

Lieutenant Eadie placed his men behind a low wall, and when the ſavages came within thirty yards, gave them a volley, which killed many of them.

The ſavages fled, leaving all their priſoners, ſave Jefferies and William Aſhe, behind them.

The rebels, after their defeat by lieutenant Eadie, retreated to Ballytore, where they gained a reinforcement of many thouſands; and, attributing their want of ſucceſs to irreligion, they formed in the ſtreet, knelt down, and compelled Mr. Cullen, the pariſh prieſt, to give them his bleſſing. Then, headed by Redmond Murphy, and Malachy Delany, two rebel leaders, they broke into a houſe where lieutenant Yeates, the ſon of a reſpectable magiſtrate of the neighbourhood, was priſoner, butchered his body in a moſt cruel manner, and threw it into the ſtreets to be devoured by pigs. They then murdered a poor travelling ſoldier, who had ſought protection in the houſe of Mr. Robert Hudſon.

They attacked and put to death ſeveral ſick ſoldiers of the Suffolk fencibles, hanging ſome of them, who were in fevers, out of their windows: they took priſoners two ladies, the wives of the Suffolk officers, and lodged them in the houſe of Abraham Shackleton,* of Ballytore, under a guard of rebels. They then proceeded to murder Jefferies and Aſhe; but Mr. Cullen ſaved and concealed them, till they made their eſcape to Athy.

By this time the rebel force had encreaſed to the number of three thouſand, and learning from their ſcouts, that lieutenant Eadie had miſſed the road to Calverſtown, they purſued him. Major Montreſor having proceeded with his detachment to Glaſſealy, a party of rebels from Fonſtown, under the command of captain Paddy Dowling and Terry Toole, who were on their way to burn the manſion-houſe there, fled at his approach. The major then proceeded to the village of Narraghmore, but too late to do any eſſential ſervice there; as no human being was to be ſeen, but the wretched victims of ſavage fury, and every proteſtant houſe in it was deſtroyed, or conſumed by fire.† The major then marched to the place of his deſtination, Red-gap hill, while captain Rudd with thirty men, flanked him through the woods of Narraghmore; and having been joined by lieutenant Eadie, they followed the route which major Montreſor had taken.

At the end of the bog road near the turnpike, they were attacked and ſurrounded by the three thouſand rebels from Narraghmore, on whom they kept up a briſk fire, for near half an hour, which brought the major and his party to their aſſiſtance. The rebels having perceived his approach, placed a number of wool packs on cars, which happened accidentally to be paſſing by; and ſome of their markſmen concealed behind them, fired and killed ſeven of the Suffolk fencibles, and then retreated to their main body. But the major purſued, and obtained ample revenge; for in a ſhort time, two hundred rebels lay dead, and as many more were wounded. In theſe different conflicts, and in the ſcenes of carnage, conflagration and plunder, which occurred in the courſe of that day, ſixty papiſts of the Narraghmore corps in their uniforms, fought with the rebels; for which, eighteen of them were ſhot, ſeveral were hanged, ſome fled the country, and others came in under the proclamation, offering pardon to repentant rebels, and received protections.

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* His father was ſchoolmaſter to Edmund Burke.

† The houſes of the following proteſtants were burnt at Narraghmore, on the morning of the twenty-fourth of May, by their Roman catholick neighbours, with whom, till that day, they had lived on the moſt friendly terms; and their inmates, narrowly eſcaping with their lives, fled for protection to Athy:

Mary Jefferies, widow, Joſeph Whiteacre, Thomas Corry, Robert Cooke, Richard Holmes, Matthew James, Darby Kehoe, William Cope, Sarah Lucas, Catherine Young, William Little and James Little. Theſe facts have been verified by the affidavit of the ſaid perſons, and captain Thomas J. Rawſon, ſworn before A. Weldon, eſquire, a magiſtrate, the twenty-ſixth of July, 1798. Beſides the above, the houſes of the proteſtants whom they maſſacred in that town were burnt.

The main object of the rebels in that part of the county of Kildare, was, to join thoſe of the Queen's county, and the county of Carlow; and to have aſſiſted them in taking poſſeſſion of the town of Carlow. Notwithſtanding their different defeats, they collected a party of one thouſand two hundred, and were proceeding to accompliſh their original plan; but, in paſſing through Caſtledermot to Carlow, they were attacked by captain Mince, who commanded there a ſmall party of the ſixth regiment of foot. After the ſecond diſcharges they were routed, and ſeveral of them were killed; and ſir Richard Butler, who went with his troop of yeomen cavalry to the aſſiſtance of captain Mince, purſued them and took many priſoners, of whom two were hanged; and the remainder, through the clemency of government, were ſet at liberty.

General Campbell, having received intelligence that the rebels were in great force in Ballytore, that they had taken many paſſengers priſoners, and that they obſtructed the approaches not only to that town, but even the great Munſter road to the metropolis, by felling large trees acroſs them, he laid a plan for diſlodging them, and ordered the troops from Carlow and Baltinglaſs to march to one ſide of the town; and he intended to arrive at the oppoſite ſide at the ſame moment.

At twelve o'clock on the night of the 27th, he marched from Athy, with his whole force, except a few yeomen under the command of captain Rawſon, who were left in charge of the town; the perſon who undertook to guide his party miſtook the road, and led him by the woods of Narraghmore, through which he ſent a flanking party.

As they paſſed by the manſion-houſe of Narraghmore, ſome diſaffected perſons fired at the troops from it; on which general Campbell ordered it to be attacked with cannon. After ſome diſcharge of artillery it was ſet on fire; and the fellows who had fired at the troops were killed in the woods, as they were endeavouring to make their eſcape.

When the general entered Ballytore, he found it deſerted by every male, except Mr. Francis Johnſon, a ſurgeon; and as ſome of the Tyrone regiment had repeatedly ſeen him commanding the rebels, the ſight of him kindled ſuch indignation in them, that one of them bayoneted him through the breaſt, on which he fell. He roſe again, laid his hand on his wound, and ſtrongly, and with many oaths aſſerted his innocence. Several of the ſoldiers cried out, that they had frequently ſeen him at the head of the rebels—an open was made—five of the Suffolk fencibles preſented their muſkets at him; when he found that all ſubterfuge was vain, he exclaimed, "Since I muſt die, guilty as I am, the Lord have mercy on me!" and he was inſtantly ſent into eternity.

The general, on entering the town, liberated colonel Wolſeley and his lady, two wives of the Suffolk officers, and ſome others, who had been priſoners with the rebels.

Finding that they were every where unſucceſsful, they ſent a deputation to general Campbell, offering him a ſurrender of their arms; and he having aſſented, about three hundred gave up pikes and other arms at Ballindrum, near the Moat of Ardſcull; and great numbers beſides went to Athy, and obtained protections.

In about ten days, general Dundas thought it neceſſary to order the garriſon at Athy to march to Kilcullen, to reinforce him there; and the town was evacuated by the military, the yeomen, and all the proteſtants; the latter well knowing that they would be maſſacred without the protection of the former.

When they had marched about ten miles, they received an order that the yeomanry ſhould return to defend the town, which gave the greateſt joy to the loyaliſts, as all their property would have been deſtroyed in their abſence. They arrived there about twelve o'clock at night, and concluded that the rebels were in poſſeſſion of it; but though they had been waiting to attack it ſome nights before, they were afraid to enter, ſuſpecting that the evacuation of it was but a feint, and that the general meant to have attacked them, as ſoon as they had got poſſeſſion of it.

The next evening they approached it in great force; but finding the yeomen ready to receive them, they fled from a ſmall patrole who had been ſent to reconnoitre.

From this period, the country round Athy appeared tolerably tranquil, and no bodies of rebels appeared in force; but ſtill it was not ſafe for a proteſtant to appear, or travel ever ſo ſhort a diſtance alone.

John Jefferies of Narraghmore, who eſcaped on the day they burned his houſe, having gone to that village from Athy, to look after ſuch part of his property as might have remained, was murdered at two o'clock in the day.

Such was the malignity of the rebels in the county of Kildare, that a party of them, in order to diſtreſs the metropolis, endeavoured to obſtruct the navigation of the Grand canal, by cutting its banks, and emptying its water into the adjacent country; but they were ſurpriſed and prevented by captain Griffith of Millicent, who killed ſome of them.

The vicinity of Athy remained peaceable, and it was believed that the diſaffected had given up their deſtructive ſchemes; but on the night of the twenty-fourth of December, 1798, a party of rebels, moſt of them from the Wicklow mountains, and under the command of Matthew Kenna and Redmond Murphy, two Kildare ruffians, ſet fire to the houſe of Mrs. Hannah Manders, cloſe to Glaſſealy, and murdered her, her two ſiſters, * and Mr. John Anderſon her nephew, all proteſtants, and a ſervant woman of the Romiſh perſuaſion, and threw their bodies into the flames, in which they were reduced to aſhes.

They then burned the dwelling-houſe of captain Rawſon, and all his furniture; and in one hour deſtroyed the production of twenty-five years of active induſtry.

A Roman catholick ſervant, who was in Mrs. Manders's houſe, was ſuffered to paſs unmoleſted; but Anderſon, attempting to follow him, was ſhot.

The Roman catholick maid ſhewed her attachment to the rebels, by putting her head out of a door, and calling to them to take care of Keane, the brother of one of them, who was in the ſtable. He was accordingly led out, and reſcued from the flames; but ſhe met with that fate which ſhe deſerved; for reſembling Mrs. Manders in perſon, they miſtook her, and piked her to death.

In a ſhort time after, captain Rawſon had one Whelan, an aſſaſſin, better known by the nick-name of Black Top, apprehended, for the murder of the Manders'

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* They were unoffending religious women, far advanced in years.

Manders' family; and he was tried before a court-martial at Carlow.

It appeared on the evidence of Mrs. Margaret Mc. Ivers, the niece, who eſcaped through a back window, that, when the houſes were ſet on fire, Black Top ſtood at the door with a muſket and bayonet, to prevent any of the proteſtant part of the family from eſcaping: That ſhe applied to him to take the young infant ſhe held in her arms out of the flames, and that ſhe would take her chance; but he replied, "No, you damned heretick bitch! you may burn together; nits will become lice."

Immediately Howard, a traitorous yeoman, who had been often hoſpitably entertained in the houſe, entered it with a muſket and bayonet; on which Mrs. Manders was overjoyed at ſeeing him, ſuppoſing that he came as her deliverer; and ſhe expreſſed a hope that he would not murder her; but the obdurate ruffian replied, by knocking her down with the but-end of his muſket, and transfixing her aged body to the floor.

An old ſuperannuated ſiſter, who had not left her bed for many months, crawled into the garden, and endeavoured to conceal herſelf in a ſquare of cabbages; but ſhe was purſued and piked, and her body was thrown into the flames.

Black Top and Fitzpatrick (the murderer of Thomas Young at Narraghmore,) were convicted, and executed where they had committed theſe horrid crimes.

In the ſpring of 1800, one of the villains became an approver, and gave captain Rawſon full information. Shortly after, Howard was taken in the county of Carlow, by a ſon of the captain's; and Kean and Bryan, two more of the aſſaſſins, were alſo apprehended. Theſe three were brought to trial at the aſſizes, and fully convicted, to the ſatisfaction of a crowded court, and of the very humane judge Kelly, who, in paſſing ſentence, declared, "That it was the firſt caſe that ever came before him in which he did not feel diſtreſſed; but that he felt great ſatisfaction at being the inſtrument, under Providence, of ridding the world of ſuch monſters."

On the trial it was proved, that captain Rawſon's houſe and out-offices were burned in revenge for his loyal exertions; and that the Manders' family was aſſaſſinated merely becauſe they were hereticks.*

On this trial Mrs. Margaret Mc. Ivers, Mrs. Manders's niece, corroborated the teſtimony of the approver againſt Howard, in what has been before ſtated; and he, Keane and Bryan, were hanged and beheaded at Glaſſealy.

All the cottagers contiguous to that place, to whom captain Rawſon had acted with ſingular humanity for above twenty years, were among the foremoſt in plundering his houſe.

POISONING AT RATHCOOL.

Though the efforts of rebellion were cruſhed at Rathcool, on the general riſing, yet the rebels, indignant at the diſappointment, endeavoured to accompliſh their nefarious deſigns on the twenty-ſecond of June, by poiſoning the garriſon there. On that day, captain Joſeph Hewan of the Anguſſhire regiment, was ordered to march from Tallagh to Hazel Hatch, with twenty of his men, to reinforce the party there; and having halted his men at Rathcool, the head quarters of his regiment, to refreſh them, ſome of them, after having been there about an hour, were reported to be very ill. On enquiry, it appeared, that after having eaten ſome bread and milk they were ſeized with a great ſickneſs in their ſtomachs, accompanied with a head ach, and a violent vomiting and griping; and they ſaid, that they thought they had a ball of fire in their breaſts.

Mr. Irwine, ſurgeon of the regiment, communicated theſe ſymptoms to colonel Hunter, who commanded there, and his ſuſpicion, that the bread which they eat, had been poiſoned. On which the colonel ordered the baker and his man into cuſtody.

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* This was acknowledged by the approvers on the trial.

The men of both parties began now to be taken ill with the ſame ſymptoms, by five or ſix at a time; the commanding officer then ordered the baker and his boy, and one Doyle, who was ſtrongly ſuſpected, to eat ſome of the bread; but more of the men becoming ſick, and the malignity of their diſorder increaſing, he ordered the two former to be ſhot. The latter grew as ſick as any of the ſoldiers; but nobody doubted of his innocence, and his wife and children were affected in the ſame manner, as they had eat of the bread. Doyle kept a low publick houſe, in which ſome of the ſoldiers had been entertained. Many of them would have died, but that they were relieved by medical aſſiſtance. The ſymptoms were ſometimes abated by an emetick, but they often returned with redoubled violence; and then oil or melted butter, as a ſubſtitute, afforded them relief. Some of them were ſeized with ſuch ſtrong convulſions, that two or three men could not hold them, but with difficulty.

Mr. Robinſon, a proteſtant clergyman, his wife and ſeven children, who were paſſing through Rathcool, were affected exactly in the ſame manner, in conſequence of having eaten ſome of the bread.

Next day the officers of the Anguſhire regiment were well informed that the roads, fields, and ditches near Rathcool, were crowded on the preceding night with men well armed, and that they diſperſed when the bakers were ſhot, and reinforcements came from Dublin, Tallagh, and Hazel Hatch. They intended to have ſurpriſed the garriſon, when debilitated by poiſon.

Some of the bread which had produced ſuch dreadful effects in thoſe who had eaten of it, was given to a cat and a dog, and they died of it. Some hours after the baker and his boy were ſhot, his houſe was ſearched, and a paper, containing two ounces of yellow arſenick, was found in his bakehouſe; which, being ſent to Dublin to a ſurgeon, proved, on the analyzation of it, to be that kind of poiſon.

ATTACK UPON MAYNOOTH.

From the ſuppoſed ſanctity of this town, as a college had been recently erected there, and endowed at a very great expence by the *proteſtant ſtate*, for the education of *popiſh prieſts*, it was hoped that it would not have been moleſted by the rebels; however, the proteſtant inhabitants of it and its vicinity were as much the object of the ſanguinary rage of the rebels, as in any other part of the county of Kildare.

About twenty of the Carton cavalry, of which his grace the duke of Leinſter was captain, and Thomas Long and Richard Cane, eſquires, were lieutenants, did permanent duty there, for ſome time, previous and ſubſequent to the twenty-fourth of May; and ten of them were conſtantly ſtationed on the different avenues leading into the town: the duke was abſent at that time in England.

About one o'clock in the morning of the tenth of June, 1798, two men approached the town and addreſſed one of the corps, who was at an outpoſt; and pretending to be travellers, and that they had loſt their way, begged admittance into the town, to get a lodging, but on being refuſed, they drew back a few paces, and both fired at the ſentinel at the ſame time; on which, he galloped with the utmoſt ſpeed to the guard-room, and alarmed his fellow-ſoldiers; and was purſued by about five hundred rebels, headed by William Aylmer their commander.

Such was the diſaffection of the corps, that, though they were alarmed in due time, only ſeven mounted their horſes to face the rebels; and of thoſe ſeven, but four fired at him; and they were under the neceſſity of retreating, leſt they ſhould be overpowered by the great ſuperiority of numbers.

Lieutenant Cane made his eſcape; but a young gentleman of the name of Nugent, who had been on a viſit with the lieutenant, and whoſe youth and innocence ſhould have preſerved him from their ſanguinary diſpoſition, fell into their hands, and was led to their camp and ſhot there next day. They took eleven yeomen priſoners, ſome of whom returned the day following, and the remainder continued with the rebels. Three days after, a party of the ſame rebels entered the town of Maynooth, and plundered ſome houſes; and at the ſame time, they ſeized Mr. Wilkinſon, a proteſtant, and a maſter carpenter, much eſteemed for his probity; and conveyed him to their camp, where they next day piked him to death. As they conveyed him out of the town, he implored them to put an end to him immediately, that his body might fall into the hands of his friends, for the purpoſe of being interred; but they refuſed his requeſt.

Afterwards lieutenant Cane, and about thirteen of the corps, joined the yeomanry at Leixlip, and continued to do duty with them, moſt of the remainder having joined the rebels.

Mr. John Brown, a gentleman farmer, much eſteemed for his probity, lived at Barropſtown, near Maynooth; and had three ſons who ſerved in the Carton yeomanry. He and his family, being natives of England, and proteſtants, were ſo much the object of rebel vengeance, that they were obliged to leave their houſe, and retire to Leixlip for ſafety.

In the beginning of September, Mr. Brown, his wife, daughter and ſon, went to paſs the day at Barrapſtown. In the evening Mr. Brown, having rode out to ſee ſome hay-makers whom he employed, perceived, about forty perches from his houſe, twelve ruffians, armed and mounted, galloping furiouſly towards him; and on ſeeing him, they ſhouted and encreaſed their ſpeed. Mr. Brown galloped to his houſe, alarmed his family, and proceeded towards Leixlip. Part of the ruffians purſued him; the others his ſon, who fled from them on foot, and whom they murdered with ſavage barbarity; but his father was ſo fortunate as to eſcape.

The following anecdote will ſhow the reader how much the influence of the Romiſh prieſts tends to defeat diſtributive juſtice: A rebel, of the name of Cullen, was to be tried at the ſummer aſſizes of Naas, on the following charges: For having fired three ſhots at a yeoman, as he was travelling along the high road, and wounding him in two places; and, for being concerned in the attack upon Proſperous, and in the murder of captain Swayne. One Kennedy, the proſecutor, was kept in gaol, to ſecure his appearance, and to prevent him from being aſſaſſinated. When the trial was coming on, Mr. Kemmis, the crown-ſolicitor, went to the gaol for Kennedy, the proſecutor; but on approaching it, he perceived a prieſt whiſpering in his ear, through one of the grates; and who, on perceiving Mr. Kemmis, fled precipitately. On entering the gaol, he told Kennedy that he muſt repair to the court with him, as the trial would come on immediately; but to his great aſtoniſhment, he diſcovered, that the ſuggeſtions of his ghoſtly adviſer, but for a few minutes, had induced him to contradict the moſt material facts which he had ſworn in his information; for he pretended to be ignorant of them. The ruffian Cullen eſcaped from juſtice by this infamous procedure.

BATTLE OF OVIOTSTOWN, NEAR KILCOCK.

It was much to be lamented, that the rebels of the county of Kildare, inſtead of feeling gratitude for the royal mercy which had been extenſively granted to them by the generals who commanded there, and of returning to their allegiance, perſevered, for a long time, not only in committing individual robbery and aſſaſſination, but continued their encampments, and to commit depredations in large bodies. Lieutenant-colonel Irwine, who commanded the garriſon of Trim, having received intelligence that a numerous body of rebels were aſſembling near Kilcock on the eighteenth of June, marched on that night, with part of his garriſon, conſiſting of the fourth dragoons, a troop of the duke of York's fencible cavalry, four companies of foot, and two battalion guns, and the following yeomanry corps: The Trim cavalry, one troop; the Navan and Murgallion cavalry, one troop; the Demifore, one troop. Soon after he paſſed through Kilcock, his advanced guard was fired upon by a large body of the rebels; of whom the main body, ſuppoſed to conſiſt of three thouſand, was drawn up in a line at the bottom of Oviotſtown hill, near Hortland houſe. As it was ſome time before the colonel could form, owing to the unevenneſs of the ground, and the number of incloſures on it, the rebels kept up a ſmart fire, and made a deſperate effort to ſeize the cannon; but the well-directed fire of the infantry, made them abandon that enterpriſe. Soon after the troops formed, they routed the rebels, who precipitately fled to the neighbouring bog, where they effected their eſcape, after two hundred of them had been ſlain. The king's troops ſuſtained the following loſs: Fourth dragoon guards, one ſerjeant killed; captain ſir Richard Steele, one ſerjeant, two rank and file wounded; Murgallion cavalry, one rank and file wounded; Trim cavalry, one rank and file wounded; Duke of York's Highlanders, enſign John Sutler, one ſerjeant, and five rank and file killed; lieutenant-colonel Irwine, one ſerjeant, and ſeven rank and file wounded; the firſt ſlightly.

William Aylmer, a romaniſt, who had been a lieutenant in the Kildare militia, was the leader of the rebels in this action.

For many months after, the ferocious ſpirit of the popiſh multitude continued to break forth in acts of rapine and murder, of which the reader will find ſome ſpecimens in Appendix, No. XV.

The chapel of Athy was burnt in the month of April; and an offer was made, by ſome papiſts of conſideration, of a ſum of money to a ſoldier of the Cork regiment, to ſwear that it was perpetrated by the yeomen of that town, who are proteſtants. I ſhall refer the reader to the ſame Appendix, for the particulars of this infamous tranſaction.

This chapel was wantonly burnt, with a malignant deſign of throwing an imputation on the proteſtants of having done it; a practice which took place in other parts of Ireland.

DUBLIN.

I ſhall now return to the metropolis, to give the reader a ſhort ſketch of its ſituation, as its diſaffected inhabitants ſtill continued to give unqueſtionable proofs that they hoped to ſucceed in a general inſurrection, with the aſſiſtance of the country rebels, and ſome of the diſloyal yeomen, who were ſtill attached to their cauſe in the city.

On the twenty-ninth of May, the Sepulchre's corps, who muſtered about fifty effective men, commanded by captain Ryan, was ordered to mount guard at Dolphin's-barn, an outlet on the South Weſt ſide of the city of Dublin. As they were marching to their poſt, a man of the name of Raymond, a romaniſt, and one of the moſt active privates in the corps, entered into converſation with one Jennings, who was alſo in the ranks, and ſaid unto him, "Do you ſee that our lieutenant has got piſtols?" (alluding to lieutenant Maturin, the officer of the guard.) Jennings anſwered, "Yes." Raymond then ſaid, "They will not be of any uſe to him, for we will do him out." When they arrived at their poſt, Jennings aſked him what he meant, in the alluſion which he made to the lieutenant. Raymond then informed him of the following plot: "That, in caſe of an attack, which was hourly expected, and which it was believed he had previouſly concerted with the rebels, the diſaffected members of the corps were to maſſacre the officers and the proteſtants of it, and to deliver up the bridge to the aſſailants: They were then to proceed to the battery in the Park; to inform the guard that they had been defeated; to aſk admittance; and on being let in, to murder the guard; to take poſſeſſion of the battery and ammunition; and to turn it to their own uſe."

Jennings had been ſworn an united Iriſhman, and was attached to their cauſe from pure republican principles; but being a proteſtant, and having diſcovered from the maſſacres which had taken place, in the counties of Dublin, Meath and Kildare, that the extirpation of his own order was intended, he informed lieutenant Maturin of the plot; and he having communicated it to government, Raymond was taken up, tried, convicted and hanged on the Old Bridge, the firſt of June.

As the Roman catholick members of that corps, who formed the majority of it, were diſcovered to be diſaffected, they were diſarmed on parade the Sunday following, and diſbanded.

Raymond would not have formed ſo deſperate a deſign, which muſt have been defeated, and have terminated in the ruin of him and his fellow conſpirators, if it were not connected with a general inſurrection, which the diſaffected in the metropolis conſtantly meditated.

The fanatical zeal of ſome of the rebels was ſuch, and their hopes of ſucceeding by a general inſurrection were ſtill ſo ſanguine, as to extinguiſh all prudence.

Two ſoldiers, who were conducting a priſoner by Peter's-row, were attacked at noon-day by two ruffians, who ſnatched their firelocks from them, with which they knocked them down. One of them, of the name of Fennel, a notorious traitor, was taken up, tried and hanged on the twenty-ninth of May, on one of the bridges. He was ſo great a fanatick, that he ſaid, when he was about to aſcend the fatal ſtep, "That he would live and die an united Iriſhman." This fellow had been captain of a corps of united Iriſhmen; and was at the head of a numerous body of them, in the fields, near the floating-docks, on the night of the twenty-third of May, waiting for a ſignal to run into the city.

Committees were frequently diſcovered in deliberation; blackſmiths were detected in the act of making pikes; and ſentinels were frequently fired at, or knocked down, while at their poſts: Information was obtained from ſome notorious traitors by whipping them, of the extent and malignity of the plot; and of immenſe quantities of pikes and other arms, which were diſcovered and ſeized in different parts of the city.

There was a conſtant communication between the rebels of the metropolis and thoſe of the country, which was proved by the frequent interception of letters; and that the former expected the co-operation of the latter.

On the evening of the twenty-fifth of May, a detachment of the merchants corps, conſiſting of one officer, one ſerjeant, and twenty privates, was ordered to eſcort four waggons of ammunition to Naas; and it was conſidered by government to be a ſervice of ſo much danger, that their deſtination was kept a profound ſecret, till the moment of their departure; and a military officer, who accompanied the party, had orders not to ſuffer any perſon to go before them, leſt the country rebels, riſen in great multitudes in the county of Kildare, and who had four encampments there, might cut them off. During the whole of their progreſs, one K——, a romaniſt, and ſtrongly ſuſpected of diſaffection, inveighed bitterly againſt government for the diſreſpect ſhewn to the corps, in having ſent them off in ſo ſudden and unexpected a manner.

Next morning, when on their return to town, about a dozen rebels came out of a wood near Johnſtown, as if to provoke an attack from the yeomen. The officer drew up his ſmall party, who fired ſome ſhots at the rebels, on which they retired into the wood. K—— urged the party to purſue them, which would have been fatal to the whole of them; as it has ſince been diſcovered, that there were from twelve to fourteen hundred rebels in the wood, ready to cut them off on their return, of which K—— had given them information the night before; and that the ten who ſhewed themſelves were intended to draw them into an ambuſh.

On Monday the twenty-ſeventh of May, a party of the merchants corps, conſiſting of one officer, two ſerjeants, and thirty privates, were ordered on the ſame ſervice to Naas. On that night, captain Beresford waited on captain Stanley, who commanded that corps, to inform him, that he had informations againſt K——, who was immediately arreſted; and ſhewing ſtrong marks of perturbation, he confeſſed that he was a colonel in the rebel army, and that he was to have headed a very large party on the twenty-third of May, in an attack upon Newgate.

On Tueſday the twenty-eighth of May, an expreſs going from Dublin had been ſtopped, and a letter was found upon him from K—— to the rebels, written on Monday; the purport of which was, to inform them of every particular reſpecting the eſcort which was to go to Naas, and expreſſing a wiſh that they might be more ſucceſsful in cutting off this party than the former.

It was obſervable, that for ſome days previous and ſubſequent to the intended inſurrection, the diſaffected tradeſmen, among whom the butchers were very conſpicuous, would not take bank notes. Though it had been defeated on the night of the twenty-third of May, the rebels were ſo confident of ſucceeding in another effort, that fellows were at different times employed in marking the doors of the loyaliſts, and particularly thoſe of the yeomen. Seven men were detected and ſeized on the thirtieth of May in the act of doing ſo; and on being whipped by a party of the attornies corps, in the old Exchange, they acknowledged that they belonged to a committee of fifteen employed in that ſervice; that there were many ſimilar committees, and that each of them had its reſpective department.

As an inſurrection was ſtill expected every night, the lord mayor publiſhed the following caution:

CITY OF DUBLIN.

Manſion-houſe, 26th May, 1798.

A CAUTION,

Leſt the Innocent ſhould ſuffer for the Guilty.

The lord mayor requeſts his fellow citizens to keep within their houſes as much as poſſibly they can, ſuitable to their convenience, after ſun-ſet, in this time of peril, as the ſtreets ſhould be kept as clear as poſſible, ſhould any tumult or riſing to ſupport rebellion be attempted, in order that the troops and artillery may act with full effect in caſe of any diſturbance.

The lord mayor's ſervant acknowledged to his lordſhip, that he was at the head of a numerous body of ſervants, who were to have aſſaſſinated their maſters; and that he and his party were to have murdered the lord mayor and his family, and two others of his ſervants, who had heſitated to join them; and that this atrocious deed was to have been the ſignal for the other ſervants in the vicinity to riſe and commit ſimilar enormities.

Mr. juſtice Drury received information, which he communicated to government, that the rebels had formed a plan of burning ſome houſes at Rathfarnham, and of ſetting fire to part of the Liberty; that, whilſt the army were engaged in thoſe places, they intended to ſet fire to the ſhipping on the quays; and, during the confuſion which muſt have enſued, they meant to have ſeized the priſon-ſhips, and to reſcue the rebels confined in them: On which government ordered thoſe veſſels to be removed lower down, under the protection of the cannon at the Pigeon-houſe.

Purſuant to a notice to the Roman catholicks, inſerted in the Dublin Journal of the twenty-fourth of May, an addreſs, purporting to be that of the Roman catholicks of Ireland, was preſented to his excellency the lord lieutenant, on the thirtieth of May, "expreſſing their firm attachment to his majeſty's royal perſon, and the conſtitution under which they have the happineſs to live: That the ſhare of political liberty, and the advantages which they poſſeſs under it, leave them nothing to expect from foreign aid, nor any motive to induce them to look elſewhere, than to the tried benignity of their ſovereign, and the unbiaſſed determination of the legiſlature, as the ſource of future advantage; and they expreſſed their regret, that many of the lower order of their religious perſuaſion were engaged in unlawful aſſociations and practices."

This addreſs was ſigned by four noblemen, ſome gentlemen of landed property, ſome reſpectable merchants, and by twenty-eight titular biſhops. Had the latter, ſo early as the year 1793, informed government, which they might have done, having learned it in their confeſſion-boxes, that a conſpiracy was at that time formed for ſubverting the conſtitution, they would have endeared themſelves to the beſt of kings, and to his government in England and Ireland. It may be ſaid, that the ſecreſy required in the article of confeſſion, raiſed inſuperable obſtacles to it. There is not a ſentence in the ſcripture which gives the moſt remote ſanction to the doctrines of confeſſion and abſolution, and the extraordinary ſuperſtructure raiſed on them, except that ſaying of our Saviour to his apoſtles, "Whoſe ſins ye remit, they ſhall be remitted to them; and whoſe ſins ye retain, they ſhall be retained."

The Almighty thought proper, at one particular period, to make uſe of ſupernatural means, and to inveſt with extraordinary powers a certain ſet of men, whom he ſelected to diſpel that darkneſs which inveſted the pagan world, and to work the ſalvation of his creatures; but that end being attained, it muſt be conſidered the higheſt arrogance in any chriſtian paſtor afterwards to claim a delegation from his Creator, and a right to exerciſe thoſe powers.

Theſe doctrines were a device invented by the artful policy of the court of Rome, to gain an aſcendency over its members, wherever the Romiſh faith was profeſſed; and it is moſt certain, that a ſet of men, in whom celibacy extinguiſhes all ſocial affections, who are inſulated in ſociety, and whoſe primary object therefore is the aggrandizement of their own order, muſt have very great influence in ſociety, when they can extract from their communicants, of every rank and degree, their moſt important ſecrets. The Romiſh prieſts, thus circumſtanced, may be conſidered as in a ſtate of ambuſh, in reſpect to the reſt of the community.

From the various and fluctuating opinions delivered by the learned divines and ſchoolmen of the Romiſh church on this doctrine, it is very evident, that ſecreſy in confeſſion is a poſitive human inſtitution; and it is very extraordinary, that a ſet of men who profeſs to be of the religion of Chriſt, which is the bond of peace, and enjoins the practice of every moral virtue, ſhould preſcribe a rule under the article of confeſſion, which ſanctions the concealment of crimes, and by doing ſo, prevents the puniſhment, and conſequently encourages the commiſſion of them. This is contrary to the divine law; for any thing unworthy of the Deity cannot be true, and whatever is repugnant to his attributes of wiſdom, juſtice and mercy, muſt be falſe.

St. Paul tells us, "That he was all things to all men, that he might by all means ſave ſome."* But a prieſt is prohibited from diſcloſing a ſecret, on which the lives of thouſands, or the exiſtence of an empire, might depend. Miſpriſion of treaſon is a capital offence by the laws of every ſtate in Europe; and yet the popiſh prieſts are compelled to be guilty of it, in conſequence of their not being allowed to break the ſeal of confeſſion.

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* 1 Corinthians ix. 22.

By the divine law we are ordered to ſubmit to the laws and ordinances of the ſtate under which we live. "Let every ſoul be ſubject to the higher powers; for there is no power but of God; the powers that be are ordained of God. Whoſoever therefore reſiſteth the ſuperior power, reſiſteth the ordinance of God; and they that reſiſt, ſhall receive damnation to themſelves." † "Wherefore ye needs muſt be ſubject, not only for wrath, but for conſcience ſake."‡ "Submit yourſelves to every *ordinance of man for the Lord's ſake;* whether it be to the king, as ſupreme; or unto governors, as unto them that are ſent by him *for the puniſhment of evil-doers*, and for the praiſe of them that do well."‖

Now the prieſt, who obtains a knowledge of crimes, ſhould, according to the *ordinance of man for the Lord's ſake*, and *for the puniſhment of evil-doers*, diſcloſe them to the civil magiſtrate; but in doing ſo, he is guilty of ſacrilege, as confeſſion is a ſacrament in his church, according to the canons of it; and by concealing them, he violates both the divine and human law.

By the ancient canons, particularly by the council of Lateran, under pope Innocent III. in the year 1215, every confeſſor, who reveals a confeſſion, ſhall be interdicted and impriſoned for life. Cardinal Tolet ſays, "that the ſeal of confeſſion ſhould not be broken, to ſave the lives of princes, or even the republick:" And Henriquez adds, "not even to ſave the whole world, or to keep it from burning, or all the ſacraments from demolition." But cardinal Bellarmine* ſays, "if treaſon be known to a prieſt in confeſſion, he may give notice of it to a pious and *catholick prince*, but not to a *heretick*:" And father Suarez ſaid, "that that was acutely and prudently ſaid by him." This ſhews that it was founded in human policy, and framed as a ſyſtem of terror to drive ſovereign princes within the pale of the Romiſh church. Father Binet differed from Bellarmine, and ſays, "it were better that all the princes in the world periſhed, than that the ſeal of confeſſion were broken."

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† Romans xiii. 1, 2. ‡ Ibid. 5. ‖ 1 Peter ii. 13, 14.

* One of their moſt learned divines.

Jaurigny and Balthazard Gerard, who murdered William I. prince of Orange, Clement the dominican, who aſſaſſinated Henry III. of France, Chatel, Ravaillac, and all the parricides of that period, went to confeſſion before they committed thoſe crimes. Strada, a jeſuit, diſtinguiſhed for his learning, tells us, "that Jaurigny expiated the guilt of that crime, before its perpetration, by receiving the ſacrament from a dominican friar."†

Fanaticiſm was carried to ſuch exceſs in that dark age, that confeſſion was an additional engagement to the perpetration of crimes; for it was held ſacred, as confeſſion is regarded as a ſacrament in the Romiſh church.

In thoſe counties in Ireland, where the rebellion broke out, the lower claſs of people, ſome days previous to it, reſorted in great numbers to the confeſſion-boxes of their prieſts.

Soon after the aſſaſſination of Henry IV. and while the French were lamenting the death of that amiable monarch, the advocate-general Servin, of illuſtrious memory, required that the jeſuits ſhould be obliged to ſign the four following articles:

I. That the council is ſuperior to the pope.

II. That the pope cannot deprive the king of any rights by excommunication.

III. That the eccleſiaſticks are like any other people, entirely ſubject to the king.

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† Non ante facinus aggredi ſuſtinuit, quam expiatam ejus animam, apud Dominichanum ſacerdotem, cœleſti pane, firmaverat.

IV. That a prieſt, who by confeſſion is apprized of conſpiracy againſt the king, or the ſtate, ſhould reveal it to a magiſtrate.

The parliament paſſed an arret, laying the ſame injunction on the jeſuits; but the court of Rome was at that time ſo powerful, and that of France ſo weak, that the arret was diſregarded.

It is worth notice, that the court of Rome, which would not ſuffer a conſpiracy againſt the life of a ſovereign to be revealed in confeſſion, ordered confeſſors to inform the inquiſition, in every inſtance, where a female ſhould accuſe another prieſt of having ſeduced, or attempted to ſeduce her. This revelation was ordered by Paul IV. Pius IV. Clement VIII. and Gregory XV.

Some of the moſt learned divines of the Romiſh church have ſpecified certain caſes in which confeſſion might be revealed; and others have contended, that it might be diſcloſed in every inſtance, with the conſent of the penitent.

This horrible abſurdity is one of the unhappy conſequences of the conſtant ſtruggle which has ſubſiſted for ages between the eccleſiaſtical and civil power,* and which has been the ſource of inextricable error; for mankind have been ſuſpended between the crimes of ſacrilege and high treaſon; and the diſtinctions of right and wrong have been buried in a chaos, from which they are not yet emerged.

To return. The roads leading to the metropolis were ſo much obſtructed by the rebels, that no mail-coach arrived there from the twenty-fourth of May until the thirty-firſt, when the ſpirited and gallant ſir James Duff ſtruck terror into the rebels, by the defeat which he gave them on the Curragh of Kildare, by which he opened a free intercourſe between Dublin and the ſouthern parts of the kingdom; but it ſhould not be forgotten, that general Campbell, by his good ſenſe and ſpirited exertions in the vicinity of Athy, Narraghmore, and Ballytore, contributed materially to effect this.

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* Fortunately avoided by the Engliſh conſtitution.

As the diſaffected in the metropolis were diſappointed in their expectations of raiſing an inſurrection there, numbers of them left it at different times, and diſplayed their zeal in the cauſe of the union, by joining rebel encampments in the country.

On the twelfth and thirteenth of June, a great many ſervants and mechanicks, and other perſons of various deſcription, ſuddenly diſappeared in Dublin, and the neighbourhood of Blackrock; and it was obſervable, that the ſame thing took place, when the rebels were about to make any great effort in Wexford, Wicklow or Kildare.

The loyalty, magnanimity, and firmneſs, of the corporation of Dublin, in the courſe of the conſpiracy and rebellion, ſhould never be forgotten. They raiſed four regiments of yeomanry, with uncommon celerity; and it is well known, that the indefatigable exertions of thoſe brave corps preſerved the metropolis from deſtruction. The vigilance and activity of the corporation in enforcing the execution of the laws were ſuch, as to ſuperſede the neceſſity of proclaiming the city, till the nineteenth day of May; and many counties claimed the protection of the inſurrection law, two years before that period.

BATTLE OF TARA.*

I already mentioned the barbarous outrages committed by the rebels in Dunboyne and Dunſhaughlin; from whence, having proceeded towards Tara, in the county of Meath, moſt of the farmers and labourers of the county through which they paſſed, flocked to their ſtandard; and in ſhort, the maſs of the people in the county of Meath, and in that part of the county of Dublin bordering on it, were in a ſtate of inſurrection, and plundered every houſe in the country, which happened not to have been well guarded, of proviſions, wines, ſpirits, bed-clothes, wearing-apparel and furniture. As there were no military in the country, and as the officers of the yeomen corps perceived that their ſafety depended on the concentration of their forces, they, by mutual and immediate communication, adopted meaſures for that purpoſe. The corps of lord Fingal and captain Gorges performed that ſervice with great activity and vigilance.

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* Eighteen miles to the north of Dublin, and in the county of Meath.

On the morning of the twenty-fourth of May, the officers of the Navan cavalry, John Preſton, eſquire, captain, Philip Barry, lieutenant, wrote a letter to the officer commanding the garriſon at Kells, to requeſt that he would ſend them ſuch troops as he could ſpare for their protection; as a private of captain Gorges's yeomanry had arrived there, and informed them of the atrocities committed at Dunboyne and Dunſhaughlin; and that the rebels had planted the tree of liberty at the latter,

Captain Molloy, who commanded at Kells, on receiving that intelligence, marched the yeomen cavalry and infantry of that town, to relieve them; but finding on his arrival there, that the town was not immediately threatened with an attack, he returned to Kells for the protection of its inhabitants, and of a large depôt of ammunition in that town, which lay expoſed in his abſence.

It was then determined, that the Kells cavalry, with a detachment of the Navan troop, ſhould proceed towards Dunſhaughlin, and reconnoitre the enemy; and they having diſcovered that the maſs of the people were in a ſtate of inſurrection, and were committing various enormities, Mr. Barry, lieutenant of the latter, wrote the following letter to captain Molloy, at Kells:

"Sir,

"Prepare your yeomanry immediately, as an inſurrection has appeared from Dublin to Dunſhaughlin, and numbers have been murdered. Communicate this to all the other officers."

In conſequence of this, captain Molloy apprized the different yeomen officers of theſe alarming circumſtances; and recommended to them to be in readineſs. Captain Preſton, commanding the Navan cavalry, having been informed that the Rea fencibles were to be in Navan on the night of the twenty-fifth of May, on their route to Dublin, reſolved to join them, in hopes of being able to obtain their co-operation in attacking next day the rebels, whom he had reconnoitred in great force, at Dunſhaughlin; and they having complied, and all the yeomanry in the adjacent country having joined them, they proceeded at break-of-day, on the morning of the twenty-ſixth of May, from Navan, to attack the enemy at Dunſhaughlin.

On their arrival there, they found that the rebels had changed their poſition; and as they could not learn whither they had gone, the Rea fencibles, having reſolved to quit them, ſet out for Dublin, and the yeomanry determined to retire to their reſpective homes, which would have been fatal to the whole country, as the rebels would have ſpread univerſal deſolation.

Captain Preſton, now lord Tara, then followed the Rea fencibles, who had proceeded two miles on their march, and informed the commanding officer that he would engage to find out the rebels in two hours, if he would conſent to ſtay; but having refuſed to comply, he informed him, that he would proceed to Dublin, and obtain an order from the lord lieutenant for him to return, before he could proceed half way on his march; on which he conſented to return, and gave him two hundred and ten men, and one battalion gun, the whole commanded by captain Blanch; and they were joined by the yeomanry, commanded by lord Fingal and captain Preſton.

After going ſome time in queſt of the rebels, they found them very ſtrongly poſted on Tara-hill, where they had been four hours, and were about four thouſand in number; and the country people were flocking to them in great multitudes from every quarter. They plundered the houſes in all the adjacent country of proviſions of every kind, and were proceeding to cook their victuals, having lighted near forty fires. They hoiſted white flags in their camp. The hill of Tara is very ſteep, and the upper part is ſurrounded by three circular Daniſh forts, with ramparts and foſſes; and on the top lies the church-yard, ſurrounded with a wall, which the rebels regarded as their citadel, and conſidered as impregnable.

The king's troops, including the yeomanry, might have amounted to about four hundred. As ſoon as the rebels perceived them, they put their hats on the tops of their pikes, ſent forth ſome dreadful yells, and at the ſame time began to jump, and put themſelves in various ſingular attitudes, as if bidding defiance to their adverſaries. They then began to advance, firing at the ſame time, but in an irregular manner.

Our line of infantry advanced with the greateſt coolneſs, and did not fire a ſhot until they were within fifty yards of them. One part of the cavalry, commanded by lord Fingal, was ordered to the right, the other to the left, to prevent our line from being outflanked, which the enemy endeavoured to accompliſh. The rebels made three deſperate onſets, and in the laſt laid hold of the cannon; but the officer who commanded the gun, having laid the match to it, before they could completely ſurround it, proſtrated ten or twelve of the aſſailants, and diſperſed the remainder. The Rea fencibles preſerved their line, and fired with as much coolneſs as if they had been exerciſing on a field-day.

They at length routed the rebels,* who fled in all directions, after having loſt about four hundred in killed and wounded. In their flight, they threw away their arms and ammunition, and every thing that could encumber them. We took three hundred horſes, all their proviſions, arms, ammunition and baggage, and eight of the Rea fencibles whom they had taken priſoners two days before, and whom they employed to drill them.

It was much to be lamented, that the brave Rea fencibles loſt twenty-ſix men in killed and wounded; and the Upper Kells infantry had one killed, and five wounded.

The king's troops would have remained on the field all night, but that they had not a ſingle cartridge left, either for the gun or the ſmall arms. The priſoners, of whom they took a good many, informed our officers, that their intention was to have proceeded that night to plunder Navan, and then Kells, where there was a great quantity of ammunition, and little or no force to protect it; and that when they had ſucceeded, they expected, according to a preconcerted plan, to have been joined by a great number of inſurgents from Meath, Weſtmeath, Louth, Monaghan and Cavan, and to have releaſed all the priſoners confined in Trim, where they would not have met with any oppoſition.

So general an inſurrection might have been fatal to the kingdom, for the rebellion in Wexford and Kildare was raging with inextinguiſhable fury: It was ſtill deſtructive in Wicklow and Carlow, and the maſs of the people, in many parts of Leinſter and Munſter, were on the point of riſing.

The garriſon of Dublin was ſo weak, and ſo much exhauſted by fatigue in the ſevere duty which they underwent, in endeavouring to prevent its diſaffected inhabitants from riſing, that they could not ſend any troops to the adjacent country.

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* In their pockets, popiſh prayer-books, beads, roſaries, crucifixes, pious ejaculations to our Saviour and the Virgin Mary, and republican ſongs, were found, and ſcapulars on the bodies of many of them.

Part of the rebels who fled from Tara, retired to the bogs of Meath and Kildare, where they continued for three weeks to plunder and deſolate the ſurrounding country.

The earl of Fingal, who commanded the yeomanry in this action, ſhewed great ſpirit and courage in it; for which, and his noted loyalty and zeal in the ſervice of his king and country, during the progreſs of the conſpiracy and rebellion, he became ſo obnoxious to the diſaffected in the county of Meath, that it was reſolved to cut him off; and his aſſaſſination was to have been a ſignal for a general maſſacre of all the loyaliſts in that county.

I think it right alſo to ſay, that captain Molloy, who commanded the yeomen infantry, under lord Fingal, diſplayed the moſt ſteady and deliberate valour; and that the officers and privates under him fought with the coolneſs of veterans.

On the fourth of June, lord Edward Fitzgerald died in the gaol of Newgate. During his confinement, he often enquired, with apparent ſolicitude, of Mr. Gregg the gaoler, and thoſe perſons who attended him, of the ſtate of the metropolis, and the kingdom in general. Any extraordinary noiſe which he happened to hear, he ſuppoſed to be occaſioned by the exploſion of that conſpiracy which he had planned.

As the execution of Clinch on the ſecond day of June, attended by a numerous body of troops, and a vaſt concourſe of people, occaſioned much noiſe in the metropolis, he anxiouſly enquired the cauſe of it; and having been informed, it affected him ſo much, as almoſt to put him into a ſtate of derangement. Lady Louiſa Conolly, his aunt, attended by the earl of Clare, viſited him the day before his death, but he was completely delirious. A perſon who was preſent informed me, that it was a moſt affecting ſcene, as the degraded and deplorable ſtate to which his crimes and misfortunes had reduced him, made a very deep impreſſion on that very amiable and reſpectable lady.

Lord Edward had ſerved with reputation in the nineteenth regiment during a great part of the American war, and on many occaſions had diſplayed great valour and conſiderable abilities as an officer. When in the army, he was conſidered as a man of honour and humanity, and was much eſteemed by his brother officers for his frankneſs, courage, and good nature; qualities, which he was ſuppoſed to poſſeſs in a very high degree. After the war he retired on the half-pay liſt; but having again entered into the ſervice, he obtained the majority of the 54th regiment, quartered at St. John's, New Brunſwick, on the bay of Fundy, and joined it in May, 1788.

The following adventure is a ſtrong proof of that active mind and enterpriſing ſpirit which he diſplayed on all occaſions: He ſet out from Frederick-town on the river St. John's for Quebeck, in the winter of 1788, through woods and deſarts, which had never before been traverſed by any European; and without any other attendant than captain Briſbane of his regiment, a guide, and his own ſervant, who was a negro. From the great depth of ſnow, they were obliged to uſe ſnow-ſhoes, and they had no other proviſions but what they carried on a ſledge, which lord Edward drew in his turn. This journey, which was ſome hundred miles, took them many weeks to perform.

In the month of November, 1791, the regiment landed at Portſmouth, where lord Edward received a letter from lieutenant-colonel Bruce of the ſame corps, from Naples, acquainting him, that he was in a rapid conſumption, and adviſing him to take proper meaſures for ſucceeding him: But as his lordſhip and his family were at that time in oppoſition in parliament, he would not ſolicit a favour from government; but at the ſame time expected that the commiſſion would have been given to him without ſolicitation, though he had many competitors of longer ſtanding.

On hearing that colonel Sturt ſucceeded to the commiſſion, lord Edward, ſoured with diſappointment, and fired with indignation, repaired to Paris the latter end of the year 1791, or the beginning of the year 1792, and became, from diſguſt, an enthuſiaſtick admirer of the extravagant political theories of the French, which were repugnant to, and ſubverſive of the glorious conſtitution under which he lived, but of whoſe defects he pretended to be a reformiſt; and having manifeſted theſe principles without reſerve, his majeſty thought proper to ſtrike his name out of the liſt of the army; but allowed him at the ſame time to ſell his commiſſion.

He became ſo great a devotee to French principles, that he married a little French woman, whoſe birth and origin * were unknown, except by conjecture, and who had nothing to recommend her to him, but the extravagance and malignity of her republican principles.

The fate of lord Edward affords a ſtrong and inſtructive leſſon to ſuch gentlemen as oppoſe the crown, from motives of diſguſt and diſappointed ambition, not to exceed the bounds of moderation; for a perſon, enflamed and blinded by reſentment, may, from an inſatiable deſire to gratify it, gradually ſink into a dereliction of every religious, moral, and political duty; and a vehement reformiſt is often an incipient traitor.

"Nemo repente fuit turpiſſimus."

The reader may form ſome idea of the perſecution of the proteſtant clergy in the archdioceſe of Dublin, from Appendix, No. XV.

REBELLION IN THE COUNTY OF WICKLOW. †

Previous to the introduction of the principles of the united Iriſhmen into it, in the year 1796, it was the

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* She was ſuppoſed to be the natural daughter of the duke of Orleans, by madam Genlis.

† Plate I. 8.

the moſt peaceable and amenable to the laws, of any county in the kingdom; and the active and unabating induſtry of its inhabitants, had improved it ſo much, that its appearance was entirely changed within the laſt twenty years.

Religious animoſities between proteſtants and papiſts were at an end, or at leaſt were dormant; and tythes were not complained of as a grievance. The gentlemen of the country reſided on their eſtates, employed great numbers in building, planting, and agricultural improvements, maintained ſocial order, and gave energy to the execution of the laws. The farmers followed the example of their landlords, meliorated the ſtate of their arable lands, and, in general, built good and commodious houſes.

The labourers, who had conſtant employment, received as wages ten pence a day in the ſummer, and eight pence in the winter; and paid but two guineas a year for a cottage and an acre of land; but in ſome places their wages were higher.

In the pariſh of Rathdrum, twenty good ſlated houſes were built within a few years, with ſuitable offices, fit for gentlemen of large fortune; and many others on a ſmaller ſcale, but neat and commodious.

Moſt of theſe buildings have been deſtroyed; every thing that art could accompliſh for the happineſs of man has been annihilated; and all progreſſive induſtry has been ſuſpended by the late rebellion, promoted by the united Iriſhmen.

For ſome weeks previous to the breaking-out of the rebellion, the magiſtrates of the county of Wicklow met almoſt every week, for the purpoſe of preventing, if poſſible, the exploſion ſo much dreaded.

Every means were uſed to call the lower claſs of people to a ſenſe of their duty, and a ſubmiſſion to the laws. Friendly exhortations, and promiſes of protection, were for a long time reſorted to; but they were treated with deriſion Threats were then uſed, with no better effect. The magiſtrates then had recourſe to rewards for publick or private information

formation of ſeditious meetings, and concealed arms; however, friendly and conciliating admonitions were ſtill continued. The reſolutions of the magiſtrates, containing pathetick exhortations, and threats, and rewards, were printed and circulated through the country; but the maſs of the people had drunk ſo deep of the intoxicating poiſon of French republicaniſm, ſublimated by fanaticiſm, that no antidote could counteract its baneful influence.

I ſhall refer the reader to Appendix, No. XVI. 1. for part of a pathetick addreſs, publiſhed by the magiſtrates, on the third of April, 1798; when, finding that mild and conciliatory meaſures were diſregarded, they were driven to the neceſſity of proclaiming the whole county. The upper and lower half barony of Talbotſtown was ſo much diſturbed, that it was proclaimed the tenth of November, 1797.

The firſt ſeeds of diſaffection ſown in the county of Wicklow were by a party of defenders, who had been hunted out of the county of Louth by the Speaker, in the year 1792; and were employed as labourers in the mines of meſſieurs Camacs, at Ballymurtagh.

Thoſe miſcreants, with their moſt zealous exertions, could not propagate defenderiſm any farther than the diſtrict in which they lived; and it was not accompanied with any acts of violence or outrage. All the efforts of the united Iriſhmen to make the people of the county of Wicklow join in their rebellious deſigns, proved unavailing, till they perſuaded the popiſh clergy to co-operate with them for that purpoſe; which took place in the year 1796, as ſtated in the report of the ſecret committee, on the evidence of doctor M'Nevin, a Roman catholick, and one of the leaders in the rebellion.

A loyal papiſt, who was tenant to captain King of Rathdrum, informed his landlord, that he had been preſſed by a neighbour to take the united Iriſhmen's oath, and threatened, if he refuſed, or delayed to comply, with the total deſtruction of him and his family; but he peremptorily refuſed, having aſſigned as a reaſon, that he had taken the oath of allegiance. This objection was laughed at by his pretended friend, who aſſured him, that it had been decided, and declared, by their clergy, that the oath of allegiance, and all other oaths preſcribed by law, were to be conſidered as compulſory, and therefore not binding; and that none but thoſe which were voluntarily taken, impoſed any obligation on conſciences. * He at the ſame time recommended to him, to conſult father C. a prieſt, on the ſubject; and having aſked him, whether it was ſinful to take the united Iriſhmen's oath, after having taken the oath of allegiance? he aſſured him, that it was no ſin. This man, having been informed that his life would be in imminent danger, unleſs he joined the united party, as he was told that a reſolution had paſſed at one of their meetings, that ſuch perſons as refuſed to do ſo ſhould be put to death, told his landlord, captain King, of what had paſſed; and by his advice, he aſked father C. and two more prieſts, who happened to be in his company, whether a perſon could get abſolution in their church, for having deliberately killed a heretick, or one who differed from them in religious tenets? The anſwer of the prieſts, which was evaſive and equivocal, ſhocked him ſo much, that he reſolved to become a proteſtant; and he and all his family have continued to go to church ever aſince the rebellion.

This man being ſatisfied that papiſts, under prieſts influence, regarded the oath of allegiance as not binding, ſuggeſted to his landlord, captain King, the following teſt oath, and recommended that it might be propoſed to the Cronebane corps of yeomen; and aſſured him, that numbers of them, who were diſaffected, would refuſe to take it.

"I, ——,

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* See the council of Lateran, pages 12, 13, and the opinions of doctor Burke, and the cardinal Legate, on ſuch an oath, pages 45, 46.

"I, ———, do, in the preſence of my neighbours, ſolemnly ſwear by the contents of this book, containing the holy goſpel of Chriſt, that I have not joined, nor in any manner entered into, any ſociety, or aſſociation of perſons, ſtyling themſelves united Iriſhmen, or any other ſeditious ſociety or aſſociation whatſoever, or taken any oath to keep the ſecrets of any ſuch ſociety: And that I will not join, nor enter into, any ſuch ſociety, or take any oath to the prejudice of his majeſty king George III. or contrary to the exiſting laws, or conſtitution of this kingdom of Ireland. And all this I ſwear, freely and voluntarily, without any mental evaſion, or ſecret reſervation whatſoever."

"So help me God."

The fact turned out as predicted; forty-four of that corps who were deeply diſaffected, refuſed to take the oath, which a prieſt of the name of Meagher, pronounced to be blaſphemous, when it was propoſed for his conſideration; though he would allow his flock to take the oath of allegiance, or any other preſcribed by law.

This prieſt declared that he had loſt all influence over his congregation ever ſince the introduction of French principles; and yet, when a ſearch for arms was about to be made, he gave notice to them to come in and take the oath of allegiance, which was immediately and implicitly obeyed by all his pariſhioners.

It was univerſally believed that he did ſo from an idea that the taking that oath would ſuperſede the neceſſity of ſearching for arms, and throw a veil over the malignant deſigns of the united Iriſhmen. Captain Mills, who commanded the Cronebane corps, diſarmed the forty-four diſaffected members, and their places were ſupplied by loyal men.

This teſt oath, and the occaſion of framing it, having been mentioned in the Dublin Journal, was adopted by the officers of many other corps in the counties of Wicklow, Dublin, and Wexford, by whom it was propoſed to be taken; and it produced univerſally the ſame effect, as almoſt the whole of the popiſh yeomen refuſed to take it, and who were therefore diſmiſſed, which tended much to ſtrenghten the cauſe of loyalty; as ſome corps were purged of many traitors by it. Fourteen Roman catholicks of the Coolgreny corps, commanded by captain John Beauman, refuſed to take it, and were therefore diſmiſſed.

In the Caſtletown corps, commanded by captain Grogan Knox, there were about fifty papiſts, and ten proteſtants. The captain intended to propoſe the above teſt oath to be taken, but was diſſuaded by his two lieutenants, ſir Thomas Eſmond and Laurence Doyle, both papiſts; but as the diſaffection of the popiſh members was very ſtrongly ſuſpected, the gentlemen of the county inſiſted on having them diſmiſſed, which was very fortunate, as many of them were afterwards hanged, or ſhot, for having been concerned in the rebellion.

There was very great diſaffection in the popiſh yeomen of Bray. In ſhort, there appeared a ſpirit of diſaffection among the popiſh yeomen of every corps in the county of Wicklow. Captain Hume's corps conſiſted of proteſtants, and they were of courſe loyal.

William Byrne of Ballymanus, a rebel captain, and a member of the Wicklow yeomanry, having refuſed to take the oath, quitted it. He was afterwards hanged, for having been an active rebel leader.

Some time previous to the rebellion, and during its exiſtence, many proteſtants were murdered, with horrid circumſtances of barbarity. The magiſtrates and gentry of the country, by frequent addreſſes, endeavoured to recal the people to a ſenſe of their duty; and offered large rewards for the diſcovery of ſuch atrocities.

Captain King having ſent one of thoſe papers to father C—— to be read from the altar; he, in anſwer ſaid, "That he had received a paper from him, which contained rewards for the diſcovery of crimes, and that he was ſure it was well intended. That our Saviour was betrayed for thirty pieces of ſilver, but he hoped that none of his pariſhioners would act the part of Judas."

For ſome months previous to the rebellion, the prieſts ſtrongly inculcated the neceſſity of ſobriety and peaceable demeanour, * to lull the magiſtrates and government, and to prevent the rebels from betraying their ſecrets, which had ſuch an immediate and univerſal effect, that the whiſkey-houſes were deſerted, and thoſe who had been the moſt notorious drunkards, could not by any perſuaſion be induced to drink any ſpirits, and abſtained from broils and quarrels, and particularly from ſeditious language in any mixed aſſemblies.

Such inſtructions, penned with energy and elegance, were printed and circulated among the people, which rapidly produced an apparent reformation in their manners, to the great ſurpriſe of thoſe who were ignorant of the ſecret motives which occaſioned it.

Very early in the rebellion, two men of the names of Doyle and Lancaſter, were found in arms near Glenmalur. The former, a papiſt, was condemned to die; but it appearing that he was more than once inſtrumental in ſaving the life of Lancaſter, who was a loyal man, and had been compelled to join the rebels, he was pardoned at the interceſſion of captain King and Iſaac Eccles, eſquire, two magiſtrates. When the mitigation in his ſentence was communicated to him, he related ſeveral circumſtances concerning the rebellion; among others, that he believed the prieſts promoted the rebellion to the utmoſt of their power, and that twenty-eight of them were in the rebel army at the camp of Vinegar-hill.

In

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* This appeared to have been the main object of the defenders, as appeared in their proſpectus found on Sharky at Drumbanagher, ſo early as the year 1789. See Appendix, No. II.

In fact, the war there was purely religious; for there was no other motive to actuate the maſs of the people, except the hope of plunder, which was held out as an additional encouragement.

The old obſolete popiſh holydays were revived, in order to give the ſeditious more frequent opportunities of aſſembling, which could have proceeded only from the clergy, who attended on thoſe days.

When the united Iriſhmen had diſſeminated their principles among the maſs of the people, their leaders tried many devices to aſcertain the ſtrength and numbers of the party, and at the ſame time to inflame their reſentment againſt the proteſtants of the eſtabliſhed church, whoſe loyalty was unqueſtionable. For that purpoſe, they propagated reports, "That the Roman catholicks were to be murdered on a particular night, by the yeomen and loyaliſts." * This afforded a plauſible pretext to the diſaffected to aſſemble in their reſpective diſtricts, to avoid or oppoſe the intended maſſacre.

At other times it was ſaid, that the orangemen harboured that barbarous deſign, though at that time the very name of orangeman was unknown there. The firſt meeting of that kind took place the eleventh of October, and was general in the country, from Arklow to Bray, taking in the whole of the county eaſt of the mountains.

On the tenth of October, a man who aſſumed the name of James Collins, and ſaid he was the ſervant of captain King, perambulated a great part of the county on horſeback, and propagated a report, "That he had been employed three days in giving notice to all the orangemen in it, to meet the Rathdrum troop (all of whom but four were orangemen,) the next night, to begin the maſſacre of the Roman catholicks; and the reaſon he aſſigned was, that all the yeomanry corps were to be ordered to march to Bantry bay, and that they were to perform that office before they ſet out."

He

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* See ſimilar reports propagated in the rebellion of 1689, p. 88 and 89.

He declared, "That though he was ſervant to that loyal gentleman, captain King, he was a warm friend to the Roman catholicks, and for that reaſon he wiſhed to put them on their guard."

This perſon having been well deſcribed, captain King traced him to the mines of Ballymurtagh, where he was employed by the meſſieurs Camacs; and he diſcovered alſo, that his name was James Mc. Quillan, a native of the county of Louth, where he had been active among the defenders.

On being committed to gaol, he acknowledged, "That at a meeting of the Ballymurtagh men, (many of whom had been defenders,) it was agreed, that he ſhould undertake his miſſion, and propagate the report about the deſigns of the orangemen; that he went by the ſea-ſide to Dublin, and returned by another road, to make the diſſemination of it more general."

He aſſumed the name of Collins, becauſe ſeveral perſons of that name were in the ſervice of captain King.

The riſing and aſſembling of the people was preconcerted, and Mc. Quillan's miſſion was merely to give them notice on what night it was to take place.

Captain King's name was often made uſe of to have him aſſaſſinated, as he was very active as a magiſtrate, and a yeoman officer, in checking the progreſs of rebellion; for which purpoſe he was one of the firſt perſons marked as an object of rebel vengeance in the Union Star. *

The informations relative to Mc. Quillan are lodged in the clerk of the crown's office.

Many other agents were employed to ſpread ſuch reports in the county of Wicklow.

On the ſeventh of Auguſt, 1797, one William Mc. Daniel of Crownaroe, announced publickly at Humewood, and in other parts of the county, that many of the proteſtant members of captain Hume's corps,

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* See an account of it in page 229.

corps,* in which there was but one Roman catholick, took a ſolemn oath, to burn all the Roman catholick houſes in the county, and to ſhoot their inmates, and that they would ſoon ſwim in Catholick blood. This ruffian was taken up, convicted of that crime at the aſſizes, and impriſoned ſix months.

A female vagrant went about the country near Weſt-Aſton, ſpreading a report with active malignity, "That Mr. Acton, a gentleman of good landed property, ſaid, that an order had been received from government, that the proteſtants ſhould put all the Roman catholicks to death; and that he expreſſed concern at it, to ſome of the lower claſs of that perſuaſion." That gentleman offered a reward for the diſcovery of that wretch, but he could not obtain it.

The conduct of the united Iriſhmen in the county of Wicklow, previous to the rebellion, was exactly ſimilar to what took place in every other part of the kingdom; except that they murdered but few perſons in plundering houſes of arms.

The firſt perſon aſſaſſinated in it, was an inoffenſive old gentleman of the name of Nickſon, on the ſeventh of November, 1797.

When the rebels went to his houſe for arms, he opened the door himſelf, informed them, that they ſhould have what arms he had, and ſaid, they ſhould alſo have ſomething to drink, if they went in.

One in the rear of the party cried out, "Does the old raſcal prate? No. 4, ſhoot him directly." On which, No. 4 ſtepped forward, and ſhot him through the body.

The popiſh multitude in Wicklow, as well as in moſt other counties, previous to the rebellion, repaired to the magiſtrates, ſwore oaths of allegiance, and obtained protections, with no other view but to deceive them and the government.

Even ſo late as the twentieth of May, great numbers of people went to Arklow, took oaths of allegiance,

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* It had not a ſingle united Iriſhman in it.

giance, and ſurrendered pikes to the reverend Edward Bayly of Lamberton, a magiſtrate; but for no other purpoſe than to delude the government and the loyal ſubjects.

Had protections been withheld till the people had ſurrendered their arms, and had ſhewn ſome ſigns of returning obedience, this practice would have been attended with the beſt effects; but the general officers in their reſpective diſtricts granted them indiſcriminately, and without any condition. An artful rebel had obtained two protections for himſelf, from two different quarters, and had given one of them to a neighbour, who aſſumed his name.

Dwyer, the noted rebel leader, more cruel than Hacket or Holt, and who has been the occaſion of many atrocious murders near Baltinglaſs, obtained a protection from general Moore, in the year 1798, and remained ſome time in his camp, corrupting his ſoldiers; and yet for more than two years he bids defiance to the king's troops, and keeps the inhabitants of a large tract of the county of Wicklow in terror and diſmay.

Four deſerters from the Antrim militia, and another rebel, were taken at their harbour, at Aughavanagh, with their arms, and carried to the general's camp; but having pretended that they were on their way to ſurrender, he gave them protections, and diſcharged them. They were afterwards (except one who was ſhot,) the moſt deſperate robbing party in the country.

It is not to be ſuppoſed that the general would have treated them with ſuch lenity, had he known that they were deſerters. Had he conſulted the yeomen, or the country gentlemen of the diſtrict, he could not have been deceived; but at that time it was the faſhion to abuſe the yeomanry, and to treat the opinion of the country gentlemen with contempt, which was fatal to many parts of that county.

From the following extracts, taken from informations ſworn before the reverend Edward Bayly, of

Lamberton, in that county, the reader may judge of the deſigns of the rebels. Simon Beahy ſwore the twenty-fifth of May, 1798, that the object of the rebels was, to aſſiſt the French, when they came to conquer the kingdom, by encouraging aſſaſſination, robbery, and the burning of houſes.

Owen Redmond depoſed the twenty-third of May, that he was ſworn to join the French, and aſſiſt them; and to kill all thoſe who would not join them.

John Hall depoſed the ſame, the twenty-third of May.

John Bryan made the ſame depoſition, the twenty-ſeventh of May.

Patrick Myrna ſwore the ſame the twenty-third of May. Michael Stafford ſwore the twenty-third of May, that all thoſe who were not united would be murdered.

Terence Kinſley ſwore, the twenty-third of May, that the united Iriſhmen were to riſe in rebellion againſt the king and his government, and to deſtroy all perſons who were not of the popiſh religion.*

I have ſeen a great number of informations of the ſame tenor, ſworn by repentant rebels, and have many of them in my poſſeſſion.

I did not hear of a ſingle inſtance of diſaffection among the proteſtant yeomen in the county of Wicklow,† or that a perſon of that perſuaſion was concerned in the conſpiracy or rebellion.

Part of the Arklow corps quartered at Gorey, patroled the country on the night of the twenty-ſeventh of May, and in doing ſo, took up a wounded rebel, whoſe life they promiſed to ſpare, if he would diſcloſe what he knew of the united buſineſs; on which he freely and voluntarily confeſſed, before many reſpectable witneſſes, "That he had been ſworn by his prieſt, to riſe againſt the government, and to kill all the hereticks."

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* See Appendix, No. XVI. 2.

† Except Holt, a low fellow, without any kind of principle, and a notorious robber.

Many rebels in the county of Wicklow enliſted in the king's troops, while they were quartered there, merely for the purpoſe of obtaining arms and ammunition, and a knowledge of military diſcipline. On the night of the twenty-firſt of September, twenty-two of the King's county militia, who had practiſed this baſe artifice, deſerted with their arms and ammunition. Some yeomen cavalry were ſent in purſuit of them, but the deſerters having lain in wait, fired on them when they were in a deep road, with high hedges on each ſide, killed two of them, and wounded ſome more. This method was univerſally adopted by the rebels, for the above purpoſes, and to ſeduce the king's troops from their allegiance.

On the thirteenth of May, 1798, the magiſtrates and yeomen officers for ſome miles round Baltinglaſs,‡ publiſhed exhortations to the lower claſs of people, recommending to them to ſurrender their arms, to make full confeſſion of their guilt, to ſwear oaths of allegiance, and to receive protections; and vaſt multitudes of them continued to do ſo, from morning till night, from the fifteenth to the twenty-fourth of May; and yet, on the morning of that day, the inſurrection of the lower claſs of people was general; and they were all armed with pikes or muſkets, though, with their uſual diſſimulation, they had for ſome days before put on the ſemblance of contrition.

On the nineteenth of May, a decent looking man went through the country contiguous to Baltinglaſs, exhorting the people to be in readineſs to riſe at a moment's warning, as no excuſe would be taken.

On the morning of the twenty-third of May, the following notice was put under the door of a yeoman of captain Saunders's corps:

"This is to give you notice, that if you do not do as you are deſired to do, you will be left deſolate:

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‡ Plate I. 8.

and further, if you let any bad perſons know, you will be burnt in your houſe."

Captain Saunders of the Saunders-grove corps, having received a hint that ſome of its members were ſeduced by the united Iriſhmen, called a full parade of them on the twentieth of May, and exhorted them, if any of them had been unfortunately tempted to ſwerve from their allegiance, to acknowledge it to him either publickly or privately; but his addreſs to them did not produce any effect.

Such of them as were diſaffected, had reſolved that evening to diſcloſe their guilt to their captain, but that James Dunn, the corporal, who had ſeduced them, perſuaded them to adhere to the united cauſe, and not to violate the oath of ſecreſy which they had taken. Full information having been received of the guilt of Dunn, he was taken up on the twenty-firſt of May, by the Wicklow militia, and on being arreſted, he impeached ſome of the members of his own corps.

This diſcovery induced captain Saunders to call a full parade the twenty-ſecond of May, when he announced it to his men, in preſence of a party of the Wicklow militia, and the Dunlavin cavalry: and having deſired three or four of the moſt guilty to come forward, no leſs than twenty of them, touched with the ſtings of compunction, advanced, and confeſſed that they had been ſworn. They were immediately conveyed as priſoners to Dunlavin, where many of them were ſhot on the morning of the twenty-fourth of May, when the general riſing took place. There was much diſaffection in the popiſh members of all the yeomen corps in that part of the country; but I could not hear of a ſingle inſtance of treachery in a proteſtant. There was a conſpiracy formed to murder captain Saunders; but this is not ſurpriſing, as all the proteſtant gentlemen of that county were to have been cut off by their popiſh ſervants or tenants. Thomas Kavanagh, a popiſh member of lord Aldborough's corps, was a leader of the rebels; he was afterwards hanged; and his head was amputated, and fixed on a may-pole at Baltinglaſs.

Mrs. Saunders, with heroick fortitude, remained at Saunders-grove, with her ſix children, during the whole of the rebellion, while the tempeſt howled around her; and, confiding in the fidelity of a few proteſtant yeomen, ſhe bid defiance to many bands of traitors who often approached her houſe, which ſhe humanely made the aſylum of many loyal proteſtants, who narrowly eſcaped from the pikes of the aſſaſſins in the adjacent country.

The rebels having aſſembled, to the number of four or five hundred, near Stratford on Slaney, entered that town in order to pillage it. While they were proceeding to do ſo, lieutenant Macauly, commanding thirty of the Antrim militia, and cornet Love, with twenty of the ninth dragoons, attacked them; and at the ſame inſtant, captain Stratford appeared at the other end of the town with a detachment of his corps. They attacked the rebels at the ſame time, and completely routed them, having killed between one and two hundred; and many were wounded, who made their eſcape. Thomas Kavanagh, who headed the rebels on that occaſion, offered to mount guard next day at Baltinglaſs, in order to betray it to the rebels, which he would have done, but that his treachery was diſcovered.

Previous to relating the battle of Newtown-mount-kennedy, I ſhall give an account of the progreſs of the rebellion in the adjacent country, and of the circumſtances which immediately preceded it.

In the ſpring and ſummer of one thouſand ſeven hundred and ninety-ſeven, ſtrong ſymptoms of diſaffection began to appear in it, ſuch as cutting down trees to make pike-handles, ſounding of horns, meetings of the people on moon-light nights for the purpoſe of exerciſing, and firing ſhots to intimidate and keep within their houſes the loyal inhabitants.—Some vigilant and intelligent magiſtrates, ſeeing that nothing but active and ſeaſonable exertions could ſave the country from deſtruction, had the landholders and principal inhabitants convened, to take its alarming ſtate into conſideration. Notwithſtanding the moſt indubitable proofs that treaſon fermented, and had made a conſiderable progreſs in the country, which was evinced by the facts which I have ſtated, many noblemen and gentlemen were ſo incredulous, in conſequence of the artful conduct, and groſs miſrepreſentation of the diſaffected, and of the readineſs of the multitude to take the oath of allegiance, as not to believe that they had treaſonable deſigns, and for that reaſon, the meetings were frequently adjourned; and inſtead of adopting vigorous meaſures, the moſt friendly and pacifick addreſſes to the people were publiſhed, inviting them to reſpect the laws, and to return to a ſenſe of their duty.

The committees of the united Iriſhmen regarded their patience and forbearance, as cowardice and puſillanimity; and the lower claſs of people became daring and inſolent, pulling down the pacifick reſolutions of the county meetings, and denouncing vengeance againſt ſuch magiſtrates and loyal ſubjects, as expreſſed a diſapprobation of their ſeditious proceedings, or had taken an active part againſt them; and at length it became dangerous for perſons of that deſcription to traverſe the country, for fear of being aſſaſſinated.

At laſt they were driven to the neceſſity of proclaiming the whole county, as the infection had ſpread very widely. Some parts of it had been proclaimed the tenth of November, 1797. The general meetings of the people, in their reſpective diſtricts, on the eleventh of October, I have already mentioned. It had a moſt terrifick appearance, in the country round Newtown-mount-kennedy. The people, in conſiderable numbers, headed by their captains, and variouſly armed, paraded there. On being interrogated by the gentlemen of the country, who remonſtrated to them on the dangerous conſequences of their conduct, they ſaid, in excuſe, that they aſſembled in defence of their perſons and property, againſt the orangemen, who, they ſaid, conſpired againſt them, and were to riſe and cut off every perſon of their perſuaſion without exception.

I have already mentioned, that ſuch reports were framed for no other purpoſe, but to kindle an inextinguiſhable hatred in the Roman catholicks againſt the proteſtants; and the effects of it appeared afterwards in the maſſacres which took place in the counties of Wicklow, Wexford, Carlow, Meath, Dublin, Kildare, Mayo, and Sligo.

Matters remained in that ſtate, till the ſpring of 1798, when a paper containing the proceedings and reſolutions of the county of Wicklow committee was obtained, and was afterwards proved upon oath before the ſecret committee of the houſe of lords, which ſhewed the extent and malignity of the conſpiracy.

Government ſtill deſirous, if poſſible, to avoid harſh and coercive meaſures, and to induce the people to return to their duty and their allegiance by mild and conciliating means, lieutenant-general Craig, by their orders, iſſued a proclamation, dated the eleventh of May, 1798, for that purpoſe, which ſee in Appendix, No. XVI. 3; and major Hardy, a humane gentleman and a judicious officer, who then commanded in that county, uſed the moſt zealous endeavours to the ſame end.

Early in the month of May, as the country was in ſuch an alarming ſtate, that no loyal ſubjects could with ſafety remain in their houſes, the yeomen of the diſtrict were ordered into garriſon at Newtown-mount-kennedy.

On Tueſday the twenty-ninth of May, a party conſiſting of ten of the Ancient Britiſh cavalry, commanded by lieutenant Edwards, and the ſame number of the Newtown-mount-kennedy cavalry, under lieutenant Archer, were ordered to proceed to Roundwood, and to return by the Devil's-glynn, where the rebels were ſuppoſed to be encamped in conſiderable force; and they were to reconnoitre them, and to aſcertain their numbers and their poſition. As they approached Roundwood, they attacked and cut off ſome ſmall parties of the rebels.

Soon after they were informed, by expreſs, that the rebels were proceeding to burn all the houſes of the proteſtants, and that they had begun with that of Mr. Hugo,* at Drummeen, about three miles off; the detachment arrived in time to ſave the dwelling-houſe, but they found the offices in flames. They attacked and routed the rebel party, who committed that atrocity, with conſiderable ſlaughter, and laid waſte the village of Clohogue, in which they took refuge.

On the twenty-ninth of May, two dragoons, one a yeoman, the other an Ancient Britiſh fencible, were ſent from Dublin, with an expreſs to lord Roſsmore, at Newtown-mount-kennedy, who was to forward it to Wicklow. When they were within two miles of Newtown-mount-kennedy, ſome rebels, who lined the hedges, fired on them, and killed the yeomen who carried the expreſs; yet his comrade, though the traitors continued to fire at him, diſmounted, and with great coolneſs took the expreſs out of his pocket, and delivered it, all covered with the blood of the deceaſed, to lord Roſsmore.

For ſome days previous to the thirtieth of May, immenſe numbers of rebels were ſeen on the mountains which overlook the village of Newtown-mount-kennedy, which gave ſtrong reaſons for ſuſpecting that they meant to attack it.

About one o'clock, on the morning of that day, the town was aſſaulted by about one thouſand of them, variouſly armed, who began by ſhouting and huzzaing for Napper Tandy, and then by ſetting fire to ſeveral houſes, particularly to the ſtable of the Ancient Britons; but very fortunately the horſes had been removed the preceding day.

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* He was lieutenant of the Wicklow cavalry, and was noted for his zeal, his activity and courage.

On their entering the town, they were oppoſed by the ſmall garriſon in it, conſiſting of forty Ancient Britons, twenty of the Antrim militia, forty of the Newtown-mount-kennedy cavalry, and forty diſmounted men, who had only received their arms the preceding day.

Nothing could exceed the valour of this ſmall force, in repelling ſo ſudden and violent an attack. In the firſt onſet, captain Burgany of the Ancient Britons fell, covered with ſhot and with pike wounds. Captain Gore of the Newtown-mount-kennedy cavalry, who bravely led the attack, was diſmounted, and received ſome dangerous pike wounds. Mr. Graves Archer, lieutenant of that corps, was ſeverely wounded in the charge, and his horſe was killed; and ſeveral of the yeomen received ſlight wounds.

Notwithſtanding theſe diſcouraging circumſtances, the rebels were routed and purſued with much ſlaughter, the purſuit having continued for ſome hours; and the rebels, to facilitate their eſcape, dropped ſome hundred pikes in their flight.

The conduct of lieutenant Ferguſon, and his detachment of the Antrim, was highly meritorious, not only for their courage and activity in the town, but in diſlodging and diſperſing a party of rebels, headed by one Maguire, a noted leader, who were too late for the attack on the village, but materially aſſiſted in covering the routed rebels in their retreat.

Holt, a famous rebel chieftain, who commanded at the attack on Mr. Hugo's houſe, was to have aſſiſted in the aſſault on Newtown-mount-kennedy, with ſix hundred men; but could not arrive there before the main body was defeated.

The reader may conceive in what a dangerous and terrifick ſtate this country was in, on the breaking-out of the rebellion, from the following circumſtance: Captain Beauman, who commanded the Coolgreny corps, was at Arklow, * when that event took place; and

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* Plate II. 1.

and though his houſe was but five miles diſtant, he did not venture to go to it, nor could he learn what was going forward there for three weeks; ſo completely was all communication cut off.

For ſome months after the rebellion was ſaid to be extinguiſhed in the county of Wicklow, the rebels continued to commit the moſt ſhocking atrocities, plundering and burning the houſes of proteſtants, and murdering their inmates, though there were three camps ſtationed there at that time, for the purpoſe of preventing the commiſſion of outrages.

In the pariſh of Donoughmore, twenty-two of the principal proteſtant houſes were burned, and no houſe of a Romaniſt, but one; and that, becauſe the woman of it lamented, that the houſe and property of her proteſtant landlord had been deſtroyed.

A hundred proteſtants of that pariſh fled for protection to Tullow,* Dunlavin, and Baltinglaſs;† and were afraid to return to their reſpective homes, in conſequence of the threats and denunciations of their popiſh neighbours.

All the proteſtant houſes at each ſide of the road from Baltinglaſs to Hacketſtown, from Hacketſtown to Rathdrum, and from Rathdrum to Bleſſington, were burnt; but the property of a Roman catholick did not receive the ſmalleſt injury in that extenſive tract. On Wedneſday the twenty-fifth of July, they burned all the proteſtant houſes, ſixty in number, between Rathvilly and Hacketſtown. This deſolating ſpirit was very much encouraged by the refuſal of the general officers to aſſiſt the civil magiſtrates with troops to prevent it.

Mr. Hume, member for the county, made ſuch an application to general ———; but he openly and bluntly refuſed him, having ſaid, that ſuch outrages, were occaſioned by the burning of houſes, by country gentlemen.

The rebels, finding that they ran no riſk of puniſhment, proceeded in large bands and with cool deliberation to lay waſte extenſive tracts of country.

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* Plate II. 2.

† Ibid. I. 8.

I ſhall refer the reader to Appendix, No. XVI. 4, for ſome ſpecimens of their treaſonable deſigns, of their deſtructive ſpirit, and of the cold-blooded murders which they committed.

About three o'clock, on the morning of the twenty-fourth of June, two yeomen patroling near the meeting of the waters, a place between Arklow and Rathdrum, ſaw a well-dreſſed man, on a horſe covered with foam and ſweat, from ſevere riding; they ſeized him, and demanded who he was, and whence he came. He anſwered, that he was a gentleman, and had been riding about for pleaſure, to ſee the beauties of the country. Having conducted him to Rathdrum, he was examined by the commanding officer there, but would not give an account of himſelf.

A young gentleman of Drogheda, a recruiting officer, who was preſent, recogniſed the priſoner, gave privately a brief hiſtory of him to captain Giffard, and requeſted that he would keep it a profound ſecret.

At that inſtant an alarm having been given, that the rebels were advancing, the garriſon got under arms, the cannon were drawn out, and the matches were lighted.

Captain Giffard ſhewed him theſe preparations; Told him, he knew that he was father Martin, a prieſt, of Drogheda: That he was acting as a ſpy: That unleſs he made a full confeſſion, he ſhould be put to death, as his life was forfeited by the laws of war: That if he complied, he ſhould be left at the diſpoſal of the viceroy, who was merciful; but if he heſitated, he ſhould be blown away at the mouth of a cannon.

He inſtantly dropped on his knees, begged to be taken into a private room, where, he ſaid, he would make a full and candid confeſſion.

At firſt he began to trifle; but the captain having mentioned ſome circumſtances, which convinced the priſoner that he knew more of him than he ſuppoſed, he made the following full and unreſerved confeſſion upon oath, and afterwards ſigned it:

"That his name was Martin: That he had been a friar of Drogheda, and that he recently officiated at Dunboyne: That he was early an united Iriſhman, and very active in the cauſe: That he preached up the maſſacre of the proteſtants at Dunboyne, which afterwards took place there: That he was in habits of intimacy with father Ledwich, pariſh prieſt of Rathfarnham, whoſe nephew (Ledwich) and Wade, he excited to rebellion, in conſequence of which they were both hanged on the Queen's-bridge: That he was now come down to promote the cauſe, and was in ſearch of Byrne and Holt, who were at the head of a large body of rebels in the mountains, between Rathdrum and Hacketſtown: That he had ſlept the preceding night at the houſe of a prieſt at Roundwood."

He alſo ſtated, "That there was a club of traitors at that time ſitting in Dublin, and another in Drogheda," moſt of whom have been ſince taken up, and puniſhed. He ſaid, "That a large ſum of money had been levied on the Roman catholicks in general, both clergy and laity, every perſon paying according to his wealth, ſome an hundred pounds, others one ſhilling: That he, though a poor prieſt, was rated at a guinea; That the money ſo levied, was to be applied to purchaſe arms and ammunition, and to reward their friends both in and out of parliament."

The practice of putting red tape on the necks of popiſh children, a ſhort time before the rebellion broke out, prevailed as much in the county of Wicklow as Wexford. It is certain, that the intent of it was, to diſtinguiſh the popiſh from the proteſtant children. The pretext was, to protect them from the effects of a contagious diſorder which would ſoon appear in the country, and be fatal to many of its inhabitants; but experience has ſince taught us that it was to enable the rebels to diſcriminate proteſtants from popiſh children in the maſſacre which was intended of the former.

A court-martial was held at Arklow, the eighteenth of June, 1798, by orders of general Needham, for the trial of Matthew Waddock, a traitor, found in arms, and for being in the action of the ninth of June, at Arklow.

The priſoner acknowledged the crime, and that while he attended the rebel army, he conſidered as chief commanders in it, Anthony Perry of Inch, father Francis Kavenagh, a prieſt of Gorey, father Roche of the ſame, Bernard Murray, apothecary, and Matthew D'Arcy, both of the ſame.

James Murrigan, a priſoner, taken in arms with Waddock, depoſed, that fathers Roche, Stafford, Kavenagh and Redmond,* four prieſts, were always conſidered as commanders in the rebel army.

The death of captain Hume, member for the county of Wicklow, murdered by the rebels, happened in the following manner; which was proved on the trial of John Moore, the rebel who killed him:

John O'Neale ſwore, that the party of rebels to which he belonged, was cloſely purſued by the king's troops, through Glenmalier, into Aughavanagh, where they ſaw different parties of the king's troops in purſuit of them. They had but ſix horſemen of their party, three in red and three in coloured clothes. Captain Hume, having miſtaken them for a party of yeomen, advanced near them, and cried out, "Is there not enough to mind that poſition?" Conway, one of the rebels, aſked him, Who he was? to which he anſwered, "Captain of a corps of cavalry." Conway then ſaid, "Did you ever hear of the Ballynatrochin cavalry?" and then raiſing his firelock, miſſed fire at him. On which Moore ſhot him, and mounted his horſe, and Conway took his ſpurs. This gentleman, who was univerſally and deſervedly eſteemed in his county, had

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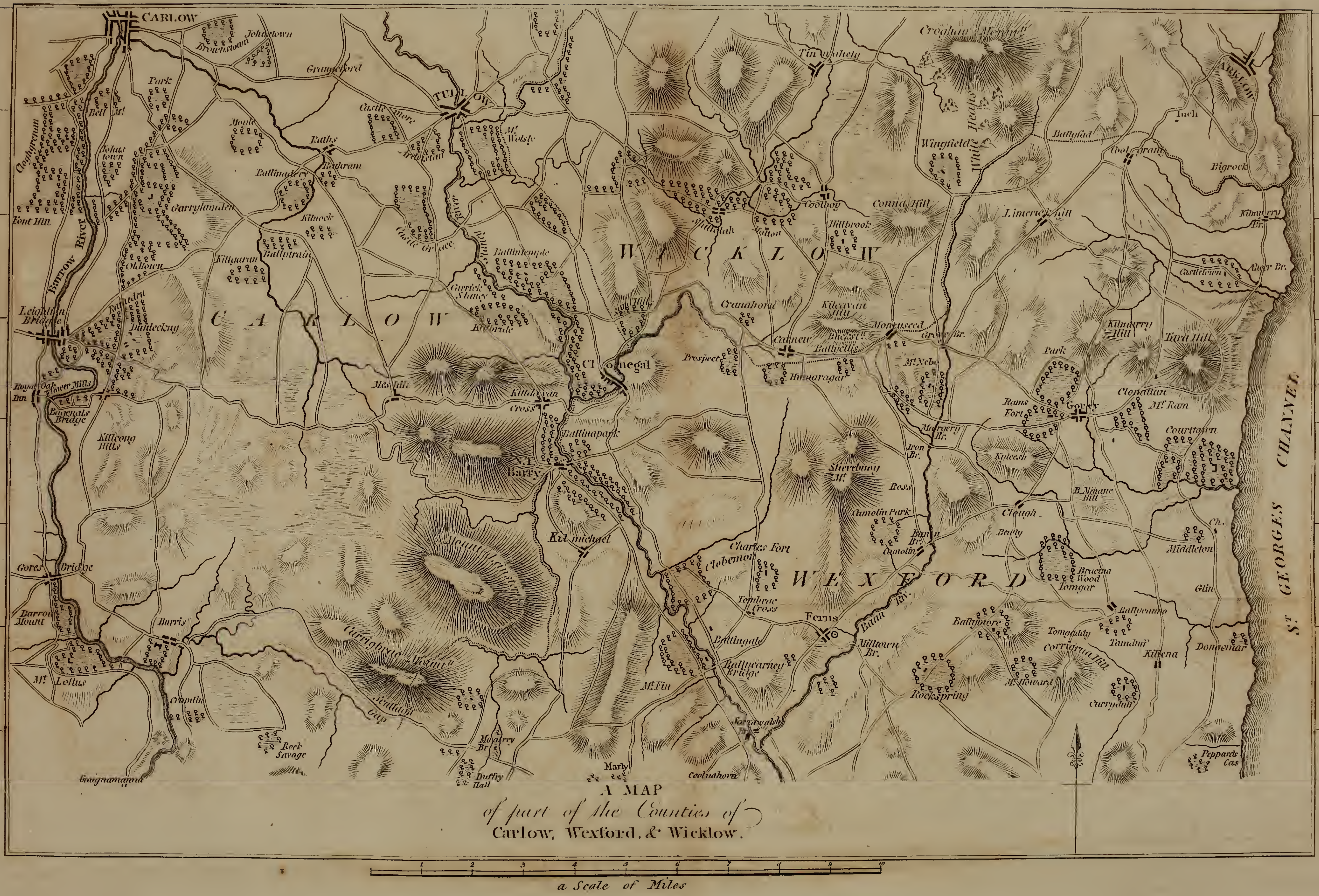
* The latter was hanged. He was coadjutor to father Kavenagh, a prieſt of Gorey.

Plate II.



A MAP of part of the Counties of Carlow, Wexford, & Wicklow.

had diſplayed great courage and activity at the head of his corps, during the progreſs of the rebellion. This melancholy event happened in the month of October, 1798.

BEBELLION IN THE COUNTY OF WEXFORD.

The inhabitants of no part of Leinſter enjoyed ſo equal a portion of ſocial happineſs, as thoſe of the county of Wexford, which aroſe from the following cauſes: Many Engliſh families who ſettled there at different periods, but particularly in the laſt century, introduced that œconomy, induſtry, and cleanlineſs, which are peculiar to the Britiſh nation, but in which the native Iriſh are very deficient; and ſtrong veſtiges of thoſe habits are ſtill evident in the deſcendants of the Britiſh ſettlers. There are fewer abſentee eſtates in Wexford than in moſt other counties, and more gentlemen reſident in it, who maintain ſocial order, and diſcharge the duties of hoſpitality, charity and humanity; and as the leaves of a tree enrich the ſoil which nouriſhes the parent trunk, ſo the rents of an eſtate ſhould be expended in rewarding the labour of thoſe, who, in producing them, contribute to the eaſe, the comfort, and convenience of the landlord. From its oblong and narrow form, and the ſinuoſity of its ſea coaſt, it enjoys a much greater length of it, in proportion to its quantity of ſquare acres, than any other county; a circumſtance favourable not only to commerce but to agriculture, as the ſea ſand and ſea weed, form a very good manure for corn. It is abundantly ſupplied with fiſh and ſea fowl. It is biſected by the river Slaney, which is navigable to Enniſcorthy, fifteen miles from the ſea: part of it is bounded on the weſt by the rivers Nore and Barrow, which unite a little above New Roſs, and proceed in a very copious ſtream to Dunbrody, where being joined by the river Suir, they run in a ſouth-eaſt direction,

rection, and, paſſing by Paſſage and Duncannon fort, diſcharge themſelves into the ocean at Hook tower.†

The county of Wexford had been generally noted for the peaceable diſpoſition of its inhabitants, and a chaſte adminiſtration of juſtice, which might be juſtly imputed to the comfort, and the conſtant occupation, which its very extenſive and flouriſhing agriculture affords to the farmers and the peaſantry, and to the number of gentlemen who reſide on their eſtates. While many counties in Ireland were diſgraced by nocturnal robbery and aſſaſſination, committed by defenders and united Iriſhmen, for five years previous to 1797, it was the pride and the boaſt of the Wexford gentlemen, that their county remained in perfect tranquillity.* But in the autumn and winter of the year 1797, and in the ſpring of the enſuing year, as there were well grounded ſuſpicions that the maſs of the people began to be infected by thoſe baneful principles which have ſince proved ſo fatal to the kingdom, that pikes had been manufactured, that clubs had been formed, in which illegal oaths had been adminiſtered, meetings of the magiſtrates were held in different parts of the county, to take into conſideration the neceſſity of proclaiming thoſe diſtricts, where ſymptoms of diſturbance had appeared.

From the beginning of the year 1797, it was perceived by ſome magiſtrates of diſcernment, that the lower claſſes of the people were very unwilling to pay their debts, or to fulfil any engagements: That they appeared ſurly when called on to do ſo; and they were heard, when angry, or drunk, to hint on ſuch occaſions, that they would ſoon have an opportunity of being revenged. They were ſeen to remain later than uſual at fairs and markets, and in publick houſes, and to confer together in whiſpers.

At a meeting of the magiſtrates held at Gorey, the twentieth day of November, 1797, ſuch ſtrong proofs

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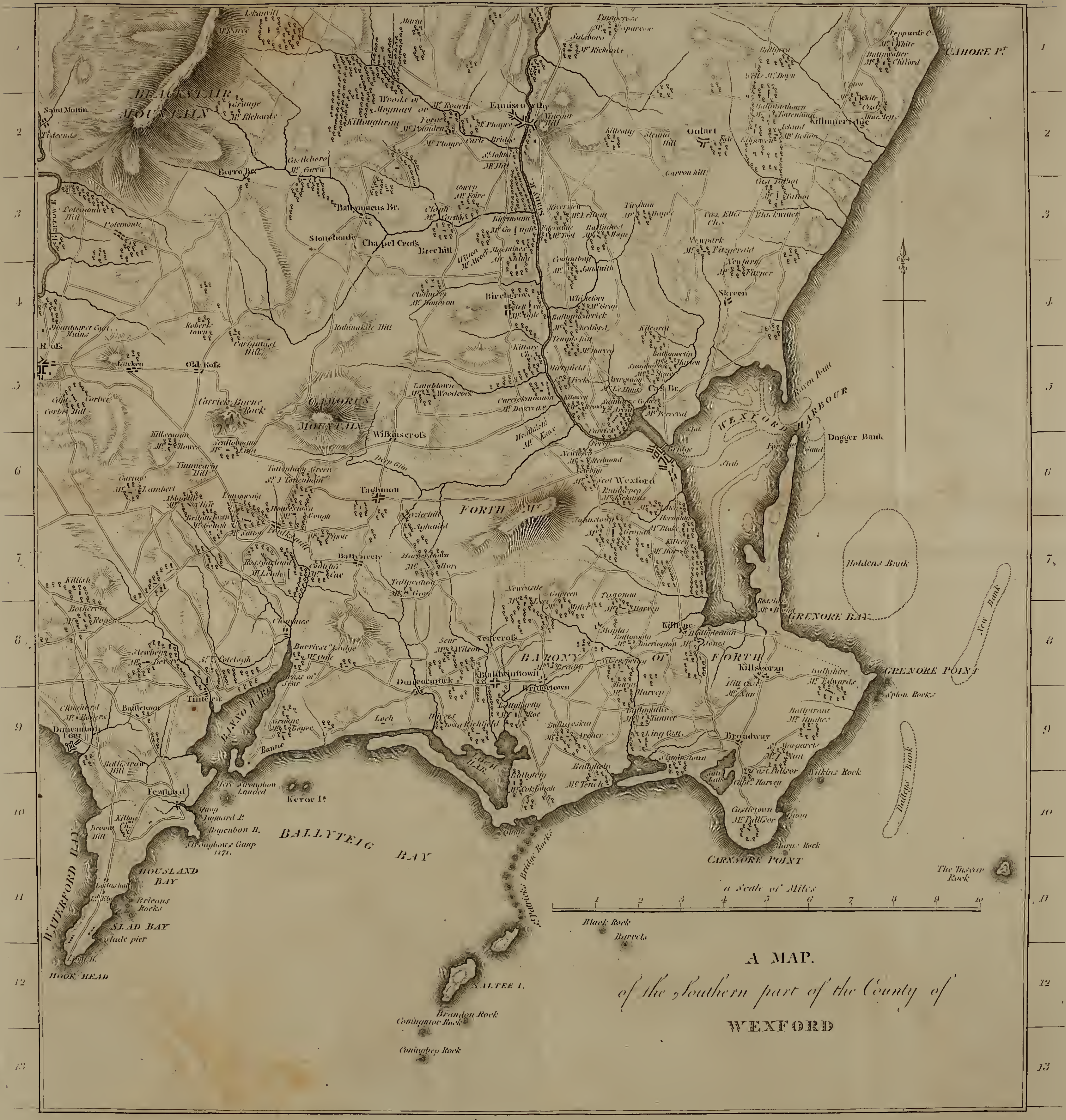
† Plates, No. I. II. III.

* The only inſtance to the contrary that occurred there ſome years were the white boys in the year 1774, and the defenders who appeared there in 1793; but the latter were ſoon ſuppreſſed.

Plate III



A MAP.

of the Southern part of the County of

WEXFORD

proofs appeared, that a ſpirit of diſaffection had exiſted ſome time in certain diſtricts, that nineteen pariſhes were proclaimed; which circumſtance alarmed the prieſts of thoſe pariſhes, and their congregations, as they found that the progreſs of their rebellious deſigns would be impeded, if the civil magiſtrate was empowered to act with additional energy under the inſurrection law. They therefore aſſembled at their reſpective chapels, and in an addreſs, which they univerſally adopted, beſought the earl of Mountnorris to avert that meaſure, as it would cover them with a ſuſpicion of diſloyalty and diſaffection, which they by no means merited: And as his lordſhip, and ſeven more magiſtrates of the county, ſpoke and voted againſt proclaiming thoſe pariſhes, they entreated him and them, to meet them at their reſpective chapels, that they might take the oath of allegiance, to clear themſelves from that imputation; and his lordſhip, and thoſe magiſtrates, having accordingly attended them, they all, at their reſpective altars, ſwore an oath of allegiance, agreeable to a form previouſly agreed upon.*

So deep was the diſguiſe of the popiſh multitude, and their prieſts, that the proteſtant miniſters, churchwardens, and pariſhioners of ſome pariſhes, were prevailed on by them, to ſign certificates of their loyalty and peaceable deportment, in order to prevent the adoption of that ſalutary coercion, which would have checked their dangerous deſigns; yet thoſe very prieſts, and their flocks, diſplayed the moſt bitter and unrelenting enmity againſt thoſe miniſters † and their congregations, in the month of May, and hunted them like wild beaſts.

At the meeting held at Gorey, eight magiſtrates, including lord Mountnorris, voted and ſpoke vehemently againſt proclaiming the nineteen pariſhes, from a perſuaſion that the popiſh inhabitants and their prieſts were perfectly innocent; and yet they were as obnoxious to that ferocious and ſanguinary ſpirit which broke forth in the month of May, as thoſe who wiſhed to enforce that meaſure.

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* See in Appendix, No. XVII. the addreſs to his lordſhip, and the oath of allegiance which they all adopted, and the names of the prieſts and their reſpective pariſhes.

† See in Appendix, No. XVII. the certificates of ſome pariſhes, which I happened to obtain.

The ſymptoms of rebellion were ſo evident and alarming in the month of April, that twenty-ſeven magiſtrates aſſembled at Enniſcorthy, on the twenty-fifth of that month, and agreed that the whole county ſhould be proclaimed, and it accordingly took place on the twenty-ſeventh; but Mr. Joſhua Pounden ſtrenuouſly urged an exemption from its operation for that town, from a conviction of the loyalty of its inhabitants; and Mr. Alcock of Wilton, from the ſame motive, ſolicited a ſimilar privilege for his tenants; though the ſequel proved that they were deceived.

This procedure was adopted, in conſequence of their having diſcovered that great quantities of pikes had been made, and of their having detected blackſmiths in the act of fabricating them.

Mr. Hawtrey White, captain of the Ballaghkeene yeomen cavalry, obtained the following information, and communicated it to government, ſo early as the month of November, 1797: Their manner of aſſembling: Their frequent meetings: Their mode of collecting money in their reſpective pariſhes: That it was to be applied to the purpoſe of purchaſing arms and ammunition, and of ſeducing the military: That an attack on the city of Dublin was meditated: That the popiſh prieſts were deeply concerned in the rebellion; and that whenever it would break-out, religion would have the chief influence in it.

Many other prieſts and their congregations followed the example of thoſe who took oaths of allegiance, on the twenty-ſixth of November, 1797, having ſolicited the magiſtrates to give them the ſame opportunity of exculpating themſelves.

In the month of February, 1798, ſome of the principal popiſh farmers of the pariſh of Kilruſh, ſolicited Charles Dawſon, eſquire, of Charles-Fort, near Ferns,* a magiſtrate, to attend them at their chapel for that purpoſe; and he complied with their wiſhes, on the enſuing Sunday, when he was aſſiſted by the reverend Edanus Murphy, their pariſh prieſt, and his coadjutor. The latter, in a long harangue from the altar, expatiated on the virtues of his preſent majeſty, the wiſdom and lenity of his government, and recommended to them a ſteady and unſhaken fidelity to both. He at the ſame time appointed three days for them to aſſemble at different places in the pariſh, to take and ſubſcribe the oath of allegiance, before Mr. Dawſon, which they accordingly did; and father Murphy was preſent at one of their meetings.

The ſame prieſt and his flock aſſembled again on the twenty-eighth of January, 1798, in their chapel, expreſſing their abhorrence of the barbarous outrages lately committed, and of the dangerous conſpiracies formed by traitors and rebels, ſtyling themſelves united Iriſhmen; and declaring their unalterable attachment to their beloved ſovereign, and to our happy conſtitution. It was ſigned by Edanus Murphy, and five hundred and fourteen of his pariſhioners, and publiſhed in the Dublin Journal on the third day of March, 1798, after having been preſented to the viceroy.

Notwithſtanding ſuch unequivocal teſtimonies of their loyalty, Mr. Dawſon had ſtrong reaſons for thinking that a ſtorm was gathering, as the people aſſembled privately, and many pikes had been manufactured in the pariſh, ſubſequent to the adminiſtration of oaths at the chapel. He therefore prevailed on ſome of his tenants, partly by threats, and partly by perſuaſion, to make a full confeſſion of their guilt, and to deliver up their arms, which they accordingly did; and next day a great number of people followed their example, in acknowledging their deluſion, in ſurrendering pikes, and in ſoliciting protections, which they obtained; though theſe very people had a few days before taken oaths of allegiance, and had ſigned an addreſs to the viceroy.

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* Plate II. 6.

On this diſcovery, Mr. Dawſon, alarmed at the perilous ſtate of the country, repaired on the twentieth of May to Wexford, where he and twenty-nine magiſtrates aſſembled; and publiſhed notices, exhorting all the people in general to come in, to take oaths of allegiance, to confeſs their errors, and to accept the protection which they then offered them. This produced the deſired effect; for the magiſtrates continued the entire week to receive great numbers of people, who ſeemed very penitent, having confeſſed their errors; the committees before whom they had been ſworn; and the blackſmiths who had made their pikes, of which they ſurrendered great quantities.

The ſame protections were granted in the pariſhes of Enniſcorthy, Templeſhambo, Ferns, * Newtownbarry † and Camolin, ‡ where the reſpective pariſh prieſts attended, and exhorted their flocks to teſtify their loyalty, and to renounce their errors; and this continued till the day before the rebellion broke out, and in moſt of the pariſhes in that county they followed their example.

The prieſts and their congregations in the pariſh of Monomolin, took oaths of allegiance, ſurrendered their arms, and received protections, on the week preceding the rebellion, and ſent a loyal addreſs to the viceroy.

Great numbers of people in the pariſh of Kilſcoran, attended by two prieſts, continued to take oaths of allegiance on Saturday, Sunday and Monday, previous to the thirtieth of May. Above one thouſand perſons did the like in the pariſh of Taghmon, the week preceding the rebellion, and two hundred even ſo late as the morning of Whitſunday.

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* Plate II. 6. † Ibid. ‡ Ibid.

The protections granted to the perſons who took ſuch oaths, were found afterwards in the pockets of numbers of them who fell in the rebellion.

On the twelfth of April, 1797, many pariſh prieſts and their congregations addreſſed lord Camden in terms ſtrongly expreſſive of their loyalty, and on this occaſion they all adopted one form of addreſs. ||

As the earl of Mountnorris had always been peculiarly attentive to the intereſt of the Roman catholicks, and had endeavoured to awaken a ſenſe of duty in them, at this alarming period, they ſolicited him to preſent them to the viceroy, which he accordingly did.

The reverend Dudley Colclough a magiſtrate, adminiſtered oaths of allegiance in the pariſh of Templeſhambo, to ſome hundreds of people, who ſurrendered their pikes, and on doing ſo received protections.

Sir Frederick Flood and Henry Brownrigg, eſquire, did the like in the pariſh of Camolin, where the prieſts attended.

The following letter § publiſhed in the Dublin Journal of May twenty-ſixth, ſhews how much the magiſtrates were impoſed on.

It was obſerved, that in the town of Camolin, a number of prieſts uſed frequently to meet, dine together, and hold private conferences for ſome months previous to the rebellion.

At Enniſcorthy, the two Mr. Poundens ſat for an entire week, previous to Whitſunday, giving protections to the people, in conſequence of their having taken

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|| See in Appendix No. XVII. the names of the prieſts, their pariſhes and their addreſs.

§ Camolin, May 24th.

"I have the ſatisfaction of informing you, that the meaſures of government have been attended with the happieſt effects. In this pariſh, many hundred pikes have been given up within theſe few days to ſir Frederick Flood and Henry Brownrigg, eſquire, magiſtrates; and the unfortunate people are crowding in with the fulleſt confeſſion, and throwing themſelves on the mercy of government. I have been myſelf an eye-witneſs to the ſenſe of guilt and contrition in the deluded peaſantry, againſt whom ſuch baneful arts have been exerted."

taken the oaths, and ſurrendered their arms. Theſe proceedings took place in the preſence of three prieſts,* who to give a greater appearance of ſanctity to them, inſiſted that the people ſhould be ſworn on a popiſh manual; and yet ſo little regard had their flock for the ſacred obligation of an oath, that ſome of theſe protections were found in the pockets of rebels, who were killed on the Monday following, when they attacked the town of Enniſcorthy.

In the pariſh of Ferns, oaths were adminiſtered to the inhabitants of it, by Iſaac Cornock, eſquire, and the reverend Mr. Turner † of Ballingale, both magiſtrates, until the evening before the rebellion broke out.

Some of them denied, that they had ever ſeen a pike, or taken the united Iriſhmen's oath; but on being refuſed protections, and threatened with the ſeverity of the law, they acknowledged both; and ſaid, that they had procured thoſe weapons to protect themſelves againſt orangemen, who they heard would ſoon riſe and exterminate the Roman catholicks. A few of them owned, that the purport of their oath was, to join the French, and to kill all loyal ſubjects, and ſuch perſons as would not join them; and on being urged to declare whom they meant by loyal perſons, they ſaid proteſtants.

Mr. Hawtrey White of Peppard's caſtle, ‡ in the pariſh of Donoughmore, an active magiſtrate, knowing that rebellious principles had been widely diffuſed, and had taken deep root in the minds of the people, prevailed on the following prieſts, and the moſt reſpectable farmers of their congregations, to aſſemble at his houſe, on Saturday, the nineteenth day of May, for the purpoſe of admoniſhing them, on the alarming ſtate of the country: Father Nicholas Redmond, pariſh prieſt of Donoughmore, father Michael Murphy, of * Ballycanew, father Michael Lacy, of † Kilmuckridge. He informed them of his having received certain intelligence, that ſecret meetings of the people had been frequently held, in which treaſonable oaths had been adminiſtered, and that great quantities of pikes had been made in their pariſhes, and in all the adjacent country; and he preſſed them to uſe their utmoſt exertions, by exhortations from the altar, to check their deluded congregations, in their career to deſtruction; but they and their pariſhioners, declared in the moſt ſolemn manner, that they were poſitively ignorant of the alarming circumſtances which he ſtated, and that they had never ſeen a pike; though Mr. White had poſitive information, that ſome of the farmers who had made ſuch declarations of their innocence, were poſſeſſed of conſiderable quantities of thoſe weapons. They all departed, making ſtrong profeſſions of loyalty, and expreſſing great ſurpriſe and concern at what they had heard. Next day theſe prieſts exhorted their flocks from the altar, to conduct themſelves peaceably, and to act with fidelity towards the government; and they, as if deeply impreſſed with the admonitions of their ſpiritual paſtors, continued the entire week to ſurrender pikes, and to ſwear oaths of allegiance before magiſtrates, and to receive protections. ‡ Though the maſs of the people gave ſuch unequivocal teſtimonies of their ſincere intention to preſerve ſocial order, the following circumſtance raiſed many ominous doubts and conjectures in the minds of his majeſty's loyal ſubjects: That the popiſh multitude reſorted to their chapels, much oftener than uſual, for ſome weeks before the rebellion broke out, to exerciſe their devotions, and to confeſs to their reſpective pariſh prieſts, not only in the county

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* It was obſerved, that a prieſt retired with ſome of the pariſhioners, and whiſpered them ſometime before they took the oath.

† Mr. Turner, before whom they ſwore thoſe oaths on Saturday, was murdered by them next morning.

‡ Plate III. 1.

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* Plate II. 6. † Ibid. III. 2.

‡ Mr. White had undoubted information at that time, that theſe prieſts were deeply and actively engaged in the cauſe of the union. Michael Murphy was killed at the battle of Arklow.

of Wexford, but in many other parts of the province of Leinſter.

For ſome months previous to it, doctor Caulfield, the popiſh biſhop, and a number of prieſts, uſed frequently to meet, and dine at the houſe of Peter Redmond, at Enniſcorthy, where they held ſecret conferences.

By ſuch profound diſſimulation, covered over with the broad mantle of religion, the prieſts and their congregations lulled the government, and the magiſtrates, into a ſtate of ſupine and fatal ſecurity; and prevented them from adopting ſuch vigorous meaſures, and ſalutary precautions, as were neceſſary to prevent the execution of their nefarious deſigns. They therefore formed their deſtructive plans, with the ſilence and ſecreſy of moles, and ſtarted forth, ſuddenly, with the fury and fierceneſs of tygers. The deluſive ſtillneſs that preceded the inſurrection in the county of Wexford, reſembled a calm in one of the tropical regions, which is ſuddenly ſucceeded by a hurricane, that ſpreads univerſal deſolation. *

When this dreadful volcano burſt forth, which has brought irreparable calamities, and indelible diſgrace on that once-happy and opulent portion of the kingdom of Ireland, there were no other troops in the county of Wexford, but the North Cork militia, conſiſting of but three hundred men; and they did not arrive there till the twenty-ſixth of April. Their head-quarters were in Wexford, where three companies of them were ſtationed; the remainder were quartered at Gorey, Enniſcorthy, and Ferns. † Two thouſand troops, properly cantoned in it, would have awed the rebels into obedience, and have prevented the poſſibility of a riſing; but the ſolemnity and ſacredneſs of oaths, and the earneſtneſs of proteſtations,

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* But, as we often ſee, againſt ſome ſtorm,
A ſilence in the heavens, the rack ſtand ſtill,
The bold winds ſpeechleſs, and the orb below
As huſh as death; anon, the dreadful thunder,
Doth rend the region —— SHAKSPEARE.

† Plate II. 4.

tions, baniſhed all ſuſpicion on the part of the government, the magiſtrates, and the loyal ſubjects; though the ſubverſion of the former, and the extirpation of the latter, had been ſome months concerted.

The following reaſon is to be aſſigned for the zeal which the leaders of rebellion in the county of Wexford diſplayed in organizing and arming the people, and in practiſing the arts of deception on the government: lord Edward Fitzgerald had laid a plan, that a few faſt-ſailing French frigates, ſhould come to Wexford, filled with arms and ammunition, with officers and Iriſhmen, and perſons capable of drilling men. * In conſequence of this, their expectations of their arrival were ſuch, that the Wexford rebels miſtook our frigates for French, when they appeared on their coaſt.

It was the intention of the Iriſh directory, that the inſurrection ſhould take place at one and the ſame time, all over Ireland; but the following circumſtances diſconcerted their ſcheme, and prevented the accompliſhment of it: The arreſt of the repreſentatives for the province of Leinſter, at Oliver Bond's, and afterwards of lord Edward Fitzgerald, the two Sheares, Neilſon, and ſome other leaders; and as their ſucceſſors diſagreed about the time of riſing, it is certain that it was not determined on till a ſhort time before it was to take place in Dublin and its vicinity.

It was not communicated to the Wexford leaders till the twenty-fifth of May, and it required ſome time to apprize the different captains of it, that they might prepare their corps to act in concert. For theſe reaſons, the general inſurrection in that county did not take place till Whitſunday, the twenty-ſeventh of May, 1798.

But the zeal of father John Murphy, † of Boulavogue chapel, in the pariſh of Kilcormcuk, was ſo intemperate,

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* Report of the ſecret committee, Appendix, No. XVI. page 136.

† See the oath of allegiance which he took, and his addreſs to lord Mountnorris, with other prieſts, Appendix, No. XVII.

intemperate, that he began his military career at ſix o'clock on Saturday evening the twenty-ſixth of May; and conſidering the time of its duration, and the limits to which it was confined, we muſt allow that it was as deſtructive as that of Attila, Gengis Kan, or Tamerlane. His father was a petty farmer at Tincurry, in the pariſh of Ferns, where he was educated at a hedge-ſchool, kept by a man of the name of Gun. It appears by his teſtimonium and diploma, * that he received holy orders at Seville in Spain, in the year 1785; and, I preſume, that he graduated there as a doctor of divinity, as he aſſumes that title in his journal, † which he dropped in his retreat from Vinegar-hill, and which was found by captain Hugh Moore of the 5th dragoons, aid-de-camp to general Needham.

As one Webſter, a proteſtant neighbour of doctor Murphy, was returning from Gorey, he met him near Boulavogue, about four o'clock on Saturday the twenty-ſixth of May, and was ſaluted by him with great cordiality; and yet, in about three hours after, the doctor was at the head of a numerous party of rebels, who burned the houſes of Webſter, ‡ and his brother, and many of his proteſtant neighbours.

The doctor collected his forces by lighting a fire on a hill called Corrigrua, § which ſignal was anſwered by another fire on an eminence contiguous to his own houſe, at Boulavogue; ſoon after which father Murphy ſet out on his cruſade, at the head of a numerous band of followers. ||

Theſe outrages, the firſt ſymptoms of open rebellion, were communicated to the garriſon of Enniſcorthy, ¶ in the following manner: A party of theſe rebels attacked the houſe of the widow Piper, at Tincurry, four miles from that town, wounded her in a deſperate manner, murdered her nephew, a young

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* Appendix, No. XVIII. 1. † Ibid.
‡ Ibid. No. XVIII. 2. the affidavit of Samuel Whealey.
§ Plate II. 7. || Ibid. ¶ Plate III. 2.

young man of the name of Candy, and wounded her daughter, a married woman far gone with child, having broke her arm.[*] Her other daughter, having narrowly eſcaped by leaping out of a window, mounted a horſe, galloped off to Enniſcorthy, and informed the garriſon quartered there of theſe atrocities, at ſeven o'clock in the evening.

About the hour of eleven o'clock that night, the Enniſcorthy and Healthfield yeomen cavalry, commanded by captain Richards and captain Grogan, proceeded to Tincurry, to diſperſe the rebels; and on their arrival there, found all the circumſtances of atrocity related by the poor female fugitive to be ſtrictly true; and they were alſo informed by her mother, that the aſſaſſins principally concerned in them, were one Fitzpatrick, and the Bulgers, a popiſh family, her near neighbours, with whom ſhe had always lived in the cloſeſt friendſhip; and that their enmity could have ariſen from no other motive, but becauſe ſhe was of the proteſtant religion, and that her two ſons were in the ſervice as yeomen.

Soon after the yeomanry returned to Enniſcorthy, they were alarmed a ſecond time, by the arrival of a young man of the name of Webſter, who informed them that his father's houſe at Garrybrit, about five miles off, had been ſet on fire by a party of rebels, and that he made his eſcape after having ruſhed through the flames. On this intelligence, captains Richards and Grogan ſet out a ſecond time with their corps of cavalry, in purſuit of the rebels; and on their arrival at Garrybrit, found the houſe of the two Webſters, brothers, John and Robert, in flames, and the two daughters of one of them, both handſome and young, having narrowly eſcaped, were ſitting in their ſhifts, in an orchard near the houſe, ſhivering with cold. Their father, a man of conſiderable ſubſtance, was in a moment reduced to poverty.

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[*] Theſe atrocities were proved at the ſpring aſſizes of Wexford in 1801, on the trial of Patrick Bulger, one of the aſſaſſins that perpetrated them; and, having been convicted of them, he was condemned to be hanged, and his body was ordered to be hung in chains on Vinegar-hill.

Captains Richards and Grogan ſaw all the proteſtant houſes, as far as their ſight could extend, in a ſtate of conflagration; and having received undoubted information that father Murphy was at the head of the rebels who were thus ſpreading devaſtation, they, in the firſt inſtance, repaired to his houſe, where they diſcovered that he, conſcious that his nefarious conduct would provoke the vengeance of the magiſtrates and the military, had concealed his furniture in a pit in an adjacent field, before he had ſet out on his campaign; and all the rebels who attended him followed his example.

They therefore ſet fire to father Murphy's houſe, as a puniſhment for the atrocities which he and his followers had perpetrated. Some perſons have aſſerted that the yeomen were the aggreſſors on this occaſion, and that father Murphy would not have embarked in the rebellion, if he had not been provoked by the burning of his houſe and his chapel; but the facts which I have related are a ſufficient refutation of this; and the affidavits of two rebel leaders of the names of Roſſiter and Crawley,* remove all doubts on it.

In juſtice to captain Richards, I think it right to ſay, that he would not ſuffer any of his party to burn father Murphy's chapel, or to inſult his veſtments, which were found in the pit† near his houſe; but that, on the contrary, he inſiſted that nothing of the kind ſhould be done, having ſaid, "Puniſh the man, but do not mock or inſult his religion."

The yeomen cavalry, in their progreſs that night, overtook ſome of the rebels in arms, whom they put to death, and burned ſome of their houſes, which their inmates had deſerted, and from which the furniture had been removed and concealed.

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* Appendix, No. XVIII. 3.

† They found there his teſtimonium and diploma.

Many particulars of the deſtructive career of that ſacerdotal hero, during that night and next day, have been verified by the affidavit of Samuel Whealey, a farmer of that pariſh. ‡ Having burnt every proteſtant houſe in the pariſh of Kilcormuck, and murdered ſuch of their inmates as he could ſeize, he proceeded to a place called the Harrow, where he engaged and defeated a party of the Camolin yeomen cavalry, having killed lieutenant Bookey, who commanded it, and Mr. John Donovan, one of the privates; after which he burned the houſe of Rockſpring, ‖ belonging to the former.

When lieutenant Bookey ſet out with his troop, he left a guard in his houſe, conſiſting of five Roman catholick ſervants, and two proteſtants, Jacob Ward and Samuel Hawkins. Between twelve and one o'clock in the morning, about five hundred rebels, headed by father Murphy, ſurrounded the houſe of Rockſpring, on which the five papiſts deſerted, and the two proteſtants were left alone, with four guns, to defend the houſe. The rebels called to them to deliver up their arms, which the two proteſtants ſaid they would do, and immediately diſcharged four guns at them; and they continued to load and fire at them with all poſſible celerity. The rebels, incenſed at their ſpirited conduct, threw ſtones at the windows, fired into them with their muſkets, and at laſt broke open the front door with a ſledge. As ſome of the aſſailants had fallen by the fire of the beſieged, others, dreading the ſame fate, were heard to cry out, "Let us retreat, before more of us are killed."

The rebels having entered the houſe, got lights, and aſſembled in the hall; on which the two proteſtants ceaſed firing, and placed themſelves on the head of the ſtairs, with their muſkets, to prevent their foes from aſcending. Father Murphy ordered ſome of his men to go up ſtairs, and learn who the perſons were that had the audacity to oppoſe him;

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‡ Appendix, No. XVIII. 2.

‖ Plate II. 7.

but having heſitated to obey his commands, he drew his ſword, and threatened them inſtantly with death. Two of them having attempted to comply, were ſhot before they proceeded far, and tumbled down among their comrades.' As the laſt reſource, to be revenged of the beſieged, they ſet fire to the houſe; yet the two proteſtants, with the moſt deliberate valour, continued to charge and fire, till the floor, a prey to the flames, began to crack under them; on which they repaired to the upper ſtory, but even there they were much ſcorched with the flames, and almoſt ſtifled with ſmoke. But as they ceaſed to fire, the rebels imagined they were ſuffocated or conſumed, and that they had obtained ample revenge; and fearing that the dawn, which was not far diſtant, would expoſe them to the yeomanry of Enniſcorthy who had been ſcouring the country, they retreated, by which the lives of theſe two brave men were preſerved.

As the murder of the reverend doctor Burrowes, rector of Kilmuckridge, and the burning of his glebe-houſe at Kyle, * were marked with circumſtances of peculiar atrocity, I ſhall give a minute deſcription of them, as related to me by his widow and children. || Some of his proteſtant pariſhioners, dreading that they would fall a prey to the ſanguinary rage of father Murphy, took refuge in the houſe of Kyle, on Saturday evening. One Murphy, though an united Iriſhman, had candour and humanity enough to inform Mr. Burrowes, about eleven o'clock that night, that his houſe would be attacked early next morning by a party of rebels. In conſequence of this information, he, his family, and his pariſhioners ſat up all night, and barricadoed the lower part of the houſe, which was attacked at ſun-riſe by about five hundred rebels.

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* Plate III. 2.

|| The moſt material of them have been verified by the affidavit of his eldeſt ſon. Appendix, No. XVIII. 4.

It was vigorouſly defended for ſome time, many ſhots having been fired by the aſſailants and the beſieged. At laſt, the rebels ſet fire to the out-offices, which were quickly conſumed, and ſoon after to the dwelling-houſe, which in a ſhort time was in a ſtate of conflagration. The rapid progreſs of the flames in the latter was imputed to ſome unctuous combuſtible matter applied to the doors and windows of the houſe, which the rebels frequently uſed in the courſe of the rebellion.

The beſieged, being in danger of ſuffocation from the thickneſs of the ſmoke, reſolved to quit the houſe, however perilous it might be; and they were encouraged to do ſo by doctor Murphy, who aſſured them, that they ſhould not be injured, if they ſurrendered themſelves without any further reſiſtance. Relying on his promiſe, they quitted the houſe, on which they treacherouſly murdered Mr. Burrowes, and ſeven of his pariſhioners; and gave his ſon, a youth of ſixteen years, ‡ ſo ſevere a wound in the belly with a pike, that for ſome time he lay motionleſs and apparently dead. Mrs. Burrowes, her four children, and miſs Clifford, her niece, continued for twelve hours to weep over the mangled bodies of her huſband and his ſeven pariſhioners, and to conſole and adminiſter relief to her ſon, who was in excruciating agonies, and bleeding ſo copiouſly, that every moment ſhe expected his diſſolution.

The horror of the ſcene was heightened by the houſe in a ſtate of conflagration, diſcharging immenſe volumes of flame and ſmoke, and emitting ſuch heat, that the unfortunate ſufferers could ſcarce endure it. All her houſhold furniture, and her clothes, except what ſhe and her children wore, were deſtroyed by the fire.

In the evening, ſhe, her children, and niece, repaired to a wretched inn at Oulart, about half a mile off, with her ſon, who was carried on a door. Theſe unfortunate ſufferers remained there till Tueſday the twenty-ninth day of May, and during that time her ſon did not receive any medical aſſiſtance. They were eſcorted by a party of rebels to Caſtle-anneſley, the ſeat of Mr. Clifford, above five miles off, where they were kept as priſoners, till the town of Wexford was taken from the rebels. *

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‡ This amiable youth languiſhed and died of that wound in the autumn of 1800.

While Mr. Burrowes's houſe was in flames, Thomas Foxton, one of his proteſtant pariſhioners, who ſought an aſylum in his houſe, concealed himſelf in an oven, to eſcape the ſanguinary rage of the rebels, and he remained there till their departure. By ſkulking in places of concealment, he contrived to evade their reſearches, 'till after the king's troops got poſſeſſion of Wexford; when he, half famiſhed, and attended by his wife and three young children, was met between Inch and Gorey by a flying party of rebels, who put him to death. His afflicted wife carried his body, on her back, two miles to the church of Inch, to be buried. An inſtance of piety which deſerves to be recorded! †

Though the popiſh inhabitants of Kilruſh had continued to take oaths of allegiance, and to ſurrender pikes to Mr. Dawſon, of Charles-fort, for a week preceding Whitſunday, he had ſuch ſtrong doubts of their ſincerity, that he kept in his houſe, by night, ten of his proteſtant pariſhioners, well armed, for his protection. Having diſmiſſed them on that morning, he was preparing to attend his family to church, conſiſting of Mrs. Dawſon, two daughters, his ſon of the age of ſixteen, and a miſs Reade, when a man, who was under obligations to him, arrived at his houſe, and informed him, that he had juſt come from a large body of people, who had riſen the night before, had burned many houſes, and had committed various enormities,

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* See in Appendix, No. XVIII. 4. the affidavit of T. C. Burrowes.

† Richard, the brother of Thomas Foxton, and William Edwards who eſcaped, and who were examined as witneſſes the ſixteenth of November, 1798, on the trial of Peter Crawley, one of father Murphy's gang, proved that they heard ſome of the rebels ſay, "That all proteſtants ought to be killed, as they were not chriſtened."

enormities, which he enumerated, and that they were reſolved to carry every thing before them; that they were determined to compel Mr. Dawſon to join them, and co-operate with them; and that they would murder him, and his family, if he refuſed to comply. Mr. Dawſon boldly declared, that he would ſubmit to die, ſooner than violate his allegiance to his king. He immediately ſent a perſon to collect his proteſtant guards, but, alas! no more than one of them, his gamekeeper, could be found;* and a few minutes after he arrived, a thouſand rebels ſurrounded his houſe, and ſet fire to it and his out-offices, which were ſoon in flames. Mrs. Dawſon, her daughter, and miſs Reade, in the greateſt conſternation, made their eſcape out of a window. Mr. Dawſon fled into his hall, as it was the moſt defenſible part of his houſe. Soon after the front door fell in, and he received a muſket-ball in his breaſt. He could have ſhot the man who fired at him; but perceiving his family in the hands of the rebels, he feared that they would inſtantly have fallen a prey to their ſavage revenge.

As the flames began to rage in every part of his houſe, he fled into his lawn, where he was ſurrounded by a large body of them, who were proceeding to aſſaſſinate him; but ſome of them interfered, and ſaid, it would anſwer their purpoſe much better, to take him with them, and make him act as their commander. He ſhewed them his wound, which bled copiouſly, and aſſured them it would ſoon occaſion his diſſolution; and they ſeemed ſo much convinced of it, that they left him. He then proceeded through a plantation of trees to a tenant's houſe. His ſon, of whoſe ſafety he had deſpaired, arrived there ſoon after, breathleſs and faint from running. He had fallen into the hands of the rebels, who were on the point of murdering him. They procured horſes, and repaired to the town of Ferns, two miles off. In their way thither, they perceived all the proteſtant houſes on fire, in every direction, as far as their ſight could extend. The proteſtant inhabitants of Ferns,* alarmed at ſuch appearances, and expecting that the town would be attacked by a numerous body of rebels, who were aſſembled in its vicinity, retreated to Enniſcorthy,† ſix miles diſtant, eſcorted by a detachment of the North Cork militia, and the Scarawalſh yeomanry, commanded by captain Cornock; and Mr. Dawſon, and his ſon joined them. Mrs. Dawſon and her family repaired to Newtownbarry,‡ five miles off, under the protection of the yeoman cavalry of that town; and next day, eſcorted by them, they went to Enniſcorthy, which was nine miles off.

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* This man's name was John Willis, and he was murdered that morning by one Arthur Murphy, his neighbour, and apparently his friend.

The houſes and property of all the inhabitants of the town of Ferns were plundered or deſtroyed, when they fled to Enniſcorthy. The baſe ingratitude of the popiſh multitude towards doctor Cleaver, biſhop of Ferns, deſerves peculiar attention. That amiable prelate, as noted for his great piety and extenſive learning, as for his mildneſs and humility, reſided conſtantly in his dioceſe, which was by far the beſt regulated in the kingdom. In the courſe of a few years, he had provided for above twenty curates, without any other recommendation but their own merit; in conſequence of which, his clergy were diſtinguiſhed for their unremitted practice of every religious and moral duty.

His lordſhip and Mrs. Cleaver were ſingularly charitable and humane to all the lower claſs of people in his neighbourhood. He paid an apothecary in Ferns 30 l. a-year, to attend his labourers; and he regularly employed a phyſician when they were afflicted with maladies of a dangerous nature.

He ſupplied them with clothes and blankets every winter; and with proviſions at Chriſtmas.

And yet, horrid to relate! thoſe very labourers plundered his houſe of every valuable article in it, on the morning of Whitſunday, and openly avowed their

* Plate II. 6, 7. † Plate III. 2. ‡ Plate II. 5.

their thirſt for the blood of him and Mrs. Cleaver. An orphan, whom he had found naked, and ſtarving, at the age of ſeven years, and whom he had fed, clothed, and inſtructed, for ſix years, in his palace, was the leader of thoſe ſavages, ſhewed them every precious article of furniture, and aſſiſted them in breaking open the cellar. He uſed to preſide at the head of the table, and his toaſt was, "Damnation to all biſhops!" Some of his lordſhip's Engliſh maid-ſervants were eye-witneſſes of theſe ſcenes of brutal ferocity.

A rebel, taken in arms, near Scarawalſh-bridge,* in the month of June, was aſked, Why they did not deſtroy the biſhop's palace, when they plundered it? and he anſwered, that father John Murphy, of Boulavogue, meant to keep it for himſelf.

Notwithſtanding the aſſurances of father Michael Murphy, and father Michael Lacy, and their flock, on the nineteenth of May, to Mr. White, of Peppard's-caſtle, of their fidelity to government, and their total ignorance of conſpiracy; the inſurrection was as general, and as deſtructive, in the pariſh of Kilmuckridge,† near which it lies, on Whitſunday the twenty-ſeventh of May, as in the pariſh of Kilcormuck. Mr. White's houſe was plundered on that day by his own tenants and neighbours, who had a ſhort time before ſurrendered their pikes, and taken oaths of allegiance, as a proof of their ſincerity. Two of the former, for whom he had a ſtrong predilection, were the firſt who began to pillage. One of them, of the name of Brien, was ſo great a favourite with him, that though he diſcovered ſometime before, that he was concerned in the conſpiracy, he rebuked him privately, and would not proceed againſt him with that rigour, which the law required; and yet, he frequently pierced the portrait of Mr. White with a pike, and lamented that he had not the original. He entered the apartment of Mrs. White, his ſiſter, an aged lady, and told her, ſhe muſt quit the houſe; and he was ſoon after followed by a young woman, armed with a pike, who gave her the ſame orders. Mr. White is captain of the Ballakeen cavalry; and it was very fortunate that he had aſſembled his corps at Gorey, on Saturday the twenty-ſixth of May; for it has been ſince diſcovered, that it was the intention of the rebels, to have cut them off, ſingly, in their reſpective houſes, that night.

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* Plate II. 8.

† Plate III. 2.

In the pariſh of Camolin, they had ſurrendered many hundred pikes, and continued to confeſs their guilt with apparent contrition, and to take oaths of allegiance in the preſence of a prieſt, father Francis Kavenagh, till the eve of the rebellion; but on Whitſunday they roſe in maſs, armed with pikes and guns, vowed vengeance againſt the proteſtants as orangemen, proceeded to plunder and demoliſh their houſes, and to kill ſome, and to take others priſoners.

The reverend Mr. Owen, the pariſh miniſter, having fled, was taken priſoner near Gorey, where he was confined ten days, during which time he was often urged to become a convert to popery; but having refuſed, they knocked him down, ſtripped him of his clothes, and gave him ſome ragged garments to hide his nakedneſs, wounded him with pikes, and ſent him barefooted to Wexford gaol, with ſome other priſoners. Edward Fitzgerald, of Newpark, a popiſh gentleman, was captain of the guard who conducted them, though he had taken the oath of allegiance, and had been a member of the Shelmalier yeomanry.

Early on the morning of Whitſunday, captain White, having been informed that the rebels had riſen the preceding night in great force, and were committing great outrages, proceeded to the place where they were ſaid to be aſſembled, with his own corps, and that of lord Courtown's. On his arrival there he found the intelligence which he had received to be true: He purſued the inſurgents, which he could eaſily do, as their deſtructive progreſs was marked by the houſes of proteſtants in a ſtate of conflagration. He ordered ſome of the ſtragglers whom he found in arms to be put to death. One of them, whoſe life was ſaved, confeſſed to captain White, that the party whom they purſued was headed by the reverend John Murphy, of the pariſh of Kilcormuck; that they were determined to burn the houſe, and take the life of every proteſtant that came in their way; that the inhabitants of the country for ſome miles round were to aſſemble that night at Oulart, and were to plunder and burn all the proteſtant houſes that occurred in their way thither. Captain White's party purſued the rebels within ſix miles of Wexford, in hopes of being able to engage them; but when they were within a muſket ſhot of them they halted, and faced about to give them battle; at the ſame time a party of them formed at each ſide of the road, with a view of ſurrounding them. The rebels amounted to about four thouſand, and the yeomen cavalry, who were armed only with piſtols and ſabres, did not exceed eighty; and as they were encloſed in a narrow road, where they could not act, captain White very prudently ordered them to retreat. He then recommended to his yeomen to get their families into Gorey* as faſt as poſſible.

He accompanied Mr. D'Arcy, a member of his corps, within a mile of Ballynahown,‡ his country ſeat, and adviſed him to ſend his mother, a venerable old lady, into that town, to eſcape the ſavage fury of the rebels; but before he could effect it, he was ſhot near his houſe, by a rebel of the name of Whelan, who was attached to father John Murphy, as his aid-de-camp.† This young gentleman was poſſeſſed of a large eſtate, and had very honourable connections, as his mother is aunt to the marquis of Ely, and ſiſter to general Tottenham. From a deſire to ſerve his king and country, he entered as a private into the Ballaghkeene cavalry. Captain White then repaired to Iſland,[‡] the ſeat of Mr. Bolton, within two miles of Kyle, and recommended to him to repair immediately to Gorey, for protection. Mr. Bolton, and his family, conſiſting of Mrs. Bolton and ten children, ſucceeded in eſcaping to Gorey, but were ſtopped in their way by a party of rebels, who diſarmed, and were on the point of murdering them and their ſervants.[§] On that morning the houſes of Mr. D'Arcy and Mr. Bolton were plundered and burnt. Captain White was induced to go to the houſe of Kyle, by the great volume of ſmoke which iſſued from it; and on his arrival there, he beheld that heart-rending ſcene of miſery which I have already deſcribed. At ſome diſtance from the houſe, he met William Edwards, one of Mr. Burrowes's proteſtant guards, whom the rebels had left for dead; but as they had not touched any vital part, he roſe, as if from a trance, and, through exceſſive weakneſs, tottered every ſtep in endeavouring to make his eſcape. His arm was broke; he had many ghaſtly wounds, and he was covered with blood.

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* Plate II. 4, 5.

‡ Plate III. 2.

† This was proved on the trial of the rebel general Roche, which began the ſeventeenth of December, 1798, at Wexford.

On the ſixteenth of November, 1798, Peter Crawley was tried and convicted at Wexford, of having been actively concerned in this woeful ſcene, on the evidence of Richard Foxton and William Edwards; and they proved that ſome of the rebels declared at Kyle, that all proteſtants ſhould be killed, as they were not chriſtians; and that Mr. Burrowes cried out for mercy when he ſurrendered himſelf to father Murphy, but was immediately butchered.

Mr. White made many attempts to go to his own houſe; but as all the avenues to it were occupied by detachments of the rebels, who afterwards plundered it, he retreated to Gorey, and had many narrow eſcapes in doing ſo. In his way thither, he beheld the houſes of proteſtants on fire, in every direction. I ſhall refer the reader to the affidavit of George and Elizabeth Williams, for the ſcene of deſolation which the country, for many miles round, exhibited on Whitſunday.* Mr. ſerjeant Stanley arrived at Gorey, from Dublin, on Saturday the twenty-ſixth day of May, in his way to Cork, where he was to hold a ſpecial commiſſion. Captain White ſent ſix yeomen cavalry to eſcort him as far as Enniſcorthy. Two of them, George Greenly and James Shaw, ſtopped, on their return, at their own houſes, where they were murdered. Margaret Greenly, the ſiſter of the former, on hearing that her brother had fallen into the hands of the rebels, fled to his aſſiſtance, in hopes of deprecating their anger, but they barbarouſly murdered her. Shaw was deſperately wounded, and carried to his bed, with a proſpect of his recovery; but the rebels returned in a fortnight, and butchered him with ferocious cruelty: They ſpared the houſe, becauſe his mother was a papiſt.†

[‡] Plate III. 2.

[§] See in Appendix, No. XVIII. 5. the affidavit of George Williams, giving an account of the deſtructive rage of the rebels on the morning of Whitſunday.

Mr. ſerjeant Stanley was next day eſcorted to the city of Waterford by John Grogan Knox, eſquire, captain of the Healthfield cavalry, which was a moſt perilous ſervice, as the maſs of the people in the country, through which he paſſed, were in a ſtate of inſurrection.

As father Michael Murphy, who acted with ſuch profound diſſimulation, made a conſpicuous figure in the rebellion, I ſhall ſay a few words on his origin and progreſs through life. He was born at Kilnew, near Kilmuckridge,‡ of mean parents, and was bred at a hedge-ſchool at Oulart, by one Prendergaſt, an itinerant pedagogue; and having received holy orders, he went to Bourdeaux, recommended to the

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* Appendix, No. XVIII. 5.

† Michael Fitzpatrick, who headed the gang of aſſaſſins that murdered him, was convicted of that crime at Wexford, the twenty-eighth of September, 1799, and hanged.

‡ Plate III. 2.

Abbé Glynn, preſident of the Iriſh college there, by the reverend James Caulfield, then pariſh prieſt of New Roſs, but now popiſh biſhop of Ferns, which appears by the following letter:

Reverend Sir, Roſs, October 23d, 1785.

"The reverend Michael Murphy, a ſubject of the dioceſe, and ordained a prieſt laſt Whitſuntide, now bound for your city, for the purpoſe of proſecuting his ſtudies of philoſophy and theology, craves a line from me in his favour to you: I can only ſay, he is well recommended to me, as a ſober, regular, well-behaved man; and if it is convenient to you, I ſhall eſteem your accommodating him for the above end. I believe he is the laſt of the ſet that applied to me, wherefore I hope I ſhall not have occaſion to trouble you again for ſome years.

I have the honour to be, &c.

JAMES CAULFIELD."

At his return from France, he became an officiating prieſt at Ballycanew, and behaved himſelf there with very great propriety, till the rebellion broke out; but, under the veil of ſanctity, he concealed a furious and ſanguinary ſpirit, which diſplayed itſelf on the morning of Whitſunday; when, at the head of a numerous party of his pariſhioners, whom his evangelical inſtructions had converted into robbers and aſſaſſins, he proceeded towards Oulart, burning the houſes of proteſtants, and murdering ſuch of their inhabitants as could not eſcape.

I have been well aſſured, that he narrowly eſcaped from the deſtructive ſpirit of French republicaniſm, when his order was on the point of being annihilated in France; and yet he manifeſted a ſtrong predilection for the principles of that nation, and a deſire to join them, ſhould they land in Ireland.

The moſt memorable event occaſioned by the fanatical rage of the rebels on Whitſunday, was the defeat of a detachment of the North Cork regiment at Oulart, near Kilmuckridge,* of which the afflicted family of the reverend Mr. Burrowes were eye-witneſſes, a few hours after their own cataſtrophe happened; and as it was in a great meaſure the cauſe of the dreadful ſcenes of carnage and plunder which ſoon after happened in the county of Wexford, I think it proper to give the reader a circumſtantial account of it.

On the morning of Whitſunday the twenty-ſeventh of May, 1798, at an early hour, the town of Wexford was alarmed by the arrival of Edward Turner of Newfort,† eſquire, a magiſtrate, who informed the officer commanding the garriſon, that his houſe had been beſet that morning by a large body of inſurgents, who had ſeized the pikes which they had ſurrendered to him a few days before, after having taken oaths of allegiance, and that they were aſſembling in great numbers.

The garriſon conſiſted of part of the North Cork militia, captain Boyd's yeomen cavalry, and doctor Jacob's yeomen infantry. A detachment of the cavalry was ordered to ſcour the country; and about the hour of eleven in the forenoon, one hundred and nine picked men of the North Cork, under the command of lieutenant-colonel Foote, marched out to attack the inſurgents; and on their march towards Oulart,‡ they were joined by colonel Lehunte's yeomen cavalry. From that time the ſituation of the town was truly diſtreſſing: The rebels were underſtood to be in conſiderable force; and the anxiety of the inhabitants for the fate of the brave men who marched out to oppoſe them, was aggravated by the reports of the horrid atrocities they had committed in their progreſs through the country; for, between two and three o'clock, they had received intelligence at Wexford, of the murder of Mr. D'Arcy, the reverend Mr. Burrowes, and the burning of their reſpective houſes.

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* Plate III. 2.

† Ibid. III. 4.

‡ Ibid. III. 2.

All was ſolemn ſilence and anxious expectation! but ſtill encouraging accounts were received of the North Cork militia, before whom the rebels were ſaid to be flying in every direction. But this deluſive hope was of ſhort duration; for about the hour of four o'clock, Mr. Perceval, the high ſheriff, rode into town, with the melancholy account of their total defeat and deſtruction; and ſoon after lieutenant-colonel Foote, and one ſerjeant, the wretched remains of that fine and valiant body of men, were ſeen penſively riding over the bridge, and approaching the town: And now the ſolemn ſilence of that awful morning was ſucceeded by a truly heart-rending ſcene. Moſt of the North Cork, who fell in the action at Oulart, were married men; and as ſoon as their fate was known, their widows and orphans ran into the ſtreets, filling the air with their cries, diſmaying every heart, and piercing every ſoul with ſhrieks of anguiſh and deſpair.

This fatal affair took place at Oulart, about eight miles off, where the rebels, to the number of five thouſand, were poſted on the ſide of a hill. A detachment of them deſcended from it, apparently with a deſign to engage the king's troops; though this turned out in the event to be but a ſtratagem, for the purpoſe of ſurrounding and ſurpriſing them. The rebels, having been broken and diſperſed by a general volley, fled up the hill towards the main body, and were purſued by the North Cork militia, who were broken into ſmall parties during the purſuit, from the number of hedges which they had to clamber over. In the mean time, father John Murphy, who commanded the rebels, ſent numbers of them circuitouſly under cover of the hedges, to attack the militia on either flank, and in the rear, while the main body charged them in front. This artifice ſucceeded, for they were ſurrounded, overpowered by numbers, and the entire party was cut to pieces, except the lieutenant-colonel, a ſerjeant, and three privates. They were attended by colonel

Lehunte's corps of yeomen cavalry, in which there were twenty-four Roman catholicks; and of theſe, twenty deſerted to the rebels on that morning before the action began, which contributed to their ſucceſs.

This action was thus deſcribed to me by perſons of veracity, who were ſpectators of it. Lieutenant-colonel Foote has given the following relation of it in a letter to a friend: "I marched to a hill called Oulart, where between four and five thouſand rebels were poſted. From their great ſuperiority of numbers, it was not my intention to have attacked them, unleſs ſome unforeſeen favourable circumſtances would warrant that meaſure; however, my officers were of a contrary opinion. I met here part of a yeoman cavalry corps, about ſixteen; the remainder, with their ſerjeant, having that morning joined the rebels. I halted with this corps, while I ſent a note by their trumpeter to Wexford, with orders for two officers and forty men to march thence to us to ſupport our detachment; apprehending that the rebels, from their numbers, might intercept our retreat. Afterwards, when I joined the party, I found that they were moved forward by the officer next in command; and the ſoldiers cried out, that they would beat the rebels out of the field. By this movement we were immediately engaged with the rebels, who fired from behind the hedges, without ſhewing any regular front. We beat their advanced party from one hedge to another, which they had ſucceſſively occupied, and fired from on us, killing great numbers of them, till they retreated in much diſorder to the main body, which conſiſted moſtly of pikemen. I conſidered this a favourable opportunity of forming the detachment, for the purpoſe of retreating, or of receiving the enemy in a good poſition; and I uſed every exertion to effect it; but unfortunately the too great ardour of the men and officers could not be reſtrained. They ruſhed forward, were ſurrounded, and overpowered by numbers. They diſplayed great valour and intrepidity, and killed a great number of the rebels.* Of this detachment, none have as yet returned to Wexford, but myſelf, a ſerjeant, and three privates. I received a wound from a pike in my breaſt, a ſlight one in my arm, and ſeveral bruiſes and contuſions."

The colonel had a faithful ſervant, who had lived eighteen years with him; and who, regardleſs of his own danger, remained cloſe to him during the action, and often warned him that the rebels were taking aim at him, but he was ſoon ſhot himſelf.

It appears, that the rebels were rendered bold and deſperate by intoxication; and that from twelve to fifteen of them ſingled out and attacked each of the ſoldiers, who did not reſign their lives but at a dear rate to their aſſailants.

Lieutenant Ware, nephew to lieutenant-colonel Foote, a young gentleman juſt of age, and poſſeſſed of a good landed property, was on the point of making his eſcape on horſeback, after the diſperſion of his party; when a ſmall boy, one of the band of muſick, who had been wounded, called out to him, and implored him to ſave his life; on which Mr. Ware ſtopped his horſe, and humanely endeavoured to raiſe him on his ſaddle, and to carry him off; but before he could accompliſh his benevolent deſign, he was dragged from his horſe by a rebel, with a hook annexed to his pike, and was immediately butchered.

The officers who fell in this unfortunate affair were, major Lombard, the honourable captain De Courcy, lieutenants Williams, Ware, Barry, and enſign Keogh.

Whitſunday, the day after this defeat, the ſervant of one of the officers who fell, having been warmly attached to his maſter, went to Oulart, to have his body interred; but the rebels murdered him, as ſoon as they diſcovered his generous deſign. The ſubſequent ſucceſs of the rebels in the county of Wexford, aroſe, in a great meaſure, from the arms and ammunition which they obtained, and the confidence with which they were inſpired by this victory over the king's troops, whom they had hitherto conſidered as invincible, however inferior their numbers might have been. All the night after this action, the rebels continued to burn the houſes, and deſtroy the property of proteſtants, and to murder ſuch of them as fell into their hands. *

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* The rebels have ſaid, that they loſt but ſeven men killed.

The day after the action at Oulart, orders, written in red ink, were iſſued by father John Murphy, and diſperſed over all the adjacent country, commanding, at the peril of their lives, all perſons capable of bearing arms, to join his army forthwith, for the purpoſe of attacking Enniſcorthy; at the ſame time, the old men were ordered to bury the dead.

Two perſons, employed in that taſk, found ſome remains of life in one of the Cork ſoldiers, and one of them conveyed him to his pig-ſtye, with the humane intention of reſtoring him, if poſſible. By ſupplying him with nouriſhment, he recovered the uſe of his ſpeech, and had every ſymptom of convaleſcence: He ſaid that his name was Sullivan. The merit of his preſerver was the greater, as the crime of reſcuing a ſoldier or a yeoman from deſtruction, if known, would inevitably have occaſioned his own.

A ruffian of the name of Roſterſon, having heard of this act of humanity, repaired to the houſe of the perſon who performed it, and cenſured him for it as a criminal act. He ſaid in his defence, "That the poor patient was a good Roman catholick;" but the ſavage retorted, "That his religion was no excuſe, as he was a ſoldier;" and he inſtantly plunged his pike into his body.

As ſoon as the garriſon of Gorey heard of the defeat of the North Cork at Oulart, and of the immenſe numbers who were flocking to the ſtandard of

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* For a deſcription of their atrocities, ſee Samuel Whealey's affidavit, in Appendix, No. XVIII. 2.

of father John Murphy, they, deſpairing of being able to maintain their poſition againſt ſo great a ſuperiority of numbers, retreated to Arklow, and were followed by all the proteſtants of the town, and the adjacent country, who dreaded the ſanguinary rage of the rebels. They, with infancy and decrepitude in their train, and with little or no means of ſubſiſtence, preſented a woeful ſpectacle; and as all the houſes of Arklow were occupied by the military and yeomen, theſe poor fugitives ſuffered very great diſtreſs, ſleeping in barns and out-offices, and even in ditches.

On Tueſday the twenty-ninth of May, major Hardy, who commanded at Arklow, ordered the garriſon to return to Gorey; by which they gained ſome fame, and rendered the moſt important ſervice, in repulſing a numerous body of rebels who attacked that town on the thirtieth of May.

The murder of the reverend Francis Turner of Ballingale,* about three miles from Ferns, and rector of Edermine, was attended with circumſtances of peculiar atrocity. On the morning of Whitſunday, a party of about three hundred aſſaſſins, headed by Denis Carthy and James Maher, ſet out from the houſe of William Carthy of Ballycarney,† uncle of the former, and declared their intention of putting him to death in the preſence of Mrs. Carthy, who endeavoured to diſſuade them from it, affirming that Mr. Turner was univerſally eſteemed and reſpected. The houſe was defended for ſome time by him, and eight of his proteſtant pariſhioners, who had ſought an aſylum in it. Mr. Turner, ſoon after the attack was made, received a ſhot in his jaw, which entirely diſabled him from attending to the defence of his houſe. As it was double, and the aſſailants ſeemed to direct all their fury againſt its front, the beſieged, after the death of Mr. Turner, paid no attention to the rear, into which the rebels entered, having been admitted, it is ſaid, by the treachery of the butler.

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* Plate II. 7.

† Ibid.

After having murdered Mr. Turner, and five of his proteſtant pariſhioners, they ſet fire to his dwelling-houſe and out-offices, in which the bodies of the deceaſed were conſumed. An aſſaſſin of the name of William Beaghan, inſultingly flouriſhed the blade of a ſcythe over the dead body of Mr. Turner, and uttered ſome expreſſions indicative of ſavage joy.

In front of the houſe, they ran a pike through the neck of William Chriſtian, one of Mr. Turner's proteſtant guards; and while the weapon was infixed in the wound, they ſhook his head very violently, to increaſe the agony of his pain; and when his body fell on the ground, they raiſed it up on their pikes, and toſſed it in the air, to extinguiſh any remains of life which might have been in it.

After the perpetration of this horrid deed, Denis Carthy and James Maher boaſted at their return to the houſe of William Carthy, of having executed it; and the latter openly declared, that a quantity of blood which appeared on his breeches, was that of the reverend Mr. Turner.

Thus this worthy gentleman, whoſe benevolence and amiable manners had juſtly entitled him to univerſal love and eſteem, and whoſe mind was highly adorned with profound and elegant learning, fell a prey to the fanatical rage of a popiſh rabble, headed by his tenants and neighbours, whom he had never failed to treat with kindneſs and beneficence.

The principal leader in this atrocious act was Michael Keogh, Mr. Turner's proctor, who had been raiſed to a ſtate of comfort and affluence from downright poverty, by his kindneſs and generoſity.

The circumſtances attending this tragical affair were related to me by his two nephews, and a ſervant of the late Mr. Turner, who were eye-witneſſes of them; and moſt of them were verified by affidavit.*

One of the former, of the age of twelve years, ſometime after this melancholy event, went to the garden of his deceaſed uncle to pull ſome fruit, when he was inſulted by a rebel boy about fifteen years old, who attempted to expel him from it; having declared, that he had no right to be there, as his family had informed him that the garden was his property.

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* See in Appendix, No. XVIII. 6. the affidavit of John Horton, James Doyle, and Cambia Carthy.

The maſs of the people muſt have been univerſally filled with an idea of exterminating all thoſe who were connected with England by religion, intereſt, or conſanguinity, and of appropriating this iſland excluſively to themſelves, when a boy of that age made ſo open and prompt an avowal of it.

The ſingular fortitude and integrity of Mrs. Cambia Carthy, wife of William Carthy, in proſecuting James Maher and Denis Carthy, her huſband's nephew, juſtly entitle her to univerſal eſteem and admiration. She is daughter of ſurgeon Maw of Gorey, and of the proteſtant religion. When theſe ruffians deliberately expreſſed their deſign of murdering Mr. Turner, on the morning of Whitſunday, ſhe endeavoured to diſſuade them from it, and afterwards, ſhe appeared as a witneſs againſt them on their trial; though, by doing ſo, ſhe was ſure of provoking the vengeance of all her huſband's relations, who were of the popiſh perſuaſion, and moſt of whom were deeply and actively concerned in the rebellion.

On the murder of the reverend Mr. Burrowes at Kyle, his widow and her family were conveyed to Oulart, and afterwards to Caſtle-anneſley,† the ſeat of Mr. Clifford, who was her brother; and Mrs. D'Arcy, his mother-in-law, repaired there alſo, expecting to find ſecurity and ſome conſolation under the roof of ſo near a relation; but, alas! they ſoon diſcovered that it was as much the houſe of woe as their own manſions.

Having heard of the calamities which had befallen his ſiſter's family, Mr. Clifford went to Oulart, on the twenty-ſeventh of May, to relieve them; but finding that the rebels were in poſſeſſion of it, he endeavoured to make his eſcape; and in doing ſo, one of the rebels fired a piſtol at him, and wounded him in the ſhoulder.

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† Plate III. 2.

On Wedneſday the thirtieth of May, he reſolved to go to Kyle, to ſecure ſuch part of his ſiſter's property as had not been plundered; but thinking that the protection of the pariſh prieſt would be neceſſary for his ſafety, he repaired to the houſe of father Michael Lacy* for that purpoſe. As ſoon as he arrived there, another man of the name of Lacy fired four ſhots at him with a muſket, but fortunately miſſed him; yet Mr. Clifford continued all the time on his knees, imploring mercy from the ſavage. Lacy then gave the muſket to a man of the name of Bulger, whom he knew to be a better markſman than himſelf, and he fired, and gave him a deſperate wound in the head, as the charge conſiſted of ſlugs and horſe-nails. On falling to the ground, the rebels beat him in a moſt cruel manner, and diſlocated his ſhoulder, ſo that they left him for dead. They then ſhot his faithful attendant, a proteſtant ſervant, who had lived twenty-five years in his family.

As this amiable gentleman was diſtinguiſhed for general benevolence, and every good quality that could endear, it was believed that he had not an enemy on earth; but his religion was his only crime. Mr. Clifford, who might have ſoothed the anguiſh of his aged mother-in-law, Mrs. D'Arcy, and Mrs. Burrowes and her five orphans, was conveyed, with his poor ſervant, on a car to his houſe, where he continued delirious, and in convulſions for a month; during which time his afflicted wife and ſix children daily expected his diſſolution; and to heighten their diſtreſs, the houſe was occupied by a party of rebel guards, who were daily relieved from a neighbouring camp at Upton,† the ſeat of Mr. James White. While they continued priſoners at Caſtle-anneſley, their

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[*] Father Lacy, the prieſt, might have ſaved his life by the turn of his finger.

[†] Plate III. 1, 2.

their food was ſo bad, that they were on the point of ſtarving.

The inhabitants of the country contiguous to Carnew,* nine miles from Gorey, collected in ſuch numbers on the twenty-ſeventh of May, under the auſpices of father Michael Murphy, that they had the confidence to attack that town.

On that morning, the garriſon, conſiſting of a company of the Antrim militia, commanded by captain Rowan, two corps of yeomen infantry, and one of cavalry, making in the whole about two hundred men, having received intelligence that they were approaching the town, marched out, met, and engaged them, at a place called Ballinruſh, killed nine, and took two priſoners, and diſperſed the remainder, who fled to Ferns,‡ poſſeſſed at that time by the rebels. The garriſon had the mortification to behold all the loyaliſts houſes in flames, as far as they could ſee.

While the infantry were reſting themſelves, a detachment of captain Wainwright's troop, who had been on an out-poſt, were driven in about four o'clock in the afternoon, by the main body of the rebels from Ferns, who were advancing to renew the engagement.

The little garriſon formed and marched to attack them on Kitthomas-hill,† where they were judiciouſly poſted. The rebels having been broken in about a quarter of an hour by the fire of the infantry, were charged by the cavalry,§ though up a ſteep hill, and diſperſed in all directions. In the purſuit, about one hundred and fifty of them were killed; and of the garriſon but one man was ſlightly wounded. They took a great number of horſes, ſome of which had belonged to the unfortunate Mr. Turner, who was that day murdered at Ballingale. There were three prieſts in that action, one of whom was the famous father Michael Murphy, killed at the battle of Arklow on the ninth of June.

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* Plate II. 4.

‡ Ibid. 6, 7.

† Near Slievebuoy mountain, Plate II. 5.

§ The Shilela cavalry, commanded by captain Wainwright, earl Fitzwilliam's agent, who in various actions ſhewed great valour and ſkill.

On Friday following, the firſt of June, the unfortunate colonel Walpole marched into Carnew, and reconnoitred the rebels, poſted on Ballymore-hills, twice before the fatal fourth of June.

The rebellious inhabitants of the country, encouraged by the ſucceſs of father John Murphy againſt the North Cork regiment, flocked to his ſtandard at Oulart in ſuch numbers, that he reſolved to attack the town of Enniſcorthy,* about ſix miles diſtant, on Monday morning the twenty-eighth day of May; but firſt I think it right to give the reader an account of the garriſon which defended it.

	Captains.	Subalterns.	Serjeants.	Drummers.	Rank and file.
North Cork militia.					
Capt. Snowe's company,	1	1	3	2	56
Capt. De Courcy's do.	0	1	2	1	24
Total of North Cork,	1	2	5	3	80
Enniſcorthy infantry.					
Capt. Pounden, -	1	2	2	1	50
Do. ſupplementary,	0	1	3	0	57
Scarawalſh infantry.					
Capt. Cornock, -	1	2	3	1	60
Enniſcorthy cavalry.				Trumpeter.	
Capt. Richards, -	1	2	2	1	50
Total	4	9	15	6	297

Officers names.

North Cork, captain Snowe, lieutenant Bowen, enſign Harman.

Enniſcorthy infantry, captain Pounden, lieutenants Drury and Hunt,

Supplementary, lieutenant Pounden.

Scarawalſh infantry, captain Cornock, lieutenants Carden and Rudd.

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* Plate III. 2.

Lieutenant Spring on half-pay, and formerly lieutenant of the 63d regiment, joined the troops a volunteer.

Enniſcorthy † is a market, a poſt, and a borough town, which returned two members to parliament. It is divided into two parts by the river Slaney, over which there is a ſtone-bridge. ‡ The market-houſe, the court-houſe, and the principal ſtreets are on the ſouth ſide of it. Two ſuburbs called Templeſhannon ‖ and Drumgoold § lie on the north ſide, and at the foot of Vinegar-hill, a mountain which is quite cloſe to the town. It is about twelve miles from the town of Wexford, ſixteen from Roſs, eighteen from Gorey, eight from Taghmon, ſix from Ferns, and nine and three quarters from Newtown-barry. As the tide ebbs and flows to it, which makes the river navigable for barges of ſome burden, it was a place of conſiderable trade; and the inhabitants were between four and five thouſand, before the deſolating ſpirit of rebellion baniſhed or deſtroyed a great portion of them.

Information having been received that James Lacy, a ſhopkeeper, was at the head of a traitorous conſpiracy, he ſuddenly diſappeared. On ſearching his houſe, ſome treaſonable papers were found in it; which exaſperated the yeomen ſo much, that ſome of them ruſhed into it and deſtroyed a great part of the furniture. This man was afterwards commiſſary-general of the rebel army, on Vinegar-hill; and his brother, a prieſt, frequently attended the camp there, and ſaid maſs for the rebels.

On Saturday evening, the twenty-ſixth of May, captain Pounden and the reverend Mr. Handcock both magiſtrates, agreed on the expediency of ſeizing and laying under requiſition all the gunpowder to be found in the ſhops; not only to prevent its falling into the hands of the rebels, but to ſupply the loyaliſts, ſhould there be a deficiency of it. That night the

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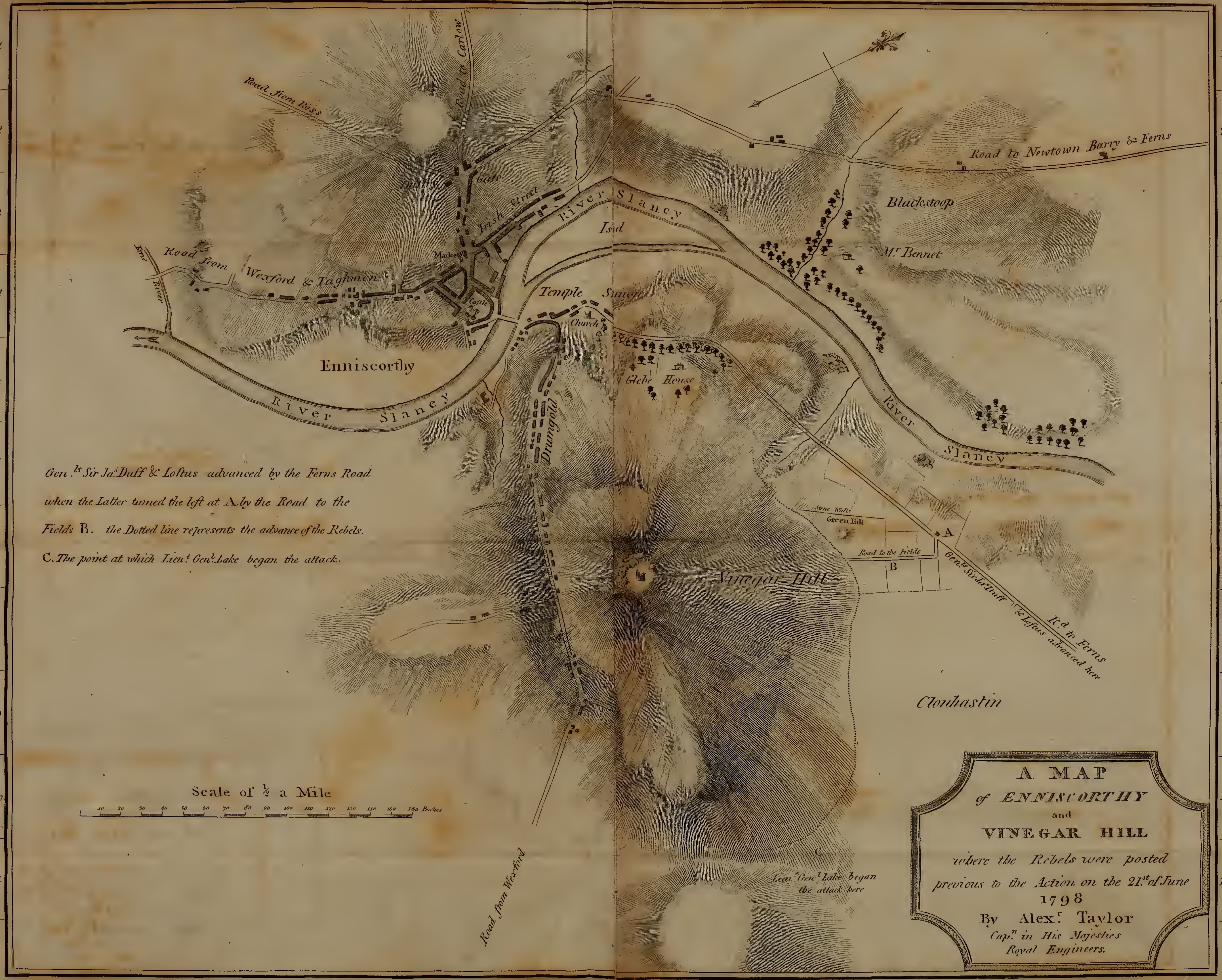
† Plate IV. ‡ Ibid. 4. ‖ Ibid. 5. § Ibid. 6.

Pl. IV.



Genl.s Sir Jas. Duff & Loftus advanced by the Ferns Road when the Latter turned the left at A. by the Road to the Fields B. the Dotted line represents the advance of the Rebels. C. The point at which Lieut. Genl. Lake began the attack.

A MAP
of ENNISCORTHY
and
VINEGAR HILL
where the Rebels were posted previous to the Action on the 21st of June
1798
By Alexr. Taylor
Capn. in His Majesties
Royal Engineers.

the garriſon lay on their arms in the ſtreets; the neceſſary guards and patroles having been arranged by captain Snowe, the commanding officer, who viſited them frequently during the night, and always found them alert and vigilant.

From Saturday evening till Monday morning, proteſtant families, in great numbers, were coming into the town, flying from the fanatical vengeance of the rebels, and bringing their children, their baggage, and their furniture on cars.

On that evening a handſome young woman, of the name of Piper, came galloping at full ſpeed into the town, with horror and fright in her countenance, and crying out, "Murder! Murder!" and ſaying, that the maſſacre had begun. I have already related the cruelty of the rebels towards her family at Tincurry.

About ſeven o'clock on Monday morning, the twenty-eighth day of May, a man arrived there, and informed the garriſon, that they would be attacked before three o'clock in the afternoon; and at that time the troops were much exhauſted in mind and body, from being conſtantly on their arms, from ſupplying patroles and videttes, and from ſcouring the country; and ſoon after captain Snowe received a letter from lieutenant-colonel Foote, with an account of the defeat of the North Cork at Oulart, captain Ogle, of Belview, * now member for the city of Dublin, with his numerous corps of infantry, and captain John Grogan Knox, with a detachment of the Healthfield cavalry, which he commanded, bravely advanced to the relief of the garriſon on Saturday night; but having received intelligence that their own county was in a ſtate of inſurrection, they were under the neceſſity of returning to it on Sunday morning.

On Monday morning the twenty-eighth day of May, about nine o'clock, the drums beat to arms, as

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* Plate III. 4.

as a report was ſpread, that the rebels were advancing towards the town in great force. The different poſitions and rallying poſts were immediately aſſigned to the garriſon. The North Cork occupied the bridge, the Enniſcorthy cavalry the ſtreet leading to it from the town, the Enniſcorthy and Scarawalſh infantry the Duffreygate-hill,* at the Carlow road. A conſiderable guard was poſted in the market-houſe, where the arms and ammunition were lodged, and ſome ſuſpicious perſons were confined; and another in the caſtle, where ſome notorious rebels were in ſtrict cuſtody.

About half an hour before the enemy appeared, a rebel ſpy, with a white cotton jacket, and a white hat with a broad green band, was ſeized near the town, and as a rebel commiſſion was found in his pocket, he was hanged.

At length, about eleven o'clock in the forenoon, the videttes at the Duffrey-gate came galloping in, and announced, that the rebels who had aſſembled at Bally-orle hill, which is on the north-eaſt ſide of the town, and about two miles diſtant from it, were advancing on the Newtown-barry road, in an immenſe column, which extended a mile in length, and was ſo thick, as to fill up the road.

Some officers in the garriſon, who had ſeen a great deal of actual ſervice, declared, that their number was between five and ſix thouſand; others, that they amounted to between eight and nine thouſand. They ſtaid at Bally-orle hill till father John Murphy ſaid maſs for them.

In the courſe of the morning they ſet fire to ſome houſes, in hopes of drawing the garriſon out of the town.

As many avenues led into it, it would have been impoſſible for the yeomanry to occupy them for its defence, from the paucity of their numbers, ſhould the rebels be allowed to approach it. For this reaſon, captains Cornock and Pounden led their corps forward, in a line about four hundred yards from the Duffrey-gate; on which the rebel column halted about the ſame diſtance from them. Soon after, three rebel leaders * who were on horſeback, with drawn ſwords, began to move among them, and to give orders; on which great numbers of the rebels filed off in the fields on the right and left, to the diſtance of about half a mile from the main body; which they did with a deſign of outflanking the yeomen, of cutting them off from the town, and of entering it by the different avenues which led into it. After this movement, having advanced a little, they drove a number of horſes on the road againſt the loyaliſts for the purpoſe of throwing them into confuſion. They then fired a general volley, both from the main body and the flanks; by which lieutenants Hunt and Pounden were mortally, and captain Cornock ſlightly wounded, and ſome of the privates were killed and wounded. One Thompſon, who had volunteered among the ſupplementary yeomen, received a ſpent ball in the neck, which he extracted, and fired at the enemy. † The yeomen returned the fire, with conſiderable effect. The rebels ſtill advanced, firing at the ſame time from behind the hedges, with ſuch ſteadineſs and celerity, that captain Drury, who had ſerved the whole of the American war, and who was in the action that day, declared, he had never experienced a heavier or better-directed fire. As the county of Wexford abounds with water-ſowl, the occupation of a fowler is ſo profitable, that numbers of the lower claſs of people are not only expert in the uſe of fire-arms, but excellent markſmen.

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* Plate IV. 2, 3.

As the rebels ſtill continued to advance, and to extend their wings, for the purpoſe of ſurrounding the yeomen, the latter retreated near the town, and

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* Two of theſe were father John Murphy, and Roche, colonel Lehunt's permanent ſerjeant.

† An officer, who aſſiſted him in extracting it, aſſured me of this.

ſent to captain Snowe, who guarded the bridge, where he was ſupported by the cavalry commanded by captain Richards, to requeſt he would reinforce them with the North Cork, and he accordingly repaired to the Duffrey-gate, attended by the cavalry, to ſupport the yeomanry; but as a detachment of them were between him and the enemy, and exactly in his line of fire, he could not do any material ſervice, without running a riſque of injuring the loyaliſts; and, as apprehenſions were entertained that the rebels would croſs the river to attack Templeſhannon, he repaired to his former poſt at the bridge, and at the ſame time, ordered the cavalry to cover his retreat, as a large body of the enemy had come near his laſt poſition. Captain Richards then charged and diſperſed them, but in effecting it, nine of his men were killed, and three wounded; and ſixteen of his horſes were either killed or ſo ſeverely wounded, as to be unfit for ſervice. It happened very fortunately, that captain Snowe arrived in due time to prevent the rebels from croſſing the river, having killed great numbers of them in their attempt to do ſo.

The high clay banks, improperly called in Ireland hedges, formed the fences of the town-fields round Enniſcorthy, and afforded breaſt-works to the rebel markſmen, behind which they fired with ſecurity and deliberation on the loyaliſts.

At laſt, the yeomen infantry, perceiving that they muſt ſoon be ſurrounded, and cut off by the long extended wings of the enemy, while the main body engaged them, divided themſelves into ſmall parties, and occupied the different avenues which led into the town, where they made a moſt gallant defence, having killed great numbers of the rebels; though they ſuffered much from the treachery of the diſloyal inhabitants, who not only fired at them from the windows, but their fanaticiſm was ſuch, that they ſet fire to their own houſes, to annoy the yeomen; for, in a ſhort time, three large ſuburbs, called Guttle-ſtreet, Drumgoold, and Iriſh-ſtreet,* and two lanes in the centre of the town, were in flames; yet the loyaliſts were ſo confident of ſucceſs, from having completely repulſed the rebels, that they gave three cheers. The enemy, defeated in the many attempts which they made on the north and weſt ſide of the town, made an effort to croſs the river, about a quarter of a mile above the bridge, where there is an iſland, in which they ſucceeded; but were ſoon repulſed by captain Richards's corps, part of whom fired at them with carabines, from a place about one hundred yards above the glebe-houſe, and killed great numbers; at the ſame time they were ſeverely galled by the North Cork on the bridge.

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* Plate IV. 3.

They then attempted to croſs the river higher up, out of the reach of the fire of the North Cork. On this, captain Snowe detached lieutenant Prior, with a ſerjeant and ſixteen men of his corps, to oppoſe them, which they did moſt effectually; for having taken poſt behind a hedge, they continued to kill great numbers of them, till their ammunition was expended. Soon after captain Cornock came to captain Snowe at the bridge, bleeding copiouſly from a pike wound he had received in the neck, having the crown of his hat cleft from a blow of a pike, and demanded a reinforcement, as the rebels, under cover of the ſmoke, had forced into the town in conſiderable numbers, at the Duffrey-gate and Iriſh-ſtreet. At the ſame time the diſaffected inhabitants fired on the yeomen from the windows. One column of them attacked captain Pounden's, the other captain Cornock's corps, which had ſuffered materially. The ſtreets were entirely involved in ſmoke, ſo that the yeomen could not perceive the rebels till they were charged by their pikes. The flames from the houſes at each ſide of the ſtreet were ſo great, as to unite over their heads, and to form an arch. Their hair was ſinged; the bear-ſkin in their caps was burnt. The loyaliſts, bravely diſputing every inch of ground, retreated to the market-houſe,* an open ſpace, like a ſquare,

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* Plate IV. 4.

a ſquare, where they made a determined ſtand, and killed great numbers of the enemy. By this effort the loyaliſts turned the ſcale, and drove the rebels completely out of the town, the ſtreets of which at each ſide of the river preſented an awful ſcene of conflagration. While the troops were thus engaged in the ſouth ſide of the town, another body of the rebels croſſed the river, about three quarters of a mile above the bridge, but were ſoon routed by captain Snowe, on which occaſion his men ſhewed great dexterity, as markſmen, having ſeldom failed to bring down ſuch individual rebels as they aimed at. Captain Snowe then ordered captain Richards to charge them, which he did moſt effectually, but with the loſs of two men killed, and ſome wounded.

As a party of the rebels which came from Vinegar-hill towards the glebe ſtill remained unaſſailed, and their numbers ſeemed to increaſe, they were attacked by captain Drury, with half a company of the North Cork, and he diſperſed them with conſiderable ſlaughter. Thus ended an action which laſted more than three hours, fought on a very hot day, and in the midſt of a burning town, the diſaffected inhabitants of which ſet fire to their own houſes, to annoy the loyaliſts, and fired on them from their windows. In this the yeomen and proteſtant inhabitants performed prodigies of valour, in ſupport of the conſtitution in church and ſtate, and in defence of their property and their families. They loſt near one-third of their number, which did not exceed three hundred, and the rebels, whom they encountered, were ſaid by ſome to amount to five thouſand, by others to ſix thouſand.

A return of the killed and wounded in defence of the town of Enniſcorthy, on Monday the twenty-eighth of May, 1798.

	KILLED.			WOUNDED.	
	Officers.	Serjeants.	Privates.	Officers.	Priv.
North Cork militia,	0	1	3	0	3
Scarawalſh infantry,	1	2	17	1	3
Enniſcorthy infantry,	1	0	6	0	4
Supplementary infantry,	1	0	30	0	0
Enniſcorthy cavalry,	0	0	11	0	6
Total, 1 captain,	3 ſubalterns.	3 1 drum.	67	1	16

The rebels killed in cold blood moſt of thoſe who had been wounded.

Captain John Pounden, who commanded the ſupplementary yeomen, lieutenant Hunt of the Enniſcorthy infantry, and lieutenant Carden of the Scarawalſh infantry, were killed. The latter, who had ſerved with reputation as an officer during the whole of the American war, was ſhot from the window of one Denny an apothecary, it is ſaid, by one Barnet his ſervant. In the number of the killed and wounded, I have not inſerted a great many proteſtants who ſuddenly joined the troops with guns, piſtols, pikes or ſwords, and of whom many fell in the action.

Of the garriſon eighty-eight were killed and wounded; and deducting ſeven of the North Cork, there remain eighty-one loyal proteſtants who bled that day in defence of the conſtitution in church and ſtate.

It was generally believed, that not leſs than five hundred of the rebels were killed or wounded. The banks of the river, and the iſland in it were ſtrewed with their dead bodies, and numbers of them fell in the ſtreets; but it was obſerved that the diſaffected inhabitants were always ready to drag them into their houſes, whenever they could get a ſafe opportunity, that the ſight of them might not diſcourage their ſurviving friends. To keep up their courage, every artifice was uſed; for even women, as if inſenſible of their danger, were ſeen in the midſt of the carnage, adminiſtering whiſkey to their rebel friends.

When the action terminated, the rebels were completely routed and expelled from the town; however, the loyaliſts did not think it tenable, for the following reaſons: It was in a ſtate of conflagration; and the rebels, who continued to hover round it, would have attacked it in the night, and would have been aſſiſted by the Roman catholick inhabitants, who were very numerous: As there were many avenues leading to the town, and as the loyaliſts, under arms, had loſt near one-third of their number, which did not originally exceed three hundred, they muſt have been overpowered and maſſacred in the night. The offiers therefore, after mature deliberation, reſolved to abandon the town, and to march to Wexford, on the eaſt ſide of the river by St. John's;* but, from the ſuddenneſs of the retreat, only a few of the proteſtant inhabitants could attend them; and they could carry with them no other comforts or neceſſaries but the wearing-apparel which they wore. Imagination cannot form a more tragical ſcene than the melancholy train of loyal fugitives, of whom ſome were ſo feeble from their wounds, from ſickneſs, the tenderneſs of old age or infancy, that they could not have effected their eſcape, had not the yeomen cavalry mounted them on their horſes. Some parents were reduced to the dreadful neceſſity of leaving their infants in cottages, on the road ſide, having, at the ſame time, but a faint hope of ever ſeeing them again.

As they travelled to Wexford, the rebels fired at them from the oppoſite ſide of the river, wherever they could get an opening.

Such of the loyal inhabitants as were unable to join their departing friends, took a melancholy farewell of them, and waited the fatal hour, when they were to fall victims to the fanatical vengeance of the rebels, who, when they got poſſeſſion of the town, proceeded with ſavage delight, to commit unbounded carnage and plunder. The following extract of a letter, written by a very reſpectable beneficed clergyman, the reverend Mr. Handcock, rector of Kilcormuck, who fought with the king's troops in defence of the town, will give the reader a perfect idea of the ſufferings of the proteſtant inhabitants on that day:

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* Plate IV. 4.

“Finding that we could no longer keep our ground, I ruſhed ſingly through the ſtreets, with a blunderbuſs cocked, and preſenting it at every perſon who looked at me, running for my life, but without the fainteſt hope of ſaving it, or that of my family, yet determined to ſhare their fate, and with great difficulty getting into my houſe, locked and barricadoed by the frighted inmates, I dragged my wife down ſtairs with my children, juſt as they ſat in her ſick room;* and obſerving which way the fugitives were moving out of the town, I forced them along with the tragical cavalcade, until my wife, overpowered with terror and the heat of the flames, fell on a burning pile of rubbiſh, where, unable myſelf, from fatigue, to raiſe her, ſhe would have been ſuffocated or trampled to death, had not a gallant fellow of the North Cork militia, wounded, and ſcarce able to drag his legs after him, aſſiſted me, ſwearing the Munſter oath, “By J—s, you did not forſake us, and I will not deſert you.” The poor fellow accordingly ſtuck by us till we arrived at Wexford.

In return for this, having got my wife and children behind or before mounted yeomen,† I procured a horſe for his wife, and carried his muſket as far as I was able. When we came within three or four miles of Wexford, we were met by the yeomen cavalry of it, who turned out, on hearing our diſaſter, to cover our retreat.

The rebel army having got poſſeſſion of the town, broke open the gaol and liberated all the priſoners. They then proceeded to burn and deſtroy every houſe belonging

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[*] She lay-in but two days before.

[†] Many of the mounted yeomen, though overcome with fatigue, walked the whole way, and gave their horſes to the fugitives.

to a proteſtant of any diſtinction. Before ſun-ſet the principal part of the town was in flames; and, late in the evening, a great number of old men, women and children, of the proteſtant religion, fled into the adjoining woods, leſt they ſhould periſh in the flames, or by the ſanguinary rage of the rebels. Such of them as were not fortunate enough to make their eſcape, were maſſacred. The rebels having broke open the cellars, continued to commit every wanton cruelty and barbarous exceſs, which ſavage ferocity, heightened by fanaticiſm and ebriety, could dictate.

When they entered the town, ſome ladies of diſtinguiſhed beauty, wild with horror and affright, waded over the river Slaney at the riſk of their lives, with one child on their back, and another in their arms. Numbers of both ſexes fled to the wood of St. John's, † better known by the name of Ringwood, where they paſſed the whole night, petrified with horror, at hearing ſhots conſtantly fired, the ſhouts of the rebels, and the groans of the dying. They kept a gloomy ſilence, not venturing to ſpeak to each other, leſt they ſhould be diſcovered.

The rebels having heard next day, that a number of proteſtants were in the wood, ſent a party, well armed, to ſcour it; and they killed ſuch of them as were not fortunate enough to make their eſcape. They continued for ſome days after, to beat it as cloſely as a pack of fox-hounds would.

A party of ladies who fled towards the river, when the rebels entered the town, informed me, that ſeveral ſhots were fired at them; and that in their retreat, they met a boy about ſixteen years old, armed with a pike, who approached them with a ſtern air; on which they aſked him, if he was going to kill them? and he ſaid, "No; but it is no matter where you go, for you will all be killed."

As ſoon as the rebels began to enter the town, many of the Roman catholick inhabitants frequently exclaimed, particularly the women, "That they would have no hereſy amongſt them; that they would put an end to hereticks; and that they would have all or none."

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† Plate III. 2.

They murdered Richard Whaley, a lockſmith, near one hundred years old, as ſoon as they entered the town; and Edward Sly, a proteſtant, was ſhot by his neighbour William Lee, when he was kindly reaching him a quart of beer. Numbers were dragged from their houſes, and barbarouſly maſſacred in the preſence of their wives and children.

The town, the morning after the rebels got poſſeſſion of it, preſented a dreadful ſcene of carnage and conflagration; many bodies were lying dead in the ſtreets, and others groaning in the agonies of death; ſome parts of the town were entirely conſumed, and in others the flames continued to rage with inextinguiſhable fury; no leſs than four hundred and ſeventy-eight dwelling-houſes and cabins were burned in the town and its ſuburbs, beſides a great number of ſtores, malt-houſes, and out-offices.

Early next morning, the rebels formed a camp on Vinegar-hill, made entrenchments round it, and placed ſome batteries in them. They then ſtationed a large garriſon in the town, which was relieved every day by an officer's guard from the camp. Such great numbers of the lower claſs of people from the adjacent country flocked to their camp, that it ſoon conſiſted of at leaſt ten thouſand men. They poſted ſtrong picquet guards, centinels, and videts, in all the avenues leading to the town, and for ſome miles round it.

They then proceeded to deſtroy the church of Enniſcorthy, and having pulled down the organ, the pews, the communion-table, and reading-deſk, they burned them to aſhes before the church-door, where they tore the bibles and the prayer-books; and then proceeded to demoliſh the remainder of the inſide part, leaving nothing but the roof and the bare walls. They took down the bell, and mounted it between two beams on Vinegar-hill, for the purpoſe of marking the progreſs of time, and of alarming the camp in caſe of ſurpriſe.

They committed ſuch proteſtants as were not fortunate enough to retreat to Wexford with the loyaliſts, or to eſcape into the woods, to a priſon on the hill, formed by the walls of an old wind-mill, and then proceeded to try them by a court-martial, which ſat conſtantly for that purpoſe. The only charge againſt them was, their being orangemen, which was ſynonimous with proteſtants.*

On the morning of Tueſday the twenty-ninth of May, they put to death twenty-four perſons of the eſtabliſhed church, by ſhooting ſome, and piking others in front of the rebel line, of whom one was Mr. Henry Hatton, portrieve of the town of Enniſcorthy, an innocent unoffending gentleman.† They burned the glebe-houſe of Enniſcorthy to aſhes; but converted the out-offices into ſtores for holding proviſions and arms for the camp.

A committee of twelve, conſiſting of ſome rebel officers and three prieſts; viz. fathers Roche, Kearns and Clinch, and at times father John Murphy, continued conſtantly to ſit, and to ſuperintend and regulate the concerns of the camp, and the newly-eſtabliſhed republick. When the buſineſs of the day was over, they dined together at a table regularly furniſhed with the beſt viands which the country could afford, and with delicious wines taken from the cellars of the neighbouring gentlemen.

They ſent gangs of aſſaſſins round all the adjacent country, commanded by rebel officers, in queſt of proteſtants, who ſeized ſuch of them as could not make their eſcape, and committed them to priſons at the foot of the hill, or in the town. I ſhall refer the reader to Appendix, No. XIX. * for the mode in which this infamous buſineſs was conducted, and for ſome of the atrocities which were perpetrated by the rebels while they continued in poſſeſſion of Vinegar-hill.

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* See in Appendix, No. XIX. 8. the confeſſion of James Beaghan.

† For a deſcription of this horrid ſcene, ſee Appendix, No. XIX. in the affidavits of Catharine Heydon, Benjamin Warren, Richard Sterne, Robert Whitney, Margaret Hunt, Edward Stacey, and Anne Piper.

The walls of an old wind-mill on the top of the hill ſerved as a fold to contain the victims who ſupplied the ſacrifice of the day; and when the rebel ranks were on parade, they were led forth and butchered in their preſence, and as a regale to them; and what was very ſingular, the executioners often knelt down, croſſed themſelves, and ſaid a prayer, before they immolated the victims, who were frequently almoſt famiſhed before they were led to execution, from the bad and ſcanty food with which they were ſupplied.

The camp was conſtantly attended by from ten to twenty prieſts, who daily ſaid maſs at the head of each rebel column, and afterwards pronounced an exhortation to animate them in the extirpation of hereſy, and in the excluſive eſtabliſhment of their own, the only true orthodox faith.

Mr. Stephen Ram, of Ramsfort, in the county of Wexford, brother-in-law to lord Courtown, who is deſervedly loved and revered by his tenants, informed me, that ſuch of them as were of the Roman catholick religion, and had been unfortunately concerned in the rebellion, were very communicative to him, and informed him, that they entered into it at the inſtigation of their prieſts; that it was uſual in the rebel camp, for the prieſt of each pariſh to call over the names of his own pariſhioners; and that his coadjutor did ſo, if he was prevented from age, infirmity, or any other cauſe.

Commiſſaries were appointed in every pariſh to provide proviſions for the camp, according to the directions of the committee, or the commander in chief,

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* See extracts from the trials of Thomas Clooney, James Beaghan, William Fenlon, Andrew Farrell, and Nicholas Walſh.

chief, and each of the commiſſaries had a certain number of pikemen under his command.

The commander in chief, at each camp, gave written orders to the commiſſaries to ſupply the different rebel corps or individuals with proviſions, of which I give the reader copies of ſome originals which fell into my hands.

"The commander in chief requeſts commiſſary Brennan to give bread for forty men to captain Devereux's corps.

June 15th, 1798. ROCHE."*
Lacken-hill.

"Mr. John Brennan,

"Pleaſe to ſend dinner for twelve men belonging to Jeremiah Fitzhenry.

18th June, 1798. ROCHE."

"Permit Tom Harper and another man to paſs for food for eight men to commiſſary Brennan.

June 19th, 1798. ROCHE."

Whenever any of the country commiſſaries ſent proviſions or cattle into one of the camps, they obtained receipts for them from the commiſſary-general, as appears by the following:

"Received from Mr. John Brennan,† ſeventeen bullocks, to keep at graſs till called for. June 18th, 1798, firſt year of liberty.

STEPHEN MYLER."

General Roche received the following preſent from a man of the name of Murphy, who acted as ſteward in the camp, and wiſhed to ingratiate himſelf with the commander in chief, as appears by the following letter:

"Sir,

"I have ſent you a caſk of wine, a barrel of beer, eighteen loaves of bread, two ſheep of the beſt ſort, one loaf of bread, and two fowl, for your own uſe.

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* This was father Philip Roche.

† He had been a member of the Healthfield cavalry, and in violation of his oath of allegiance deſerted and joined the rebels.

From your friend and humble ſervant,
PATRICK MURPHY, ſteward."

This camp, which was the grand rendezvous of the rebels, ſent large detachments to thoſe who fought the different battles in the county of Wexford. Their tents were formed of carpets, quilts, ſheets, blankets, window-curtains, and various articles of furniture, which they had ſeized in proteſtant houſes.

Mrs. M. * a reſpectable gentlewoman, who remained the entire night of Monday the twenty-eighth of May, 1798, in Ringwood, gave me the following relation of the dangers and diſtreſſes which ſhe and her huſband ſuffered. It will ſerve to ſhew the ſavage and ſanguinary diſpoſition of the rebels.

Mr. Bennett, of Birmount, † lay concealed in the wood that night. Next morning, about ſeven o'clock, when we were almoſt ſinking with cold and hunger, he kindly invited us to his houſe, which lay cloſe to the river Slaney, at the oppoſite ſide of it. Having gone there, about ſeven o'clock in the evening, a woman came to us, trembling with fear, and ſaid, "That the rebels were approaching in all directions to burn the houſe, and to murder us." Mr. Bennett hid himſelf in his garden. We were adviſed to get ſome green boughs, as the emblem of rebellion, and to go out to meet them; and having accordingly done ſo, they deſired us not to be frightened, as they never injured women; and they aſked us if we were chriſtians, (meaning Roman catholicks,) and very fortunately we told them we were. They informed us, that they had juſt killed Mr. Edward White ‡ of Roxana, and his ſon, who lived near

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* This is not really the initial letter of her name, which I conceal, leſt it might expoſe her to rebel vengeance.

† Plate III. 3.

‡ This aged gentleman had been always friendly to the Roman catholicks. His ſon was almoſt an ideot. The rebels made them kneel

near Vinegar-hill; having, as they ſaid, ſearched his houſe for arms and orangemen. Having found Mr. M. in the garden, they preſented their firelocks, and were on the point of ſhooting him; but ſaid, they muſt ſuſpend his execution till their officer, who was abſent, arrived. They took him off, mounted behind one of them; when they fortunately met a rebel, who had a particular regard for Mr. M., and who galloped off ſpeedily to Vinegar-hill camp, and procured him a protection from father John Murphy, who was then commander in chief there.

"On Thurſday I went to Vinegar-hill, in hopes of getting a protection from father Philip Roche,* a rebel chieftain, and in our way thither, we ſaw the bodies of Mr. White and his ſon lying dead and naked in the lawn before his houſe; for the rebels would not ſuffer them to be buried.

"In our way to Enniſcorthy, we ſaw twelve dead bodies lying on the road; and on entering the town we were filled with horror at beholding a great number of them in the ſtreets.

"The camp at Vinegar-hill preſented a dreadful ſcene of confuſion and uproar. A number of female rebels, more vehement than the male, were marching out to meet the army from Newtown-barry. This was a large body which father Roche led from Vinegar-hill to the attack of that town, which took place the firſt of June. Great numbers of women were in the camp. Some men were employed in killing cattle, and in boiling them in pieces in large copper brewing-pans; others were drinking, curſing, and ſwearing; many of them were playing on various muſical inſtruments, which they had acquired by plunder in the adjacent proteſtant houſes; and this produced a moſt diſagreeable and barbarous diſſonance.

"At

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kneel in a potato trench, ſhot them, and ſome days after covered them lightly with earth. They murdered on Vinegar-hill his brother, Mr. John White, of Whitefield, a magiſtrate, and very far advanced in years.

* Edward Roche was the lay-general.

" At laſt I met father Roche in Enniſcorthy, and he gave me a protection, not only for Mr. M. but one for Mr. Bennett's houſe, in the following words, which was poſted up in the hall: " No man to moleſt this houſe, or its inhabitants, on pain of death!"

" However, next day, a rebel guard came to Mr. Bennett's, and compelled him and Mr. M. to go before the pariſh-prieſt of Bree, in order to ſend them to the attack on Roſs; but Mr. John Devereux, a rebel captain, on ſeeing Roche's protection, diſcharged him; and ſoon after father John Sutton of Enniſcorthy, and a Mr. William Barker, a rebel general, gave them protections, and certified that they had been tried by a court-martial, and acquitted.

" We then repaired to Mr. Joſhua Lett's, a mile beyond Enniſcorthy, where we ſtaid ſome days. During our reſidence there, we daily ſaw great crowds of rebels, who often boaſted of the number of proteſtants they had put to death, and even in what manner they had piked them. They ſaid, " That Cork and Limerick had capitulated to them: That Dublin was ſurrounded by forty thouſand united Iriſhmen: That the whole kingdom would ſoon be in their poſſeſſion; and that there ſhould be no other religion but the Roman catholick." They compelled us to go to maſs, which we did, to preſerve our lives.

" At laſt, the rebels, having diſcovered that Mr. M. was concealed in Mr. Joſhua Lett's houſe, threatened to demoliſh it, unleſs he was inſtantly diſmiſſed. As Mr. Lett was obliged to comply with this mandate, we repaired to Mr. Fitzhenry's of Ballymacus, † about five miles off. In our way thither, we met many parties of rebels, who would have put Mr. M. to death, but for the prieſt's protection; for which they ſhewed the utmoſt reſpect. This ſhews the great influence of the ſacerdotal order, and how eaſily they might have prevented the maſſacres of proteſtants.

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† Plate III. 3.

" We were there but a few hours, when a rebel guard arrived, and carried us back to Enniſcorthy, where Mr. M. was put into a guard-houſe, containing about a dozen unfortunate proteſtants, who were ſhot or piked next day in the camp. I was then deſired to apply to one of their officers, named Morgan Byrne, whom I found ſitting in their committee-room, at a long table, with many books and papers before him. Father Kearns was at the head of the table, round which all the members of the committee ſat. On repreſenting my ſituation, and that of Mr. M. Mr. Patrick Sutton, who was a general among them, ſaid, " He would do his utmoſt to ſerve Mr. M. and me;" and Mr. Morgan Byrne * ſaid, " He would ſpare his life, provided he would join and fight with them; but on no other condition.

" Unheard-of barbarities were committed at Enniſcorthy, Vinegar-hill, and in all the adjacent country, before the rebels were ſubdued and driven from them.

" The pikemen would often ſhew us their pikes all ſtained with blood, and boaſt of having murdered our friends and neighbours."

Every morning when the rebels paraded on Vinegar-hill, they put to death from fifteen to thirty proteſtants in their preſence, as an amuſement to them; and this was done with the ſolemnity of an execution under a judicial ſentence.

Samuel Goodiſon, a farmer, worth 400 l. a year, of the proteſtant religion, was univerſally eſteemed for his good moral character. He and his family, conſiſting of a wife and nine children, remained in Ringwood on the night of the twenty-eighth of May, to eſcape the fanatical rage of the rebels. On Tueſday morning, they repaired to St. John's, † the ſeat of doctor Hill, on the Slaney, who offered to let them remain there; but Goodiſon ſaid, he had ſuch warm friends among the Roman catholicks, that he was

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* The loyal ſubjects called this fellow Santerre, and his father Luke Byrne, who was more ſanguinary, Marat.

† Plate III. 2.

was ſure of getting a protection from them, if he could arrive with ſafety at Enniſcorthy. He left his family at a mill, within a quarter of a mile of the town; and having advanced a ſhort way, he was overwhelmed with joy at meeting his neighbour and particular friend, Luke Byrne; but that ſanguinary ruffian ſhot him inſtantly, inſtead of affording him that protection which he ſolicited. A reſpectable gentlewoman of Enniſcorthy heard him boaſt afterwards, that he never ate ſo ſweet a breakfaſt, as he did that morning, for that he had killed Samuel Goodiſon and William Carroll.

John Stillman, eighty years old, who had ſerved as a ſoldier the greater part of his life, and George Saunders, ſeventy years old, ſlept all Monday night in Ringwood; and having come out of it about twelve o'clock, next morning, they were ſhot on the road leading to Enniſcorthy. Saunders died inſtantly. Stillman continued alive till next day, and was able to ſit up. A rebel out-poſt, of about twenty men, amuſed themſelves with ridiculing, inſulting, and torturing him. They often aſked him in irony, (as he was a proteſtant) Whether he would have a prieſt? They had but one ball among them, and they fired it five or ſix times through his body, while proſtrate on the ground; and yet he was alive next day. He had but one eye, which they put out with a pike. At length they put him to death. Afterwards the rebels were known to call him their plaything, in converſation at Enniſcorthy; and to declare, he was ſo tough an old fellow, that they had great difficulty in putting him to death.

I ſhall refer the reader to Appendix, No. XIX. 1. for the ſufferings of Benjamin Warren, a proteſtant yeoman, and the ſcene of carnage which he beheld on Vinegar-hill. I ſaw his wounds in Auguſt, 1798. His body had been perforated with pikes in many places.

When the town was evacuated on Monday the twenty-eighth of May, Richard Sterne, a ſickly old man, his wife, his ſon far gone in a conſumption, and a grandchild, five years old, on his back, endeavoured to retreat to Wexford with the proteſtant fugitives, but being unable to accompany them, they concealed themſelves in a wood, where they remained four days and four nights, and muſt have ſtarved, but that they received a few potatoes and about a pint of milk from a fiſherman.

I ſhall refer the reader to his affidavit, Appendix, No. XIX. 2. for an account of his ſufferings, and of ſome of the horrors practiſed at Vinegar-hill.

In Appendix, No. XIX. 3. the reader will ſee an account of the murder of the reverend Mr. Heydon, in the ſtreets of Enniſcorthy, who was venerable for his piety and his years, being near eighty years old. I have been aſſured that the rebels would not ſuffer his body to be interred for ſome days, and that a great part of it was devoured by pigs.

Richard Sterne was a priſoner in Mr. Beale's barn, at the foot of Vinegar-hill, where he ſaw numbers of his fellow-priſoners tried and condemned by a rebel court-martial (at which one Lawrence Power was preſident) for being orangemen, or proteſtants, which were ſynonimous. Lawrence Power was afterwards taken in Dublin, tried, convicted, and hanged. Richard Sterne, being examined on his trial, depoſed, that he ſaw many perſons led to execution under the judgment of that court; and that he ſaw one Murtagh Keane ſhoot Thomas Simpſon and Jeremiah Smyth, ſoon after Lawrence Power had pronounced the ſentence.

I ſhall alſo refer the reader to Appendix, No. XIX. 4. for the barbarous treatment which Edward Stacey, a proteſtant farmer, of Tomgar, received from four ruffians, who were ſent from the camp in queſt of proteſtants. I ſaw the wound which he received, ſoon after it was healed.

The gangs of pikemen who were ſent to roam the country in queſt of proteſtants, to ſupply the grand ſlaughter-houſe at Vinegar-hill, could not reſtrain their thirſt for blood, and often killed their priſoners on the ſpot where they ſeized them, though contrary to the orders of their leaders.

For the ſufferings of lieutenant Hunt, of the Enniſcorthy yeomen infantry, ſee Appendix, No. XIX. 5.

On the thirtieth day of May, William Neal, Henry and Bryan, his ſons, were ſeized at their houſe at Ballybrennan, by a band of aſſaſſins, who were ſent from the camp in ſearch of proteſtants, and were conveyed to Vinegar-hill camp. Michael Maddock and Joſeph Murphy were leaders of the party. The former called them orangemen, meaning proteſtants, and wanted to kill them as ſuch, but was over-ruled by ſome others of the band. Bryan Neal offered them his horſe and cow to liberate them; but Maddock ſaid, "That the cattle of all orangemen belonged to them already."

When they arrived on Vinegar-hill, Murphy ſaid he would not bring them any more orangemen, unleſs they put them to death directly: On which a conference was held, when the father and the two ſons were immediately condemned. They firſt led out to execution Bryan, who begged they would ſhoot him, inſtead of torturing him with pikes. One of the rebels ſaid he ſhould not die ſo eaſy a death, and inſtantly ſtruck him on the head with a carpenter's adz, which made him ſtagger a few yards; but he was ſoon brought back, when one of them ſtabbed him in the ſide with a ſpear, another in the neck, and a third ſhoved them aſide and ſhot him. William, the father, who was then brought forth, ſolicited to be ſhot; and having complied with his requeſt, they put him on his knees.* The executioner miſſed fire at him three times; on which father

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* In this work I have called him an inhuman ſavage, becauſe he publickly recommended in his harangues, made to his ſoldiers in camp, the extirpation of proteſtants, and preſided at the execution of them; and yet Mr. Gordon, a proteſtant clergyman of the county of Wexford, in his Hiſtory of the Rebellion, condemns me for uſing that epithet towards him; and ſays, that, "on the contrary, he has heard many inſtances of his active humanity."

father Roche, the general, who attended the execution, deſired him to try whether his firelock would go off in the air. He accordingly tried, and it ſucceeded. Father Roche then gave him a protection, and ordered him to be diſcharged; having imputed his eſcape to divine Providence. Murphy and Maddock were near neighbours, and ſuppoſed to be the intimate friends of the Neal family, who had no ſuſpicion that they had harboured ſuch ſanguinary hatred againſt them, on account of their being of the proteſtant perſuaſion.† William Neal had another ſon burnt at the barn of Scullabogue.

Charles Davis, a glazier of Enniſcorthy, and of the proteſtant religion, fought againſt the rebels in defence of that town; but was afterwards made a priſoner, and conveyed to Vinegar-hill by a party of rebels, who informed him, that, as he was an orangeman, he would be put to death. On his arrival in the camp, he ſaw about forty bodies lying dead, quite naked, and very much mangled with pikes; among which he perceived the body of Mr. Henry Hatton, portrieve of the town of Enniſcorthy.

The rebels deſired him, inſultingly, to lay his hand on his deceaſed friends, whom they called hereticks; and told him, that all the hereticks in the kingdom ſhould ſhare the ſame fate. They then put him on his knees, in the midſt of the dead bodies, and ſhot him through the body and the arm, and gave him ſeveral pike wounds; after which they buried him, covering his body lightly with ſods. He lay in that ſituation from ſeven o'clock in the evening till five next morning, when he found a dog, who had ſcraped away the ſods, licking his wounds. A party of rebels, who were near the grave, perceiving the motion of his body, exclaimed, "The dead is coming to life; and that Davis ſhould have a prieſt, as he could not obtain ſalvation without one." Father Sutton, of Enniſcorthy, ‡ who was in the camp, adminiſtered the rites of his church to him, and told him he was ſorry to ſee him in that ſituation; but as there was no proſpect of his recovery, he was glad that he was to die under his hands. He was then delivered to his wife, who conveyed him to his own houſe; where, with the aid of medical aſſiſtance, he recovered. Theſe facts have been verified by affidavit, and are univerſally known. Charles Davis, who is now living, ſhewed me his wounds.

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† Theſe facts were verified by oath, on the trials of Murphy and Maddock, held at Roſs, the thirteenth and twenty-fourth of Auguſt, 1798, by order of lieutenant-general Hulſe: alſo, by affidavit, ſworn before D. Colclough, eſquire, by William Neal, twenty-fourth July, 1798.

John Mooney, ſervant to doctor Hill, and a proteſtant, was taken priſoner, and conducted to the wind-mill priſon, on the top of Vinegar-hill, the thirty-firſt day of May; and found there ſixteen proteſtant priſoners, with ſome of whom he had been long acquainted. They were deſired to prepare for death; and ſoon after a ruffian entered the priſon with a drawn hanger, and began to torture the priſoners by way of amuſement; but the rebel centinel ſtopped him, and ſaid, that as they were to die ſoon, it was cruel to torment them. In a few minutes one of the priſoners was dragged out of the mill door, and ſhot; and ſoon after the remainder were executed in the ſame manner. Among them there was a well-dreſſed reſpectable looking man, and his ſon, a boy about thirteen years old. The father ſeemed to bear his approaching diſſolution with great fortitude, ſuppoſing that they would not injure his ſon, on account of his tender age; but what agonizing pangs muſt he have felt, when his child was butchered in his preſence! and he, when led out to execution, was obliged to ſtep over his bleeding corpſe, which fell acroſs the door.

Mooney, the laſt perſon taken out, was placed by the ſixteen dead bodies; and the executioner, whoſe name was Byrne, deſired him to turn his back to him, (which the victims were often compelled to do;) but Mooney refuſed to do ſo, having ſaid, that he was not afraid to face a bullet. The executioner, who was very ragged, advanced, with his muſket preſented, within twelve paces of him, when Mooney deſired him to ſtop; and taking off his coat, waiſtcoat and hat, which were new, threw them to him, deſiring him to take them for his trouble; and requeſted he would approach nearer to him, and do his buſineſs properly. The executioner, ſtruck with his fortitude, ſaid it was an undoubted proof of his innocence; and declared he would have nothing to do with him. On this, one Murtagh Brien, alias Kane, a ſanguinary monſter, and the common executioner, roſe from his knees, (for the rebels commonly knelt and prayed before or during the execution,) and inſiſted on putting Mooney to death, and preſented a blunderbuſs for that purpoſe; but Byrne interfered, and ſwore he would blow out the brains of any perſon who would attempt to injure him; and he immediately diſmiſſed him.

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‡ This prieſt might have ſaved any perſon he choſe, and was daily attending the camp.

Papiſts of the meaneſt ſituation, even beggars, have been known to ſave proteſtants when they choſe.

Mooney was ſeized by a party of rebels two or three days after, and they were on the point of putting him to death, for having, as they ſaid, often enquired for and opened the letters of father Sutton at Enniſcorthy, before the inſurrection took place, in order to obtain information relative to the rebellion; but that prieſt, who happened to come up when the charge was made, acquitted him of it.

The rebels made a conſtant practice of violating women who fell into their hands. In conſequence of which, a rebel general, Patrick Sutton, iſſued the following proclamation;

PROCLAMATION.

"WHEREAS information has been received that many outrages are committing through the country on the wives and daughters of ſeveral people: This is therefore to deſire and command all officers to uſe every exertion to apprehend and bring into Vinegar-hill camp each and every perſon who ſhall be found guilty of ſuch offences, that they may be dealt with accordingly.

Given under my hand at Vinegar-hill camp, this
17th day of June, 1798, the firſt year of liberty.

PATRICK SUTTON, commander in chief."

Patrick Conners was peculiarly the object of popiſh vengeance, for the following reaſons: Having married a proteſtant wife, he was conſtantly urged by his popiſh neighbours and his pariſh prieſt, to make her change her religion; but he refuſed to interfere about her mode of worſhip. At laſt, he was ſo much diſguſted and ſhocked at their bitter and unremitting reproaches, that he became a convert to the proteſtant faith. In conſequence of this he was denounced by his pariſh prieſt, who laid his flock under a prohibition not to deal with him. This interdict reduced him to poverty, from having obtained a good livelihood as a ſhopkeeper in the town of Enniſcorthy.

On the thirtieth of May, 1798, he, his wife and daughter, were taken to the camp of Vinegar-hill, where the rebel troops were drawn up at parade in the form of a half moon. Conners, John Plunket and James Rigley, two more proteſtants, were led out in front of them to be executed. James D'Arcy, a corn factor, in good circumſtances, who volunteered in this bloody buſineſs, ſtept forward from the line, with a horſe piſtol, and ſhot them one after another, charging the piſtol with great deliberation, and ſaying between each murder, "I will now do your buſineſs." His daughter, Mary Conners, was offered ten guineas if ſhe would not proſecute; but ſhe declared, that ſhe would not ſell the blood of her father.

The poor old widow of Conners was holding him by the arm when they ſhot him; and, on falling, he pulled her to the ground. On riſing, ſhe exclaimed, "You had now better put me to death!" and the brutal ſavage was on the point of doing ſo, but other rebels, more humane, prevented him.

Theſe facts were proved at Wexford, on the trial of D'Arcy, the ſixteenth of November, 1798, when he was convicted and hanged.

D'Arcy bore a very good character previous to this atrocious act.

It appears that many Roman catholicks, who had led irreproachable lives, and were eſteemed for their moral conduct prior to the rebellion, embrued their hands in human blood, without any horror or remorſe, during the courſe of it, as their feelings had been blunted by fanaticiſm.

Edward St. Leger, a proteſtant, was taken priſoner and conducted to the old mill on Vinegar-hill, by a party of rebels, on the firſt day of June, 1798, but was releaſed ſoon after at the interceſſion of one Fenlon. As he was leaving the priſon, he ſaw a man ſitting on the ground, with no other clothes than a piece of a ragged blanket thrown over him. He preſented a moſt ghaſtly appearance, as his eyes were out, his head and body were much ſwollen, and his cheeks were covered with ulcers. On St. Leger's exclaiming, "What a miſerable object!"* he attempted to ſpeak, but uttered ſome inarticulate ſounds, which he could not underſtand; for which reaſon, he believed, that his tongue had been cut out. An armed rebel who was near, and ſeemed to be guarding him, told St. Leger, that he was under puniſhment, and ſpoke ſomething of ſlow death; meaning, as he verily believed, that the unfortunate wretch was condemned to ſuffer ſlow death.

Unwilling to diſguſt the reader, I will give him a circumſtantial account of but a few of the various cruelties

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[*] Appendix, No. XIX. 6.

cruelties practiſed on the victims who were immolated on Vinegar-hill by theſe ferocious fanaticks. Had they been perpetrated by the dregs of the people, ſome allowance might have been made for the force of religious bigotry on the minds of the vulgar herd; but we have to lament, that many perſons whoſe birth, education, or opulence, raiſed them far above that deſcription, were preſent at, or were conſenting to, the perpetration of theſe atrocities; for we find that they were conſtantly in the rebel camps where they daily took place, and that they could have prevented them is unqueſtionable; for no inſtance that I could diſcover ever occurred, that the perſonal interference or the written protection of a rebel officer, or one of their prieſts, did not ſave the life of a perſon deſtined for deſtruction.

Mr. William Barker, a brewer and a merchant of Enniſcorthy, was a general in the camp: Mr. Patrick Sutton, formerly a merchant, and well educated, held that rank; and his two ſons, one of whom was educated for the bar, were officers there: One Kelly, an opulent farmer near that town, a rebel officer, who has been hanged: The bloody Luke Byrne, a malſter, and his two ſons, in opulent circumſtances: meſſieurs Codd † and Walſh, ſhopkeepers, and reputed rich: Marineth, a farmer, was wealthy: Andrew Farrell was in good circumſtances, yet he was active in promoting the maſſacres: Jeremiah Fitzhenry, married to John Colclough's ſiſter, was of the ancient family of the Fitzhenrys, in the county of Wexford: John Colclough, of a family highly reſpectable, who often repreſented the county, was well educated and in good circumſtances, and yet diſgraced himſelf by yielding to the influence of fanaticiſm. He was the only papiſt that I could learn of his family. Meſſieurs Garret and William Byrne were rebel chieftains, and attended the camps.

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† Francis Codd, another perſon of the ſame name, was very loyal.

The reverend Mr. Pentland and Mr. Trocke, clergymen of the eſtabliſhed church, were put to death on Vinegar-hill, on Tueſday the twenty-ninth of May, with about thirty proteſtants more.

Luke Byrne, an opulent farmer and brewer of Enniſcorthy, though advanced in years, was remarkably cruel and ſanguinary; and his two ſons, Morgan and Mogue, were little leſs ſo. His brother frequently acted the part of executioner on Vinegar-hill.

William Carroll, a tanner, of the proteſtant perſuaſion, who had always lived on terms of the warmeſt friendſhip with Luke Byrne, accoſted him in the ſtreet of Enniſcorthy, when he was at the head of a party of rebels; but Byrne drew his ſword, proſtrated him with a blow of it, and ordered the pikemen, whom he commanded, to diſpatch him; and they inſtantly perforated his body with pikes. This honeſt and induſtrious man left a widow and eight children.

It is ſurpriſing how wanton the rebels were in committing cruelties. On Thurſday the thirty-firſt of May, John Doyle ſaw a wounded man lying in the ſtreets at Enniſcorthy, and approaching him, ſaid, in a ſtrain of irony, mingled with cruelty, "What a pity it is you are not more alive!" and then ſtabbed him ſeveral times with a pike, and turned over his body. Doyle was convicted of that crime before a court-martial, on the twentieth of July, 1799.

Thomas Clooney, a farmer, was worth ſeveral thouſand pounds. His ſon was aid-de-camp to a rebel general at Roſs, and was ſhot there. Fenlon, a ſchoolmaſter, a young man of pleaſing manners, and a genteel appearance, and Furlong, a rich farmer, were both rebel captains. Robert, John and Denis Carthy, very opulent farmers, and well educated, were deeply concerned in the rebellion. Their nephew Denis was ſtained with the blood of the reverend Mr. Turner, murdered on Whitſunday. William Lacy, a ſhopkeeper at Enniſcorthy, and brother to father Michael Lacy, (who uſed to ſay maſs there for the rebels,) was commiſſary-general in the camp on Vinegar-hill. William Devereux of Taghmon, was in opulent circumſtances. Meſſieurs John and Edward Hay, actively concerned in the rebellion, were of an ancient popiſh family, and were extremely well educated.

A barbarous murder committed by the former, with all the coolneſs of deliberation, proves how far fanaticiſm can extinguiſh all religious and moral principle. A proteſtant boy, known by the name of Gray Thomas, who lived at Newcaſtle, near the houſe of Mr. John Hay, was murdered by him on Vinegar-hill.*

Mr. Hay was thoroughly convinced that every true proteſtant was ſincerely attached to the conſtitution in church and ſtate, and would oppoſe the views of the united Iriſhmen, who were deſirous of ſeparating Ireland from England; of forming in it a republick under the auſpices of France; and of totally extinguiſhing the proteſtant religion, which they regarded as a peſtilent hereſy.

Thomas Smythſon, verified upon oath, on the trial of Edward Roche; a rebel general, at Wexford, the circumſtances attending the death of Gray Thomas; and that he heard John Hay declare, in the rebel camp, "That they never could have luck while there were proteſtants among them."

On the ſame trial, which began the ſeventeenth of December, 1798, Thomas Hatchell proved, that Mr. John Hay propoſed on Vinegar-hill the maſſacre of all proteſtants; and both theſe witneſſes proved that Edward Roche oppoſed his ſanguinary propoſal.

There were commonly twenty prieſts in the camp,† and they never interfered for the preſervation of proteſtant lives, except in behalf of a perſon who happened to be the peculiar object of their regard, or in whoſe ſafety they were deeply intereſted. On the contrary, it appears that numbers of them daily ſaid maſs at the head of the rebel lines, and exhorted the rebels to extirpate hereticks or orangemen, which appellations they gave to proteſtants.* Some perſons have endeavoured to palliate the atrocities committed by the rebels, by ſaying, "That their ſanguinary rage was not directed againſt proteſtants as ſuch, but merely againſt a political ſect of them called orangemen." This plea could be urged with much leſs colour in the county of Wexford than elſewhere; becauſe there were no orangemen there, nor was there even an attempt to inſtitute an Orange lodge in it till the North Cork came into it, and they did not arrive there till the twenty-ſixth of April.

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* Appendix, No. XIX. 7.

† The reader will find this verified by different affidavits in the Appendix.

A few days after, a ſerjeant Jeffars attempted to make a few orangemen among the loweſt mechanicks at Enniſcorthy; but as ſoon as captain Snowe diſcovered it he checked and prevented him. The truth is, that the appellation of orangemen was adopted to diſguiſe the ſanguinary and intolerant principles of popery againſt every other ſect of chriſtians,† and which has on moſt occaſions characterized it; but this thin diſguiſe was ſeen through; for on many occaſions, not only the infuriate ſavages, but even their prieſts denounced them as proteſtants, and the carnage of them was indiſcriminate. Not only thoſe of ſuperior rank, whoſe elevated ſituation might have excited their envy, and whoſe wealth might have tempted their rapacity, fell a prey to their fanatical fury; but the inhabitants of the humble abodes of induſtry were equally obnoxious to it; though they had never heard the word orangemen till they were denounced as ſuch by their aſſaſſins.

I could not aſcertain the number of proteſtants who were maſſacred in the rebel camp on Vinegar-hill

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* See the affidavits of Richard Sterne, Richard Grandy, William Fleming, and Andrew Sheppard, in Appendixes, No. XIX and XX.

† See James Beaghan's confeſſion, Appendix, No. XIX. 8.

and its vicinity; but I have been aſſured that they exceeded five hundred.* Among theſe were men of landed property, magiſtrates, clergymen, merchants, farmers, labourers and mechanicks. I have obtained the names of as many as I could of the proteſtants who were murdered in the county of Wexford at large, but I could not procure the whole. It will be found, with the pariſhes or townlands to which they belonged, in Appendix, No. XIX. 9.

The following practice daily took place on the hill: A large tub of water received the benediction of a prieſt, and then a number of the rebels, ſurrounding it on their knees, were ſprinkled with it; which they imagined was an expiation for the horrid crimes that they had been committing.

The doctrine of excluſive ſalvation in the Romiſh church, from which this ſanguinary ſpirit flows, is inculcated in the koran of Mahomet. Ockley, in His Hiſtory of the Saracens,† tells us, that the Turks ſay, agreeable to this doctrine, that every perſon who is not of their religion is an enemy to God; and that when they are fighting againſt ſuch, they are fighting in the cauſe of God.

The ſavage delight which the rebels took in the effuſion of human blood on Vinegar-hill, reſembles the conduct of Mahomet, when he conquered and took poſſeſſion of Conſtantinople, in the year 1452, as related by Knowles, in the following words of his celebrated Hiſtory of the Turks:

"That he, as a proud conqueror, with great "triumph, entered the city of Conſtantinople, then "deſolated, and void of all chriſtian inhabitants; "and there, after the manner of the Turkiſh kings, "made a ſumptuous and royal feaſt unto his baſhaws "and great captains; when, after he had ſurcharged "himſelf with exceſs of meat and drink, he cauſed

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* Mr. Gordon in his Hiſtory of the Rebellion, page 139, ſays, that it would be impoſſible to ſtate with accuracy the number; but allows, that they fell little ſhort of four hundred.

† Vol. I. pages 198, 228.

" divers of the chief chriſtian captives, both men and
" women, (of whom many were of the late em-
" peror's line and race) to be in his preſence put to
" death, as he with his Turks ſat banqueting, deem-
" ing his feaſt much more ſtately, by ſuch effuſion
" of chriſtian blood; which manner of exceeding
" cruelty he daily uſed, until ſuch time as he had
" deſtroyed all the Grecian nobility that were in his
" power, with the chief of the late Conſtantinopo-
" litan citizens."

The Celts, who covered a great part of the European continent, immolated human victims to the Deity; and the Iriſh, who are of that race, follow the ſame practice, and both on the ſcore of religion; but the former did ſo as Pagans, the latter as Chriſtians. The Auto da Fés, which continued till within a few years in Spain and Portugal, were alſo regarded as offerings to the Deity.

The ſufferings of Mr. George Horneck and his family, a very reſpectable farmer, of Girrane in the county of Wexford, merit a circumſtantial relation. From conſiderable opulence, he was reduced to very great indigence by the rebellion. He had three ſons, remarkably handſome, and eſteemed for their good deportment. One of the name of George, had been bred in the univerſity of Dublin, and was enrolled in Mr. Ogle's corps; another, called Robert, was bound to an apothecary, in Enniſcorthy. They ſhewed great valour in defence of that town, but were overtaken and ſeized in their retreat towards Wexford by a party of rebels commanded by Robert Carthy, of Ballyhogue,* who put George to a cruel death. They conducted Robert to the camp at Vinegar-hill, as a priſoner. The rebels then ſent to his father, who, with other proteſtants, was keeping garriſon at the houſe of the reverend John Richards, of Grange,† a clergyman of the eſtabliſhed religion, to inform him, that if he would ſurrender his arms, they would ſave the life of his ſon, who would be permitted to ſerve in their army. But the father refuſed to comply; having given as a reaſon, that he had taken an oath of allegiance, and ſwore not to ſurrender them to any perſon but to the government. At the ſame time he implored them to be merciful to his ſon. Next day the rebels ſtripped him naked and ſhot him in their camp. As he betrayed ſome ſymptoms of life after he fell, they knocked him in the head with the but-end of a fire-lock; and yet this unfortunate young man recovered about midnight, and, though quite naked and covered with blood, and ghaſtly wounds, he crept to the foot of Vinegar-hill, waded over the river Slaney; and, though much exhauſted, he walked to his father's houſe, which was ſeven miles off; on approaching it he was buoyed up with the fond hope of finding an aſylum there from the rebel blood-hounds; but, alas! how ſevere was his diſappointment on finding it deſerted by his family, who had fled for protection to Roſs, whither he endeavoured to follow them; but was intercepted by a party of rebels, who murdered him and threw his body into a gravel-pit.

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* A family diſtinguiſhed for their rebellious principles.

† Plate III. 2.

Mr. Charles Cooper, ſon-in-law of George Horneck, who, as a yeomen, had aſſiſted in the defence of Enniſcorthy, was ſeized with three other loyal fugitives, at Caſtle-bridge, and maſſacred. As many victims, whom the rebels apparently put to death, had afterwards recovered and made their eſcape, they tied together with a rope the bodies of theſe four men. Philip Horneck, the brother of George, fell into the hands of the rebels at Alderſtown, the houſe of Mr. John Glaſcott, whence they conveyed him to their camp at Carrickbyrne, where they murdered him, and then quartered and burned his body. In his laſt moments they inſultingly aſked him, whether he remembered the white boys on the ninth of June, 1775? That banditti infeſted that year, not only the county of Wexford, but many other parts of Leinſter and Munſter.

On the night of the above day a party of them attacked and attempted to enter the houſe of George Horneck; when he and his brother Philip bravely defended it, repulſed the banditti and killed one of them. That event excited the moſt implacable vengeance in the breaſts of thoſe ferocious fanaticks, againſt this loyal but unfortunate family. *

John Coffey, an old ſickly man, was taken in a chaiſe near Vinegar-hill, and led as a priſoner to the rebel camp. On being aſked, whether he was a Roman catholick? he anſwered in the affirmative; but he was alſo required to prove himſelf ſuch by croſſing himſelf and ſaying ſome popiſh prayers, which very fortunately for him he could do, though a proteſtant: for they would have put him to death if he had failed.

Two or three days before the rebellion broke out, father Roche, the prieſt, who became afterwards a general, waited on the reverend Mr. Richards, of Grange, his neighbour, gave him ſome arms which he ſaid had been ſurrendered to him; and at the ſame time aſſured him that nothing was to be feared as the people were loyal and peaceable. When the inſurrection took place ſixteen proteſtant families fled to the houſe of Grange, † and kept garriſon there. Father Roche, in two or three days after his pacifick aſſurances to Mr. Richards, went to his houſe with two men more, and promiſed him, that neither his perſon or property ſhould be injured, provided he delivered to him the Horneck family and the proteſtant tenants of captain Blacker; but if he refuſed, that his houſe would be immediately attacked by five thouſand men, with two pieces of cannon; but Mr. Richards rejected this infamous propoſal with laudable

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* Theſe facts relative to the Horneck family are ſubſtantiated by affidavit, ſworn by George Horneck before Standiſh Lowcay, a magiſtrate, the third of October, 1798.

† Plate III 2.

laudable fortitude, and in about ten minutes after, he and his little garriſon, on ſixteen cars, ſet out for Roſs,* where they arrived with ſafety; though they had a narrow eſcape from a body of rebels poſted on a neighbouring hill.†

I ſhall refer the reader to Appendix, No. XIX. 10. for the ſufferings of George Piper, and his family, and his aſſaſſination on Vinegar-hill, and the abominable conduct of father Redmond, of the pariſh of Ferns, who not only refuſed him a protection, when in the hands of the aſſaſſins, or to reſcue him from them, which he might eaſily have done; but, according to his wife's affidavit, he was inſtrumental in ſending him there.

It often happened that one proteſtant was compelled to kill another: Thus George Walker, pariſh clerk of Ballycanew church, was compelled to ſhoot John Cobourne, a butcher, of the proteſtant religion, and of the ſame pariſh, on Vinegar-hill.‡ It is ſurpriſing how active and unremitting the popiſh prieſts are, in repreſenting the proteſtant religion as an abominable hereſy, which, they ſay, never fails to bring the divine anger on its profeſſors.

Samuel Hendrick was married to a popiſh wife by the reverend Mr. Handcock, rector of the pariſh of Kilcormuck, in which the nuptials were celebrated. On the twenty-ninth of May, having been taken priſoner by a party of aſſaſſins who were ſent from Vinegar-hill in queſt of proteſtants, he prevailed on them to conduct him to the reverend father Patrick Quigley, pariſh prieſt of Clone, hoping that he would ſave his life by giving him a protection; but he informed him, that his marriage was null and void; that it only ſerved the purpoſe of gratifying a brutal paſſion; and he refuſed to grant him a protection, until he was married by a prieſt. To preſerve his life

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* Plate III. 5.

† Verified by Horneck's affidavit before quoted.

‡ This was verified by the affidavit of Cobourne's widow, in No. 390 of the archives of the houſe of commons.

life then, he was under the neceſſity of being married a ſecond time by father Quigley, and of paying him one guinea for celebrating the marriage rites. *

The reader will ſee ſome ſhocking inſtances of rebel atrocity in the affidavits of Robert Whitney, in Appendix, No. XIX. 11.

I ſhall refer him alſo, for ſpecimens of cruelty practiſed on Vinegar-hill, to extracts from the trials of Thomas Clooney, William Fenlon, Andrew Farrell, Nicholas Walſh and James Beaghan, in the ſame Appendix, and No. 13, 14, 15, 16, and 17.

I ſhall now proceed to give an account of two attacks which were made by the garriſon of Vinegar-hill, on Borris, the ſeat of Mr. Kavenagh, † in the county of Carlow.

ATTACK ON BORRIS.

Mr. Kavenagh, ‡ of Borris, having been diſtinguiſhed for his loyalty, and his activity as a magiſtrate, was peculiarly the object of rebel vengeance; and as his beautiful ſeat was but fourteen miles from Vinegar-hill, but ten miles from Lackan, and not far diſtant from the Roar, § a populous and rebellious diſtrict in the county of Kilkenny, his ſituation was ſerious and alarming.

The ſyſtem of free quarters had been enforced with conſiderable ſtrictneſs in the county of Kilkenny, in the month of May; and, by the orders of general ſir Charles Aſgill, it was ſoon to be extended to the county of Carlow, unleſs the deluded inhabitants precluded the neceſſity of it, by a ſpeedy ſurrender of their arms, of which they were well known to poſſeſs large quantities. The general's orders, and the

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* Verified by affidavit ſworn the 25th day of March, 1799, before A. Jacob. See Appendix, No. XIX. 12.

† Plate II. 6, 7.

‡ A gentleman lineally deſcended from the kings of Ireland, and firſt couſin to the earl of Ormond.

§ Plate VII. 3.

the exertions of the gentlemen of that county, had made the ſurrender of pikes rather general; but it was checked by an order from the directory in Dublin, which was printed and circulated by their captains and ſerjeants. It exhorted them, by no means to give up their arms, as an inſurrection was immediately to take place.

It providentially happened, that Mr. Kavenagh's corps of yeomanry, though not on permanent duty, was aſſembled early in the morning of the twenty-fifth of May, for the purpoſe of arreſting all the diſaffected blackſmiths in their diſtrict; and as their exertions in that ſervice was attended with conſiderable ſucceſs, it occaſioned a great ſpirit of commotion in the neighbourhood; which induced captain Kavenagh to keep his corps together, as he had every reaſon to think that his poſt would be attacked that night; and which the rebellious inhabitants were induced to undertake from the following motives: The orders of their directory for a general inſurrection: The great quantity of pikes and pike-handles ſurrendered to the captain, and known to be in his poſſeſſion: The plunder of his houſe, and the hopes with which the leaders inſpired their deluded followers, that they would not meet with reſiſtance.

The houſe of Borris was attacked on the night of the twenty-fifth of May, by a party of about five thouſand rebels, who were received with very great ſpirit by the Borris corps, who repulſed them; but not until they had broke upon the lower windows of the houſe, which were but ſlightly barred, and reſcued the blackſmiths who were confined in it. It was believed that not leſs than fifty rebels were killed and wounded on that occaſion.

The exertions of the yeomanry corps of the neighbourhood, for three or four days, completely cleared the country of the moſt active rebels, and their leaders, who joined their aſſociates in the county of Wexford, where they carried every thing before them.

The poſt of Borris having been reinforced with thirty of the 9th dragoons, and twenty-four of the Donegal militia, and as captain Kavenagh's corps conſiſted of thirty-five mounted, and twenty-two diſmounted cavalry, the garriſon remained unmoleſted till the twelfth of June, though not far diſtant from ſome of the ſtrong rebel camps.

On the day before, ſir Charles Aſgill, by concerted movements of the troops in his diſtrict, ſurrounded and diſperſed the rebel camp formed in that diſaffected diſtrict, the Roar, oppoſite to Roſs, after having ſhot many of the aſſaſſins who compoſed it.

The events of that day, and the ſubmiſſion of the adjoining diſtrict, had lulled the garriſon of Borris into a ſecurity, which was near proving fatal to them; for about one o'clock on the next day, they received an account, that great multitudes of rebels were pouring down from the different paſſes through the mountains, which ſeparated that poſt from their camps in the county of Wexford.

At that time the ſmall garriſon was weakened by the abſence of every officer but one, as they were engaged with ſeveral of their men in different duties in the adjacent country. The rapid movements of the enemy allowed no time for calling them in; for in leſs than two hours after the notice of their approach, they filled the town of Borris, and ſet fire to all the houſes in it belonging to Mr. Kavenagh and his yeomen; they, however, met with a gallant reſiſtance at the manſion-houſe of Borris, though its garriſon was reduced to twenty of the Donegal, and ſeventeen of the yeomanry, including their ſerjeants, who commanded them. The rebels had a howitzer, which they brought to bear upon the houſe, but were unable to batter it. They were commanded by father Kearns, a prieſt, and a noted rebel leader, who was afterwards hanged at Edenderry. Seven rebels were found dead on the ſpot; but it has been ſince learned, that they carried off many of their killed and wounded on cars, and that they threw many of the former into the burning houſes; only one of the garriſon, a Donegal ſoldier, was killed, and two were wounded.

One of the rebels who was wounded, and could not retreat, proved to be a tenant of Mr. Kavenagh, who lived cloſe to his houſe, and to whom he had been ſingularly kind. On being aſked why he embarked in this treaſonable enterpriſe, he confeſſed, that he was tempted to do ſo, by a promiſe of obtaining a portion of his eſtate. *

Several perſons who were engaged in this attack, aſſigned the following reaſons for it: That it was partly undertaken at the inſtigation of the rebels of the neighbourhood, who breathed revenge in conſequence of having been driven from their homes, and had fled to the Wexford camps: They had earneſt hopes alſo of ſeizing a large quantity of ammunition; for they had heard, that it was a depôt, in conſequence of ſome artillery cheſts which had been left there by a regiment who had marched through it; and it was their intention on ſeizing it, and the arms of the garriſon, to have proceeded acroſs the rivers Barrow and Nore, at Enniſteague, and to have aſſiſted in the projected renewal of an attack on Roſs, by advancing againſt it on the Kilkenny ſide, or Roſsbercon; a march in which they had little reaſon to doubt of being joined by the whole country through which they paſſed. From that day, the operations of the rebels were confined to the county of Wexford.

About the ſixteenth of June, a detachment of the garriſon of Roſs, proceeded by a circuitous march to Graignemanagh, in the county of Kilkenny, a moſt rebellious diſtrict, and blew up the bridge there.

The day after the rebels got poſſeſſion of Enniſcorthy, they formed a camp on the mountain of Forth, commonly called the Three Rock mountain, with

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* See the affidavit of John Semple on this affair, in Appendix, No. XIX. 18.

with a view of attacking Wexford, which is within three miles of it.

I have already delineated the proceſſion of a body of rebels from Enniſcorthy to that mountain, headed by father John Murphy, with a large crucifix in his arms. *

But previous to my entering on a deſcription of the events which took place at Wexford, I think it right to give the reader a ſhort hiſtorical and geographical account of that town.

Wexford † is a ſea-port, borough, market, and corporate town, and rather populous for its ſize. It is the chief in the county of the ſame name, and the third largeſt in the province of Leinſter. It is governed by a mayor, recorder, and bailiffs. It is the ſhire and aſſizes town, and gives the title of earl, as does Waterford alſo, to the noble family of Talbot, who are earls of Shrewſbury in England. It returned two members to parliament. It is ſeated on a bay in the Iriſh channel, at the mouth of the river Slaney. The harbour, though capacious, is ſhallow. It is formed by two necks of land, with an entrance half a mile broad, and was formerly defended by two forts, one at the extremity of each iſthmus, called fort Marget, and fort Roſslare; but as its entrance is obſtructed by ſand banks, ſhips drawing more than ten feet water ſeldom enter it. Ships of greater magnitude load and unload three miles from the town, near the ſouth ſide of the haven, where there is ſufficient depth of water, but no ſhelter from the ſouth winds. Wexford was originally fortified by the Danes, and improved and enlarged by the firſt Engliſh ſettlers in the twelfth century, who took it from the Eaſterlings, after a ſiege of four days, on the fourth of May, 1170. It was beſieged by Cromwell, the firſt of October, 1649, and having been betrayed by captain James Stafford, commandant of the caſtle, it was taken by ſtorm,

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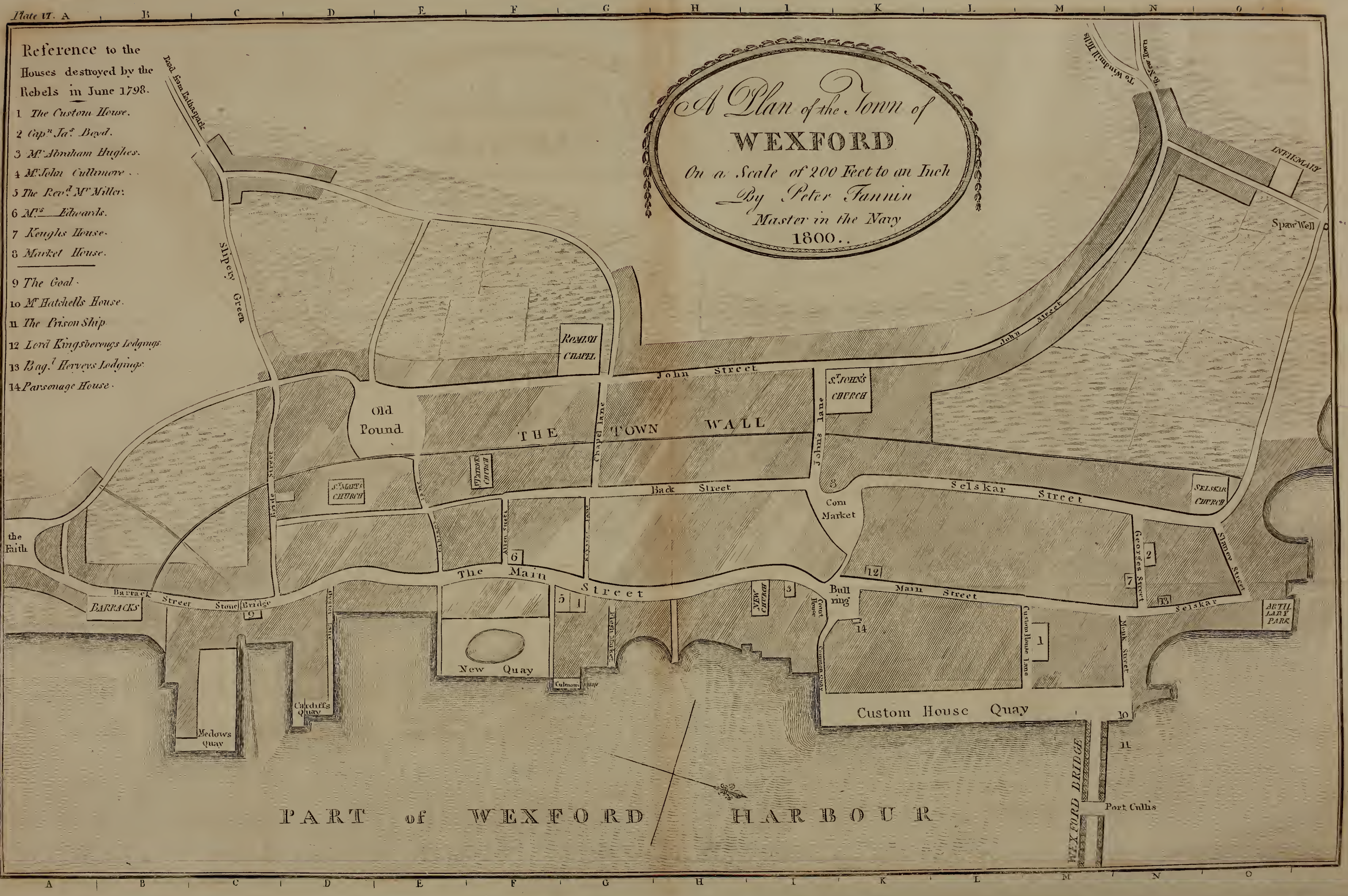
* See Richard Sterne's affidavit, in Appendix, No. XIX, 2.

† Plate III. 6. and Plate VI.

Plate VI.


A Plan of the Town of
WEXFORD
On a Scale of 200 Feet to an Inch
By Peter Fannin
Master in the Navy
1800.
Reference to the Houses destroyed by the Rebels in June 1798.
1 The Custom House.
2 Capⁿ Jaˢ Boyd.
3 Mʳ Abraham Hughes.
4 Mʳ John Cullimore.
5 The Revᵈ Mʳ Miller.
6 Mʳˢ Edwards.
7 Keughs House.
8 Market House.
9 The Goal.
10 Mʳ Hatchells House.
11 The Prison Ship.
12 Lord Kingsboroughs Lodgings.
13 Bagˡ Herveys Lodgings.
14 Parsonage House.
A
B
C
D
E
F
G
H
I
K
L
M
N
O
Road from Enniscorthy
Slipery Green
To Windmill Hills
To New Town
INFIRMARY
Spaw Well
ROMISH CHAPEL
John Street
John Street
St. JOHN'S CHURCH
Old Pound
THE TOWN WALL
Chapel lane
Johns lane
St. PATRICK'S CHURCH
St. MARY'S CHURCH
Bride Street
Back Street
Selskar Street
SELSKAR CHURCH
Corn Market
the Faith
Allen Street
Keysers lane
The Main Street
Main Street
Georges Street
Slaney Street
Selskar
ARTILLARY PARK
Barrack Street
BARRACKS
Stone Bridge
Oyster Lane
Flesh Market
NEW CHURCH
Court House
Bull ring
Common Quay
Custom House Lane
Monk Street
New Quay
Cullimores Quay
Cardiffs Quay
Medows Quay
Custom House Quay
WEXFORD BRIDGE
Port Cullis
PART of WEXFORD HARBOUR
1
2
3
4
5
6
7
8
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10
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14

ſtorm, and ſir Edward Butler, the governor, and two thouſand ſoldiers, were put to the ſword.

Large veſtiges of the town-walls are ſtill viſible, and the four gates which led to it remained, until lately, almoſt perfect. The town is irregularly built, and the ſtreets are narrow. There is a large and elegant new church in it. Four religious houſes were erected there at a very early period. Firſt, a priory of regular canons, ſuppoſed to have been founded by the Danes, and is called the priory of St. Peter, and St. Paul of Selſker.* Its prior ſat in parliament, as a baron. The church ſtill remains, with a large ſteeple in the centre.

Second, the priory of St. John and St. Bridget,† for knights hoſpitalers, founded in the twelfth century, by William Marſhall, earl of Pembroke. There remains yet part of the old church, without the walls, which has been ſince converted into a Roman catholick chapel.

Third, the grey friars had a convent there, in the thirteenth century, built in the reign of Henry III.

Fourth, St. Mary Magdalen,‡ a leper hoſpital, erected in the year 1408, the tenth of Henry IV.

The trade of Wexford is not very extenſive. It conſiſts chiefly in barley and malt, of which it exports large quantities; and in beer, beef, hides, tallow and butter. In 1763 it contained one thouſand three hundred houſes, of which ſix hundred and fifty were ſlated. In 1788, it had one thouſand four hundred and twelve. But its chief boaſt and ornament is a magnificent wooden bridge, over the river Slaney, which was built by Mr. Samuel Cox, an American, who erected thoſe of Derry, Waterford, Portumna, and Roſs. It is one thouſand five hundred and fifty-four feet long, and thirty-four broad, ſtanding on ſeventy-five piers of piles, of ſix uprights each, with a portcullis, or draw-bridge, for veſſels to paſs through. It was begun June the twelfth, 1794, and was finiſhed in February, 1795; and ſtands in twenty feet water. This magnificent bridge was built by a ſubſcription of 14,000 l.

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* Plate VI. O.

† Ibid. K.

‡ Ibid. D.

The general riſing of the rebels, the defeat of the North Cork detachment at Oulart, and the taking of Enniſcorthy, had ſpread ſo great an alarm, that two hundred of the Donegal regiment, commanded by lieutenant-colonel Maxwell, arrived at Wexford, on the twenty-ſeventh day of May, to ſtrengthen the garriſon there, conſiſting of the remainder of the North Cork, which did not amount to three hundred effective men: the Healthfield and Enniſcorthy cavalry, captain Ogle's infantry, the Enniſcorthy infantry, and the Wexford infantry commanded by doctor Jacob, the Scarawalſh infantry, and the Wexford and Taghmon cavalry. As an additional reinforcement to the garriſon, a detachment of the Meath regiment and four officers, under the command of captain Adams, and one corporal and ſeventeen gunners of the royal artillery, with two howitzers, commanded by lieutenant Birch, marched from Duncannon-fort for Wexford, on Tueſday the twenty-ninth day of May.

The firſt night they arrived at Taghmon,* where they expected to be reinforced by eighty of the thirteenth regiment, under major Scott, and four companies of the Meath regiment, commanded by the earl of Bective. Though theſe troops did not arrive in time to join them, the Meath detachment ſet out on their march, near two hours before day, having been encouraged ſo to do by the country people, who gave them the moſt ſolemn aſſurances that they would not be moleſted on their march; though in doing ſo, they had no other deſign, but to expoſe them to a numerous body of rebels who lay in ambuſh for them.

When they arrived within four miles of Wexford, having ſeen ten or twelve men on an eminence near the road, they prepared for action; but after ſome time, not perceiving an enemy, they renewed their march. Having arrived near the mountain of Forth,‡ three miles from Wexford, where the rebel camp was formed, they were ſurrounded on all ſides by a great number of rebels, who raiſed a white flag, and ſoon after began a very ſevere fire, accompanied by the moſt dreadful yells.

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* Plate III. 6.

‡ Ibid. 6, 7. See a deſcription of it, Appendix, No. XXI. 3.

The militia, panick-ſtruck by the numbers of the enemy, and the darkneſs of the night, betook themſelves to flight; in conſequence of which, eighty-nine of the privates, and three officers, including captain Adams, who commanded, were cut to pieces; and of the artillery, four gunners were killed, a corporal and eleven men were taken priſoners, and the howitzers and ammunition fell into the hands of the rebels. As ſoon as they had taken the artillery men, they were proceeding to put them to death; but a rebel having aſked them of what religion they were, a gunner of the name of Dungannon, anſwered, that they were Roman catholicks, which ſaved their lives; though in fact, ſix of them were proteſtants. Dungannon being a papiſt, knew the object of the queſtion.||

Lieutenant Birch, of the Royal Iriſh artillery, who commanded a detachment of that corps, gave an account of that diſaſtrous affair, in the following letter to major Stewart of his own regiment:

"Sir, Duncannon-fort, 23d of July, 1798.

"Some time ſince I related to lieutenant-general Stratton the circumſtances which produced the loſs of the howitzers, under my command, in the moſt collected manner I could.

"On Tueſday the twenty-ninth of May, I left this, with two howitzers, one corporal and ſeventeen gunners, ſixty-ſix privates of the Meath regiment, and four officers, under the command of captain Adams. At Taghmon we underſtood we were to be reinforced by eighty of the thirteenth regiment, under major Scott, and four companies of the Meath, under lord Bective, from Waterford. Major-general Fawcett joined us, but the other troops not arriving, we proceeded on our march to Wexford. We were given

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|| See Andrew Sheppard's affidavit in Appendix, No. XX. 1.

given to underſtand by every one we met on our march that we ſhould meet with no oppoſition between us and Wexford; and having no ſuſpicion that the rebels were aſſembled ſo near us, we were not ordered to take any caution againſt a ſurpriſe. Within four miles of Wexford we perceived about ten or twelve men aſſembled on a hill, near the road, on which we prepared for action; but after remaining in that ſituation ſome time, perceiving no further appearance of oppoſition, we were ordered to limber up and proceed. Having proceeded ſome diſtance, at the foot of a high mountain, we were ſuddenly attacked by ſeveral thouſands of the rebels, who ſupported a ſharp fire, with loud ſhouts, on all ſides againſt us; before they opened their fire, they hoiſted a white flag, and two or three hats on very long poles, for a few ſeconds. After the firſt fire the militia betook themſelves to flight, having thrown down moſt of their arms. We in vain attempted to prepare again for action, but our horſes, which were not trained to fire, grew furious and unmanageable, ſo that it was impoſſible to do any thing; and they threw us into ſuch inſtant confuſion, that, with the ſudden flight of the infantry, we found it utterly impoſſible to ſpike the howitzers. Three of the Meath officers, with moſt of their men, were killed, and one taken. On our part, beſides the howitzers, four gunners were killed; one corporal, eleven gunners taken, two of whom were afterwards killed at Roſs, the reſt have arrived here ſafe; two gunners and myſelf eſcaped."

This victory, and the acquiſition of ſo large a quantity of arms and ammunition, inſpired the rebels with boldneſs, and induced great numbers to flock to their ſtandard; but nothing contributed ſo much to this, as the fanaticiſm which the prieſts kindled in the ignorant multitude, by aſſuring them in their ſermons and exhortations which they conſtantly preached in their camps, that it was the will of God to root out hereſy; and to give their holy religion an aſcendancy, was manifeſt, by his enabling them, who were unprovided with arms, and ignorant of the uſe of them, to overthrow the ſoldiers of an heretical government, who were well-armed and diſciplined; and they frequently took muſket-balls out of their pockets, and aſſured them that they had been hit by them in battle; but that the balls of hereticks could make no impreſſion on them, nor upon any true Roman catholick, who was fortified by faith. At the ſame time, they aſſured the miſguided multitude, that they could diſcomfit and diſperſe the heretick troops, by throwing chaff or ſand at them.[*] The gunners, whom the rebels took priſoners, were compelled to ſerve in their army.

Major-general Fawcett marched from Duncannon-fort[†] to Taghmon,[‡] with eighty of the thirteenth regiment, and a party of the Meath, to ſupport the detachment under captain Adams; but, on hearing of their defeat, he returned. As ſoon as lieutenant-colonel Maxwell was informed of that event, he marched out with two hundred of the Donegal regiment, and about one hundred and fifty yeomen cavalry, to ſupport the thirteenth regiment, who were expected that morning at Wexford. When he arrived at the foot of the Forth[‖] mountain, near the place where the detachment of the Meath regiment was cut to pieces, he was attacked by a numerous body of rebels, who maintained a heavy fire on his party, from behind rocks, hedges and houſes, which lay at the foot of the mountain; and they diſcharged ſome ſhots at them from the howitzers, which they had taken that morning. For the purpoſe of embarraſſing our troops, they drove a number of horſes along the road amongſt them, which, in ſome meaſure, produced the deſired effect; and the confuſion was very much encreaſed by the precipitate retreat of the cavalry, who, pent up in a narrow road, where they could not form or render any poſſible ſervice, and at the ſame time expoſed to the enemy's fire, found it neceſſary, for their ſafety, to fly to Wexford. On this a great body of the rebels ruſhed down from the mountain, with a view of cutting off the retreat of the remainder of the troops, and which they would have effected, but that the Donegal regiment repulſed them by a heavy and well-directed fire. At laſt, colonel Maxwell, perceiving that he would riſk much, and that no poſſible advantage could be derived from maintaining his poſt againſt ſo great a ſuperiority of numbers, ordered a retreat. In this action, lieutenant-colonel Watſon, formerly of the ſixty-fifth regiment, who had retired to Wexford, and who volunteered on this occaſion, loſt his life, and ſome privates of the Donegal were killed and wounded.

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[*] See the affidavits of Sterne, Sheppard, Grandy and Fleming: in No. XIX. and No. XX. of the Appendix.

[†] Plate III. 9.

[‡] Ibid. 6.

[‖] Ibid. 6, 7.

On Monday the twenty-eighth day of May, the military and loyal inhabitants of Wexford, began to put it in a ſtate of defence, by forming barriers at the different avenues leading to it, through which no perſon was allowed to go, without a paſs obtained from the chief magiſtrate of the town, or one of the officers on guard. The barriers conſiſted of walls rudely made of large ſtones, with an interval in the centre, which was filled up with large blocks of timber, occaſionally removed, to let the cavalry, patroles and videttes, paſs and repaſs. On Tueſday the twenty-ninth of May, a detachment of the Donegal regiment, and ſome yeomen corps, marched in. On Wedneſday the thirtieth of May, about four o'clock in the morning, the drums beat to arms, on receiving intelligence, that a detachment of the Meath regiment had been cut off; at which the people, being much alarmed, ran about the town in great confuſion, and numbers of them went on board veſſels in the river, ſailed out of gun-ſhot, and remained at anchor, waiting the event of an attack, which they expected would be made on the town. The conſternation was much increaſed by the following circumſtances: At a very early hour they beheld the remote end of the wooden bridge in a ſtate of conflagration, and the flames advanced ſo rapidly, that it would have been ſoon conſumed, if the inhabitants of Wexford had not extinguiſhed them. It was ſet on fire by a body of rebels, whoſe deſign in deſtroying it was, to prevent the garriſon from receiving a reinforcement of troops, and to cut off their retreat when they ſhould be attacked by the rebel army encamped on the mountain of Forth.

Lieutenant-colonel Maxwell, after he returned, held a council of war, when it was reſolved to evacuate the town, as not tenable, for the following reaſons: The rebels encamped on the Three Rock mountain,* not leſs in number than ten thouſand, and emboldened by their recent victories, and the large quantity of arms and ammunition which they had acquired, meditated an immediate attack on Wexford, and had even put themſelves in motion for that purpoſe; and it is well known, that its rebellious inhabitants, who had been ſome time organized, and were well ſupplied with arms and ammunition, would have fired on the garriſon from the windows, while they were defending themſelves from the rebels outſide; of which they had ſome convincing proofs.

Two perſons were diſcovered with arms and ammunition in a houſe near one of the barriers, where a cannon was planted, ready to fire on the gunners. A perſon who was ſent out of town to reconnoitre, the evening before it was evacuated, was fired at from a houſe in John-ſtreet, as he was returning. The garriſon were ſo much afraid that the diſloyal inhabitants, following the example of thoſe at Enniſcorthy, would ſet fire to the town, while they were engaged in its defence, that the mayor would not permit the bakers to heat their ovens, in conſequence of which the troops were in the utmoſt diſtreſs for want of bread: Proviſions were apparently ſo ſcarce, that the king's troops were almoſt ſtarved; and yet as ſoon as the rebels entered the town, long tables, well ſerved with food, were laid for them in the ſtreets.

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* See a deſcription of the camp there, Appendix, No. XX. 3.

Many of the ſoldiers, who compoſed the garriſon, were diſpirited by the repeated advantages obtained by the rebels, particularly over the Meath regiment, and by the retreat of the Donegal regiment that morning from the mountain of Forth. Some of them were mutinous, and refuſed to do duty. The conſternation began to grow general through the garriſon.

Some gentlemen of conſequence went to the gaol to liberate Mr. Bagenal Harvey; but he, perceiving that the rebels, whoſe cauſe he had eſpouſed, were on the point of gaining the town, refuſed to accept their offer.

On the evacuation of the town by our troops, and before Bagenal Harvey had quitted the gaol, or had taken an open and decided part in ſupporting the rebellion, he conſulted Gladwin the gaoler, whom he conſidered a man of integrity, what line of conduct he would adviſe him to purſue; and he propoſed, that they ſhould both ſteal privately out of town, and go to Duncannon fort; and at the ſame time he aſſured him, that if he would ſurrender himſelf to the general officer who commanded there, and make a complete and unequivocal renunciation of his errors, it would remove every ſtain and ſuſpicion which his former conduct had brought upon his character; but unfortunately for him, their converſation was overheard by James Lett, ſon to Mrs. Lett of Wexford, whom, conſidering as a child, they had not attended to; and he running to his mother, who being firſt couſin to B. B. Harvey, had reſided in the priſon during his confinement, told her, that "Joſeph Gladwin wanted to take out Mr. Harvey to be murdered." She therefore came out, and reproached Gladwin with his intention; and then run to the Bridewell door, which communicates from the gaol to the ſtreet, locked it, and hid the key, which prevented Gladwin from making his retreat. Soon after captain Boyd paſſed by the gaol, and called on Gladwin, who verily believes, that Bagenal Harvey would have retreated with the king's army, if he had not been prevented by Mrs. Lett locking the door.

As this gentleman made a conſpicuous figure in the rebellion, in conſequence of which his life and property were forfeited to the laws of his country, I ſhall ſay ſomething of his character and ſituation in life.

He was of a very reſpectable proteſtant family in the county of Wexford, and inherited an eſtate of above 2000 l. a year from his father, which he had increaſed conſiderably by his œconomy. He received the rudiments of his education in Trinity College, Dublin, and was afterwards called to the Iriſh bar, which he attended during his father's life. His figure was ſmall, and his countenance, though ugly and rather mean, was expreſſive. He was univerſally allowed to be a man of humanity, and of the ſtricteſt honour and integrity. His firſt couſin was married to general Keugh, another rebel chieftain, whoſe friendſhip he warmly cultivated, and to whoſe houſe he reſorted whenever he went to Wexford. His political opinions, like thoſe of his friend, were founded on principles of metaphyſical abſtraction, which often end in the deſtruction of thoſe who cheriſh them, in the ſubverſion of all ſocial order, the degradation of greatneſs, and the plunder of wealth. He naturally had a diſcontent and gloomineſs of mind, which made him prone to find fault with the forms of our excellent conſtitution, which he wiſhed to reform. Conſtantly aſſociating with men who openly profeſſed ſimilar principles, but who, different from him, were actuated by the malignant hope of riſing to wealth and conſideration from obſcurity and poverty, during a ſeaſon of general confuſion; from a moderate reformiſt, he gradually became an inveterate anarchiſt and a rebel. He lived at Bargy, in the barony of Forth.†

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† Plate III. 8, 9.

In conſequence of information given by Anthony Perry, of Inch, to the magiſtrates at Gorey, on the twenty-third of May, Mr. Harvey was taken and committed to the gaol of Wexford, on the Saturday night following, at eleven o'clock; and in conſequence of charges made by the ſame perſon, Mr. James Boyd arreſted at day-break, on Whitſunday, Edward Fitzgerald, of Newpark,* eight miles from Wexford, and lodged him in the county gaol.

When Mr. Boyd firſt appeared, Fitzgerald laid his hand on his breaſt, and made the moſt ſolemn aſſurance of unfeigned loyalty; yet a great quantity of pikes were found in his parlour ready mounted, and fit for ſervice. Edward Hay ſlept in the ſame bedchamber with him.

After his arreſt, he affected many delays, in hopes of being reſcued by the rebels, who had riſen, and were approaching his houſe in great numbers; but Mr. Boyd compelled him by menaces to ſet out for Wexford.

On the ſame day Mr. Boyd arreſted and committed Mr. John Colclough, of Ballyteigue,† in the barony of Forth, eleven miles from Wexford. They were all bailed the day before the evacuation of that town; but it was at the ſame time agreed, that one of them ſhould remain in priſon, as a hoſtage for the reſt, and that fell to the lot of Mr. Harvey.

But to return to the evacuation of Wexford, which took place the thirtieth of May. The neceſſity of that meaſure was fully proved by the following circumſtance: That all the popiſh inhabitants of Wexford, with but few exceptions, diſplayed their rebellious principles in the moſt ſanguine manner, as ſoon as the king's troops left it, and produced great quantities of arms, which they would have turned againſt them, if the town had been attacked.

Such was the zeal of the rebels, that ſome of them endeavoured to ſeduce the ſoldiers of the Donegal regiment, during the ſhort time they were in Wexford;* and one of them, in the ſuburb through which they retreated, brought to his door two loaded muſkets, to fire at the column when they were at ſome diſtance; but a Donegal ſoldier, whom he did not perceive, happened to be near, and ſhot him.

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* Plate III. 3.

† Ibid. 10.

The evacuation of the town, which for prudential reaſons was not announced till the troops began their march, threw its loyal inhabitants into the utmoſt conſternation. Thoſe who foreſaw that the event muſt have taken place, embarked a day or two before, in ſuch veſſels as they could procure; but thoſe who had no intimation of it till the retreat began, got on board, precipitately, any veſſels, even without decks, which happened to be near the ſhore. Some proteſtants, of active and approved loyalty, dreading the immediate vengeance of the rebels, waded up to their middle, to ſmall boats, in which they were to be carried to ſhips or ſloops; and the boatmen, in many inſtances, exacted three or four guineas for conveying them but one or two hundred yards. Thoſe whom infirmity or the want of money precluded from the hope of eſcaping by ſea, abandoned themſelves to deſpair, dreading the fate of the Enniſcorthy loyaliſts.

Part of the garriſon marched out of the barrier rather irregularly, and with precipitation, about an hour before the main body, conſiſting of the following troops: The Scarawalſh infantry, commanded by captain Cornock; and ſome loyaliſts in coloured clothes. Part of the North Cork who were at the barrier, perceiving them, exclaimed "What! the yeomanry and loyaliſts who fought with us at Enniſcorthy are retreating, and ſome of the yeomen of this town have united with the rebels: We won't ſtay here to be ſacrificed;" on which they ſuddenly joined them. Captain Snowe, of the North Cork, endeavoured

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* Matthew Murphy, and others, were tried by a court martial the 31ſt of March, 1800, for having tried to ſeduce the Donegal regiment at Wexford.

endeavoured to make them return; but finding that he could not influence them, thought it his duty to head them, not only to prevent them from committing outrages, but for their own preſervation, to keep them in a ſtate of ſubordination.

This party amounted to about two hundred, including the ſoldiers of the North Cork. The main body of the garriſon, conſiſting of the Donegal militia, part of the North Cork, and many corps of yeomen infantry and cavalry, followed in about an hour after, under the command of lieutenant-colonel Maxwell.

When the firſt party had advanced about four miles, they were informed that a large body of rebels lay in wait for them, at a ſmall village called Maglaſs * in the barony of Forth, about two miles farther on. They, therefore, by the advice of captain Cornock, took a circuitous road towards the ſea, and avoided them, which was very fortunate, as they might have been overpowered by the ſuperiority of their numbers.

Diſappointed of their object, the greater part of the rebels diſperſed; however, about five hundred of them, who remained in a ſtrong poſition at Maglaſs, attempted to oppoſe colonel Maxwell's party, who routed and killed a good many of them.

About ſeven miles from Wexford, captain Snowe overtook Mr. John Colclough and his wife in a phaeton; and as he, from reſiding in that country, and from being a rebel chieftain, had great influence there, the captain reſolved to detain him as a hoſtage, to prevent any attack from being made on his detachment in their retreat. During their march, large bodies of rebels frequently appeared behind the hedges, ready to oppoſe them; and whenever that happened, captain Snowe obliged Mr. Colclough to ſtand up in his phaeton, as a token of amity; at other times Mr. Colclough waved his hat in the air, on

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* Plate III. 2.

on which the rebels diſperſed, which evinced the great reſpect they bore him.

He had been liberated the day before at Wexford, and ſaid, he was going to his houſe at Ballyteigue, in the barony of Forth; though, in fact, he was proceeding to join the rebels; yet, with ſingular diſſimulation, he, ſtanding in his phaeton, drank the king's health, and ſaid, "Captain Snowe, remember that I am a loyal ſubject: I was committed on a charge grounded on the malicious information of a villain."

Next day Mrs. Colclough triumphantly entered Wexford, which was in poſſeſſion of the rebels, in her phaeton, adorned with green emblems.

They compelled Mr. Colclough to accompany them to the river Scarpaſs,* where the tide being full, which made it impaſſable, they were under the neceſſity of making a detour of at leaſt ten miles.||

About ſix miles from Duncannon fort,† when it was extremely dark, they were attacked and fired on in the rear, by a party of rebel horſe, commanded by John Murphy, of Loughnageer, who afterwards headed the Roſsgarland corps of rebels, and was concerned in burning the barn at Scullabogue. The ſoldiers, after firing a few random ſhots, were panick-ſtruck, and fled to Taylor's-town bridge; on which having thronged in great numbers, they were very much expoſed to a heavy fire from the rebels, who were poſted on an adjacent furze-brake on a hill.

Many perſons were killed on the bridge, and among them two women, one a ſoldier's wife, the other a beautiful young girl, extremely well dreſſed, who was the daughter of an Enniſcorthy loyaliſt, and had retreated with them from that town.

About fifty of the North Cork, and the yeomanry were taken priſoners, and a good many were killed. James Neale, one of the band of muſick, his wife, and

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* Plate III. 8, 9.

|| Ibid. 9.

† They retreated by Bridgetown, Baldwinſtown, and Duncormuck. Plate III. 9.

and another woman, who became their priſoners, were perforated with pikes in a moſt barbarous manner. After having ſtripped them of the principal part of their clothes, their bodies were conveyed to a newly-ploughed field, and covered lightly with ſods. Neale's wife, in whom life was not quite extinguiſhed, recovered in the night, and removed the ſods; and finding her huſband's bloody ſhirt and waiſtcoat, ſhe covered herſelf with them, and crept to Tintern, from whence ſhe was ſent on a car to Duncannon-fort, and from thence to Waterford, where ſhe was completely cured in the hoſpital. Her legs, thighs and arms, had many pike wounds; and her head was ſwollen and ulcerated with them. ‡

As captain Snowe's party, attacked in a ſtrange country and during a dark night, were panick-ſtruck and diſperſed, he was left quite alone, and arrived at Duncannon-fort about ſeven in the morning, after having experienced various dangers and diſtreſſes, and overcome with fatigue and hunger. Lieutenant-colonel Maxwell's party retreated by Maglaſs, Bridgetown, Baldwinſtown, and Duncormuck, and the paſs of the Scar, at Barriet's-town; where, having been obſtructed by the tide, they halted ſome time to refreſh the troops, and went thence to Duncannon-fort by Foulkes's mill. Thus the retreat of the garriſon of Wexford was in a great meaſure performed during a dark night, in a country whoſe inhabitants were hoſtile, and in a ſtate of inſurrection; yet in the courſe of their march of eighteen hours, they had not received any nouriſhment.

Before I proceed to give the reader a deſcription of the entry of the rebels into the town of Wexford, of which they got poſſeſſion the thirtieth of May, and of the events which occurred there, I ſhall endeavour to give him an idea of their different ſtrong poſts and encampments, and of the objects which they were deſirous of attaining; and in this, their plans appear to have been ſyſtematick, and guided by policy and foreſight.

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‡ She was far gone with child; yet ſhe was delivered at the uſual time, and the child is living.

Confident of ſucceſs, from their recent victories, and the numerous hordes aſſembled on the mountain of Fort and Vinegar-hill; and as multitudes were hourly flocking to their ſtandard, they divided their army into three diviſions.[‖]

One, under the command of Bagenal Harvey, and father Philip Roche, of Poulpeaſty, in the pariſh of Killan, was to form a camp on Carrickbyrne-hill,[*] for the purpoſe of attacking the town of New Roſs. Another, under father Kearns, captain Doyle, and captain Redmond, nephew of father Redmond, pariſh prieſt of Ferns, marched to Vinegar-hill, from whence they were to proceed to take Newtown-barry.[†] The third, commanded by Anthony Perry of Inch, father Michael Murphy of Ballycanoe, and father John Murphy of Boulavogue, was deſtined to attack Gorey; and having taken it, to march to Dublin.

BATTLE OF NEWTOWN-BARRY.

By taking Newtown-barry they would completely command the river Slaney, having previouſly gained Enniſcorthy and Wexford, ſituated on it; beſides the advantage of poſſeſſing the harbour of the latter.

Newtown-barry is on the river Slaney, at the entrance of a deep defile, ſurrounded with very high and ſteep mountains; and, being on the principal road which leads to the counties of Carlow and Kildare, it would open a communication, and afford a perfect co-operation with the rebels in thoſe counties, and enable them to prevent the arrival of reinforcements or the conveyance of ammunition to the king's troops

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[‖] The zeal and policy with which the rebellion in the county of Wexford was conducted, aroſe from a plan, which lord Edward Fitzgerald had formed, of landing there a few troops from France, with a number of good officers, and a large quantity of arms and ammunition, in a few remarkable faſt-failing frigates.

Report of the ſecret committee, Appendix, No. XVI. p. 136.

[*] Plate III. 5. [†] Ibid. II. 5.

troops from that quarter. The acquiſition of Old Roſs,‡ would give them the command of a very fine navigable river, and open a communication with the county of Kilkenny rebels; beſides, it is now well known, that moſt of the diſaffected inhabitants of Munſter would have riſen in maſs, as ſoon as that town had fallen into their hands.

The towns of Gorey,‖ Arklow, § and Wicklow, were ſo thinly garriſoned, that the leaders of the third column were confident of proceeding to Dublin, without any material impediment. They knew alſo that immenſe numbers would flock to their ſtandard in their progreſs; and that the rebels in the metropolis, (with whom they held a conſtant communication) bold, numerous, well-armed, and organized, would riſe on their approach.

Government having received intelligence of the intended attack on Newtown-barry, colonel L'Eſtrange was ſent to defend it on the thirtieth of May, with a detachment of the King's county militia, a few dragoons, and two battalion guns; the whole, including two corps of yeomen, one infantry, the other cavalry, amounting to about three hundred and ſixty. As the inhabitants had been in conſtant expectation for ſome days of an attack from the rebels encamped on Vinegar-hill, all the avenues to the town had been occupied by patroles, both day and night, to prevent a ſurpriſe. On the evening of the thirty-firſt of May, they were ſuddenly alarmed by the arrival of a young woman in the town, with the utmoſt precipitation, and crying out, "Here they are! here they are!" She had been a priſoner to the rebels on Vinegar-hill, where ſhe was ſo unfortunate as to ſee her two brothers put to death, with extreme torture. In the frenzy of grief, ſhe, at the riſk of her life, ſeized and mounted a horſe, and was ſo lucky as to make her eſcape, though cloſely purſued.

Next day, the firſt of June, colonel L'Eſtrange went out with a party of dragoons to reconnoitre, in the direction of Vinegar-hill. When he advanced about three miles, he perceived the rebels approaching in great force, and ſo concealed by a thick wood, and large hedge-rows, that he ſuddenly found himſelf in the midſt of them. After exchanging a few ſhots, he returned to the town, and made the beſt diſpoſition he could for its defence. Soon after the enemy began to advance in two large columns, one at each ſide of the river, and under cover of very thick woods, which are on high hills that ſurround the town. As they approached, they communicated with each other, by loud ſhouts and yells, which ſerved as ſignals to announce the moment of attack.

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‡ Plate VII. 5.

‖ Ibid. II. 4, 5.

§ Ibid. 1.

About three o'clock, the rebels fired ſome round and ſome caniſter ſhot into the town, which obliged the out-poſts to retreat into it. As colonel L'Eſtrange perceived a deſign in the rebel column at the oppoſite ſide of the river to get on his rear, and to ſurround him, and as his ſmall force would be inſufficient to guard the different avenues leading to the town, after conſulting with his officers, he reſolved to abandon it, and to take poſſeſſion of a riſing ground, which commanded it; and by doing ſo, he ſtrengthened his force by its concentration.

The rebels, imagining that the king's troops, intimidated by their numbers, had fled, ruſhed into the town, and proceeded to plunder and burn it. The yeomen, enraged at ſeeing their families and their property in ſuch imminent danger, applied to captain Kerr, who commanded the yeomen cavalry, to lead them on; ſaying, that they would conquer or die. He aſked permiſſion to do ſo, and obtained it.

Aſſiſted by lieutenant-colonel Weſtenrea, and major Marley, they immediately advanced into the town, which was full of rebels, who were plundering and burning it; and who would have completely demoliſhed it, but that a few loyal ſubjects, by keeping up a conſtant fire from their houſes, retarded and checked their deſtructive progreſs. While the rebels were thus engaged, our troops attacked them with a heavy fire of grape-ſhot and muſketry, which routed them ſo completely, that they fled in every direction; on which the cavalry charged, and killed great numbers of them; having purſued them about three miles on the Enniſcorthy road. Another large body of them, who took a different direction, re-aſſembled on a hill over the town, but were charged and routed by the cavalry, who cut down great numbers of them in the fields adjacent to it. On that occaſion, the yeomen acted with ſingular valour. The number killed was about four hundred, and among them two prieſts, who were dreſſed in their veſtments. This defeat was peculiarly mortifying to the rebels, from the great numbers which they had in the action; for father Roche, the general, who commanded there, owned afterwards, when a priſoner at Wexford, that moſt of the men encamped at Vinegar-hill were engaged in the attack on Newtown-barry.

Father Redmond, pariſh-prieſt of Ferns, led his pariſhioners to that action, in which numbers of them were killed. He was tried for it, but acquitted, becauſe people were afraid to proſecute; of which colonel St. Leger, preſident of the court martial, aſſured me; and ſome perſons, who ſaw him at their head, informed me of it.

An immenſe body of rebels marched from the camp on the mountain of Forth, near Wexford, on the thirtieth of May, to aſſiſt thoſe who were in the vicinity of Gorey* in attacking it. They encamped the firſt night at Oulart,† with an intent the next day to take poſt in two diviſions, one on Ballymore‡ mountain, the other on Ballymenane-hill; § and, after having formed a junction, to have attacked that town. Captain White, of the Ballaghkeene cavalry, who commanded the garriſon of Gorey, having heard of their approach, marched out on the morning of the firſt day of June, with twenty-five of the Antrim, twenty-five of the North Cork, twenty diſmounted yeomen

* Plate II. 4. † Ibid. III. 2. ‡ Ibid. II. 6, 7. § Ibid. II. 5.

yeomen of the Gorey corps, and detachments of the Ballaghkeene, Gorey and Camolin cavalry, and attacked the Ballymenane diviſion, about two miles from Gorey, on the Ballycanoe road. * After ſuſtaining the fire of the infantry, for about a quarter of an hour, they were broken and fled; on which the cavalry charged and killed about two hundred of them.

It was very fortunate that this action took place before a junction could be formed. As ſoon as it began, Fitzgerald, Perry and Roche, rebel generals, who commanded the Ballymenane diviſion, rode off to call up the other; but the derout took place before it could arrive. On being diſperſed, they joined the other party on Ballymore-hills, meditating an attack on Gorey.

On Whitſunday a horſe patrol from Gorey took three rebels in arms in the adjacent country, and hanged them in the town. They owned in their laſt moments that they were incited by their prieſt to enter into the rebellion.

Intelligence having been communicated to government, that the ſame body of rebels, with a large reinforcement from Vinegar-hill, meditated another attack on Gorey, to oppoſe them, general Loftus was ordered to proceed from Dublin to Rathdrum, in the county of Wicklow, the twenty-ninth of May, with two hundred of the Dunbarton fencible infantry, and fifty of the 5th dragoon guards, which detachment was commanded by lieutenant-colonel Scott, who, on the following day, cleared the woods of Donane and the Devil's-glynn of the banditti which had attacked Newtown-mount-kennedy the preceding day.

General Loftus, after having made ſuch arrangements as the nature of the circumſtances would admit for the defence of Wicklow and Rathdrum, proceeded to Arklow, agreeably to ſubſequent orders received from general Lake.

On

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* Plate II. 6.

On the ſecond of June, he was informed by letter from general Lake, that general Euſtace and colonel Walpole would join him with ſome troops for the purpoſe of co-operating with him.

On the evening of the ſecond of June, general Loftus, having been informed that colonel Walpole was actually arrived at Carnew,* ſent an expreſs to him, with orders to join him next morning at Gorey.

I think it right to inform the reader, that lieutenant-colonel Walpole was ſent from Dublin with orders to join general Loftus with what troops he could procure from general Dundas at Naas, Kilcullen and Baltinglaſs; and that he marched with five hundred men obtained from him, with two ſix-pounders and a howitzer, by Baltinglaſs and Tinahely,† to Carnew. He was not veſted with any command, and received no other orders but to march the troops to Gorey, and to leave them under the command of general Loftus.

When colonel Scott's detachment, conſiſting of two hundred fencible infantry, fifty dragoons, one hundred men drawn from the Antrim regiment, and two curricle guns, were moving from Arklow on the morning of the third of June, general Loftus received a letter from colonel Walpole, ſtating, that he thought Carnew a much better place to attack the rebels, poſted on Ballymore-hill, from, than Gorey;‡ that he had reconnoitred them twice, and had got the beſt information of their deſigns; that his force was able to beat the whole rebel army, and that therefore he would not move his troops from Carnew, but that he would himſelf meet general Loftus at Wicklow.

The general having conſulted with colonel Scott and captain Ormſby, it was agreed, that he muſt have meant Arklow. Colonel Scott therefore moved forward with his detachment towards Gorey; general Loftus having ſent an expreſs to colonel Walpole to meet him at that town, leaving Arklow in charge of the yeomen.

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* Plate II. 4. † Ibid. II. 1. ‡ Ibid. 4, 5.

General Loftus received a ſecond letter from colonel Walpole, excuſing himſelf for not coming, and ſaying, that he had received the beſt information concerning the rebels, and had reconnoitred them himſelf; however, on the evening of the third of June, colonel Walpole arrived at Gorey, with part of his troops; for, notwithſtanding the peremptory orders he had received to bring the whole of them, he left two companies of infantry at Carnew.

Colonel Walpole, though not veſted with any command, being too eager for fame, and deſirous of enjoying the principal merit of any action that might be achieved, was rather forward and decided in giving his opinion; and though the officers who were his ſuperiors, not only in rank and authority, but in knowledge and experience, did not implicitly yield to it, they paid ſome deference to him, on account of his confidential ſituation in the caſtle of Dublin, and the opportunity it afforded him of acquiring the beſt information. He ſaid, he had obtained orders to collect the troops which he had under his command, and to proceed to the county of Wexford, to co-operate with him, and general Euſtace, who, he ſaid, was in the front of Gorey, towards Wexford; but unfortunately for general Loftus, it happened that general Johnſon, finding himſelf in an alarming and critical ſituation at Roſs, detained general Euſtace there, for the purpoſe of availing himſelf of his aſſiſtance.

At their firſt interview, colonel Walpole ſaid, that he ſuppoſed general Loftus would attack the rebels next morning; and that he hoped he would afterwards march, or permit him to march, to Enniſcorthy; and after having taken that town, to proceed to Wexford.

In conſequence of this extraordinary converſation, general Loftus took colonel Scott and captain Ormſby, of the Wexford regiment aſide, and lamented to them, that ſuch a man as colonel Walpole was ſent to act with him, as he was known to poſſeſs the confidence of the lord lieutenant, but ſhewed a downright unwillingneſs to obey general Loftus's orders. It was then ſettled, that colonel Walpole ſhould not be permitted to march to Enniſcorthy, until they had received ſome information from general Euſtace; but that, as colonel Walpole ſeemed ſo decided on attacking the rebels on Ballymore-hill, from his knowledge of their poſition, he agreed, that they ſhould do ſo in conjunction next morning, provided it appeared feaſible on reconnoitring them.

General Loftus then made the following arrangements for that purpoſe:

At nine o'clock on the morning of the fourth of June, lieutenant-colonel Walpole was to march with the main body of the troops, two ſix-pounders and a howitzer, towards Ballymore, by Clogh,* where he was to be joined by one hundred men whom he had left at Carnew. The garriſon of that town were to take poſt at Camolin,† three miles from Gorey, and to wait for further orders.

Lord Ancram was directed to march from Newtownbarry, fifteen miles diſtant from Gorey, with two hundred and fifty of the King's county militia, and his own detachment of dragoons, and to take poſt at Scarawalſh-bridge, twelve miles from Gorey, there to obſerve the motions of the enemy on Vinegar-hill; and if he received no orders before the afternoon, he was to meet colonel Walpole at Ferns.‡

Lieutenant-colonel Scott, with two hundred of the Dunbarton fencibles and fifty of the 5th dragoons, under the command of general Loftus, moved towards Ballymore, by Ballycanew,§ to the left of colonel Walpole, in a ſouthern direction. Theſe two roads diverge ſoon after you leave Gorey, and, at the diſtance of about five miles from that town, there is a communication between them by a croſs road running from eaſt to weſt, and not far from Ballymore, where the two detachments were to have united and to have reconnoitred the rebels.

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* Plate II. 5. † Ibid. 6. ‡ Ibid. 6, 7. § Ibid. II. 6.

Captain Mc. Manus, with one hundred of the Antrim militia regiment, was poſted between Gorey and Ballycanew, near a croſs road which led to Clogh, to be ready to protect Gorey, or to ſupport colonel Scott or colonel Walpole, as the occaſion might require. Colonel Walpole was protected on the left by the general himſelf, with colonel Scott and his party, a little more than a mile and a half diſtant from him. On his right, within a mile and a half, he had upwards of one hundred light infantry ordered from Carnew, who were to wait his further orders. General Loftus gave him twelve yeomen gentlemen as guides, and took ten himſelf for the ſame purpoſe.

General Loftus deſired him to proceed with the utmoſt caution, and to let him know how he went on. The two roads on which general Loftus and colonel Walpole were to proceed towards Ballymore were nearly parallel, and there was a croſs road between them at Clogh, which afforded an eaſy communication.

At a road to the right, leading to Camolin, ſome rebels appeared at a diſtance, on which ſome of the officers, under the command of colonel Walpole, ſuggeſted to him the propriety of forming, or of marching with advanced guards and flankers; which advice he rejected, and replied, that he was commanding officer. On advancing to the croſs roads near Clogh, ſome more rebels appeared; and captain Duncan of the artillery having advanced about two hundred yards before the party to have a good look out, returned, and informed colonel Walpole that he had ſeen a man on horſeback with a gun. At the ſame time there was an appearance of rebels in front, and to the right of the road leading to Ballymore-hill.

Had he had any degree of prudence or military ſkill, he would have inſtantly deployed and formed, which he might eaſily have done, as the adjacent fields were flat and ſpacious; and having done ſo, he ſhould have communicated his ſituation to general Loftus; and having been aſked to do ſo by ſome of his officers, he replied, by ſaying, that it ſhould be colonel Walpole's, and not general Loftus's action.

On being repeatedly preſſed to ſend an expreſs to general Loftus, he expreſſed his fears that the rebels would eſcape from him. Actuated with the vain glory of arrogating excluſively to himſelf the merit of defeating the rebels, he quitted this very advantageous poſition, and advanced to Tubberneering, a little beyond Clogh, where the road was deep and narrow, and the clay-banks on each ſide, with deep trenches, and buſhes on the top, were very high. The adjacent fields, which were ſmall, with high and thick quick-ſet hedges, had potatoes, corn and uncut graſs in them, all which afforded ample means of concealment for the rebels, who were advancing towards Gorey; and on ſeeing at a diſtance the king's troops marching, formed an ambuſcade at Tubberneering, to which place colonel Walpole advanced, in a moſt irregular manner. The rebels, taking advantage of his diſadvantageous ſituation, ſuddenly roſe from the adjacent hedges in which they were concealed, and directed a tremendous fire on the king's troops, who were put in the utmoſt confuſion, as great numbers of them fell, without a poſſibility of forming for their defence.

Colonel Walpole, dreſſed in a full uniform, and mounted on a tall grey horſe, formed a conſpicuous object for the rebels, and fell in the firſt onſet. The column was now actually ſurrounded, in a place, which, from the height and number of its incloſures, was favourable for the irregular and deſultory warfare of ſavages; at the ſame time that it baffled the efforts of valour and diſcipline.

An attempt was made by a detachment of the 4th dragoon-guards to turn the enemy's right flank, but the cloſeneſs of the country made this impracticable.

Colonel ſir Watkin-Williams Wynne at the ſame time advanced with the Ancient Britiſh fencible cavalry, which he commanded, to the front of the infantry, and retook a gun which had fallen into the hands of the rebels; but the gunners having been killed or forced to fly, and the artillery horſes having gone off with the limber, he was obliged to abandon it to the enemy.

After having ſuſtained the attack for about three quarters of an hour, with conſiderable diſadvantage on the part of the king's troops, and having loſt their commander, and three pieces of artillery, which were immediately turned againſt them, they began to retreat in great confuſion, as might be expected from raw and inexperienced troops.

The rebels having preſſed hard on them, a general diſmay inſtantly took place, which would probably have been fatal to the whole of the column, had not lieutenant-colonel Cope, of the Armagh militia, who had been poſted at a ſmall diſtance, with a detachment of his own regiment, rallied and formed them on the road, to impede the progreſs of the enemy. To this ſmall band of brave men, under the command of that cool and gallant officer, the ſafety of thoſe who eſcaped on that day is in a great meaſure to be imputed.

The column retreated in the utmoſt diſorder to Gorey, colonel Cope diſputing every inch of ground, and covering their retreat. When they arrived there, moſt of the windows were occupied by the rebels, who kept up a heavy fire, and killed many of them; however, they effected their paſſage through the town.

Colonel Cope found great difficulty in leading his men through it; for whenever the rebels fired at them from the windows, they imprudently ruſhed into the houſes whence the ſhots were fired, and obtained revenge by bayoneting the aſſailants.

Of his corps, amounting to one hundred and thirty, he loſt between thirty and forty; and his horſe was wounded in ſuch a manner as to be rendered uſeleſs.

Captain Stark of the Londonderry militia, captain Duncan of the artillery, and captain Armſtrong of the King's county militia, were carried into Gorey very badly wounded; but were obliged to retreat to Wicklow, after having their wounds dreſſed, as the rebels were advancing into the town.

As colonel Walpole had made no communication of his ſituation to general Loftus, he remained totally ignorant of it, till he heard a ſmart firing on his right near Clogh; on which he ſent an expreſs to captain Mc. Manus, who had been conducted by Mr. Hunter Gowan, to go over by the croſs road to ſupport colonel Walpole; but the iſſue of this unfortunate affair was decided ſo quickly, that the main body of our troops having been routed before his arrival, the captain and his detachment were ſurrounded and taken priſoners, after many of them had been killed.

General Loftus, who was near the village of Ballycanew, * when he heard the firing, puſhed forward with his detachment to Tubberneering; but on his arrival there, had the mortification of ſeeing colonel Walpole and many of his ſoldiers lying dead and naked.

Sir Watkin-Williams Wynne, having ſeen captain Mc. Manus, with a company of the Antrim, advancing to ſupport colonel Walpole, ſent captain Wynne, with a troop of his regiment, to cover them; but the ſurpriſe was ſo ſudden, that his efforts proved ineffectual.

Captain Wynne, on his arrival at the town, after the retreating column had paſſed through it, found that

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* Plate II. 6.

that the enemy, who were purſuing them, had attained the entrance of it, and had actually brought one of the guns, which they had taken, to bear on the main ſtreet. Thus, captain Wynne, cut off from his corps, determined inſtantly on forcing his paſſage by the town, and on cutting his way through the rebels who ſurrounded the gun; and he gallantly effected it, but with the loſs of five yeomen killed, and a few men and horſes wounded.

Several bodies of people having been diſcovered on the hills at the Arklow ſide of Gorey, it was apprehended that freſh parties of rebels were aſſembling to oppoſe the retreat of the column towards Arklow. Sir W. W. Wynne therefore preſſed forward with the cavalry to diſperſe them; but he ſoon diſcovered that they were the proteſtant inhabitants of the town and its vicinity, who, in deſpair, had abandoned their houſes and their property, well knowing that they would have fallen a prey to the cruel and ſanguinary ſpirit of the rebels.

Above one thouſand and ſeventy of them fled on the fourth of June to Arklow, and next day to Wicklow, carrying their wives and children on above three hundred cars, with which they formed booths or tents on the ſtrand near that town, where they remained near a month, without any means of ſubſiſtence but what they received from charitable contributions.

Sir Watkin, having got the rear of his command clear of the town, uſed every effort to induce the troops to halt and form; but the panick was ſo great, that all his efforts were fruitleſs, and they ruſhed on precipitately and in diſorder, even to Arklow. In theſe circumſtances a council of war was held, and it was determined (probably judiciouſly, but certainly much contrary to the feelings and inclinations of the yeomanry) to retreat to Wicklow, as their houſes and families were expoſed to deſtruction by this meaſure, which however was effected in the courſe of the following night. The town of

Arkloſw ſuffered much leſs than might have been expected during an interval of thirty-ſix hours, between the evacuation of it by the retreating army, and the arrival of major-general Needham there, on Wedneſday the ſixth of June. The main body of the rebels had not approached it; and but a few petty depredations were committed by ſome home inſurgents, who, after having plundered ſome houſes, went off to their aſſociates at Gorey.

The ſecurity of Arklow is to be imputed to the wiſe precaution of the officers commanding the army which retreated to Wicklow; who carried with them, as hoſtages, a great number of its principal diſaffected inhabitants, and whoſe lives would have anſwered for any wanton act of miſchief or barbarity committed by the others.

The defeat of colonel Walpole left general Loftus with but two hundred and fifty men, in a moſt alarming ſituation, and it required not only addreſs, but the moſt prompt and vigorous exertion to extricate himſelf; for, it has been ſince diſcovered, that the rebel army at Vinegar-hill had formed a junction with that which was poſted on Ballymore, making in the whole above twenty thouſand men, for the purpoſe of taking Gorey; and this plan was connected with their main object of attacking the metropolis, which they endeavoured to accompliſh five days after.

The general advanced within three quarters of a mile of Gorey, which he found to be in poſſeſſion of the rebels. He had then no other reſource to ſave his ſmall detachment but to force his way through that town, or to form a junction with lord Ancram. Large bodies of rebels were ſeen in motion on the adjacent hills, juſt over their heads; and who often fired on them, not only with the guns which they had taken, but with their ſmall arms. In this critical ſtate, any, even the ſmalleſt, delay would have been attended with the loſs of the detachment. He made his men advance rapidly without returning the enemy's fire, and conſidered himſelf as very fortunate in having the aſſiſtance of ſo able and judicious an officer as colonel Scott. He, general Loftus, and captain Corry, having examined the poſition of the rebels, found that their numbers were immenſe; that the hedge-rows, leading to Gorey, were lined with them; and that all the adjacent hills were occupied by conſiderable numbers, who fired on them with the two ſix-pounders and the howitzer taken from colonel Walpole.

The general, therefore, prudently reſolved to join lord Ancram at Carnew,* which could not be effected but by marching round the enemy's right, and by croſſing Slievebuoy † mountain. Lieutenant-colonel Scott moved off on the Camolin ‡ road, while the general remained with the fifty dragoons to watch the motions of the enemy; and captain Corry, who commanded them, endeavoured to engage the attention of the enemy, and to make them believe that he was moving towards Gorey, by the croſs road leading to the Ballycanew road; and had not captain Corry made this feint, lieutenant-colonel Scott could not have marched unmoleſted to form a junction with lord Ancram, which was effected near Slievebuoy mountain, and by perſevering in not waiting to return the enemy's fire, Carnew was occupied early next morning.

The difficulty of conveying the guns and the tumbrils over that mountain was very great, and could not have been effected, as there was no road for a four-wheel carriage, but for the advice of Mr. Brownrigg of Barndown, who had a perfect knowledge of the country. Thus this ſmall body fairly marched round twenty thouſand rebels; and by the good countenance which they kept, and by preſerving their fire, though conſtantly fired at, they eſcaped without any injury. At midnight general Loftus reached Carnew, where he learned that the light infantry,

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* Plate II. 4 † Ibid. 5. ‡ Ibid. 6.

ordered to Camolin to act with colonel Walpole, had, upon his defeat, retreated to Newtownbarry, and that general Euſtace was detained at Roſs to ſupport general Johnſon. Thus he had only the additional ſupport of lord Ancram's party; viz. two hundred and fifty men of the King's county regiment, and eighty Mid Lothian dragoons; but upon lord Ancram's report, that a detachment of the Meath and Donegal regiments had arrived at Newtownbarry the day before, eſcorting ammunition from general Johnſon, he ordered that detachment to join him; by which he was enabled to ſend detachments for the defence of Arklow and Hacketſtown; and the important poſt of Newtownbarry was well defended.

Had the rebel army taken advantage of their victory, and proceeded to Arklow and Wicklow, thoſe towns muſt have fallen into their hands, and they would probably have marched to, and attacked the metropolis; but, incited by the hope of plundering Gorey and its vicinity, they continued for five days to commit every exceſs and enormity that the love of rapine and ſavage cruelty could inſpire. The proteſtant church, which was the firſt object of their fanatical rage, they completely diſmantled. They pillaged and deſtroyed the houſes of all the proteſtants, and murdered many of their inmates, who could not make their eſcape. They alſo plundered and demoliſhed the town of Carnew; having harboured inſatiable revenge againſt its inhabitants, for the victory which they had obtained over them on the twenty-ſeventh of May.*

A drummer of the name of Hunter, of the Antrim regiment, of the age of twelve years, fell into the hands of the rebels, in the unfortunate affair in which colonel Walpole loſt his life. He carried his drum with him, and when he was conducted to the town of Gorey, with ſome other priſoners, they deſired him to beat it, having intended to make him ſerve them as a drummer; when he, actuated by a ſpirit of enthuſiaſtick loyalty, exclaimed, "That the king's drum ſhould never be beaten for rebels;" and at the ſame inſtant, he leaped on the drum, and broke through both its heads. The inhuman villains, whoſe relentleſs hearts were not ſuſceptible of thoſe refined ſentiments, which would have excited a generous admiration of ſo heroick an act even in an enemy, inſtantly perforated his body with pikes.

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* They plundered and deſtroyed Ramsfort and Clonattin, the two elegant ſeats of meſſieurs Ram.

In this action, a prieſt attacked captain Duncan of the Royal Iriſh artillery, and wounded him with a piſtol ball, as he was mounting his horſe; but his temerity was ſoon puniſhed, for the captain drew a piſtol from his holſter and laid him proſtrate.

The following anecdote of the Royal Iriſh artillery, whoſe valour and loyalty have been conſpicuous on all occaſions, deſerves to be recorded: During the confuſion and diſmay which took place among the troops, when they were ſurpriſed in the road at Tubberneering, the gunners of the artillery, with the moſt deliberate coolneſs, levelled one of the hedges of the road, dragged the cannon into the adjacent field, and fired many ſhots at a numerous body of rebels, who were poſted on a high rock, from whence, with their muſketry, they had killed many of our ſoldiers. They drove the rebels from that advantageous poſition, after having killed a great number of them, which contributed materially to prevent the complete deſtruction of the army.

I ſhall refer the reader to the affidavits of Andrew Sheppard, George Taylor and Bleakney Ormſby, Appendix, No. XX. 1, 2, 3, for an account of the brutal treatment which they gave their proteſtant priſoners in the town of Gorey. They murdered many perſons of that perſuaſion in the adjacent country. The following occurrence happened there: A proteſtant tenant of Mr. Stephen Ram, of the name of Poole, who bears an uncommon good character, fled from his houſe near Gorey when the rebels got poſſeſſion of it; ſome of his popiſh acquaintances perſuaded him to return, as perſons of his religious faith were not moleſted; but on doing ſo, he found that they meant only to lead him into danger, by putting him in the power of the Romaniſts. He was adviſed to repair to the rebel camp at Gorey, and to procure a paſs there; but he could not obtain it. He was then adviſed to go to father Francis Kavenagh, a prieſt, who had ſupreme power at Gorey, and had a guard of pikemen at his door, to prevent more than one perſon at a time from entering it. On addreſſing him for a protection, he ſaid "After ſerving the devil all your life, you come to me for a protection," meaning that he had been all his life of the proteſtant perſuaſion. However, he gave him a protection; but in this he acted with diſſimulation, as it was not meant to protect him; for he was arreſted and impriſoned, and narrowly eſcaped with his life. This prieſt was the oldeſt, the beſt beneficed, and reputed one of the moſt reſpectable prieſts in the dioceſe. By his apparent candour and liberality he had inſinuated himſelf into the eſteem and good opinion of the nobility and proteſtant gentry of the country, whoſe houſes he reſorted to conſtantly, and was well received there; and yet his conduct was ſo exceptionable, that general Needham * would have had him tried by a court-martial, and he probably would have ſhared the fate of his coadjutor, father Redmond, who was hanged, but that ſome reſpectable perſons, in conſideration of his age, and led by their partiality for him, perſuaded the general to diſcharge him. This old hypocrite was very active in the rebel camps.

Being unwilling to break the thread of my narration of the events which took place at Wexford, during three weeks that the rebels were in poſſeſſion of it, before I enter upon that ſubject, I will finiſh the relation of many other tranſactions which happened during that period.

I mentioned before, that an immenſe body of rebels had encamped on Carrickbyrne-hill, † for the purpoſe

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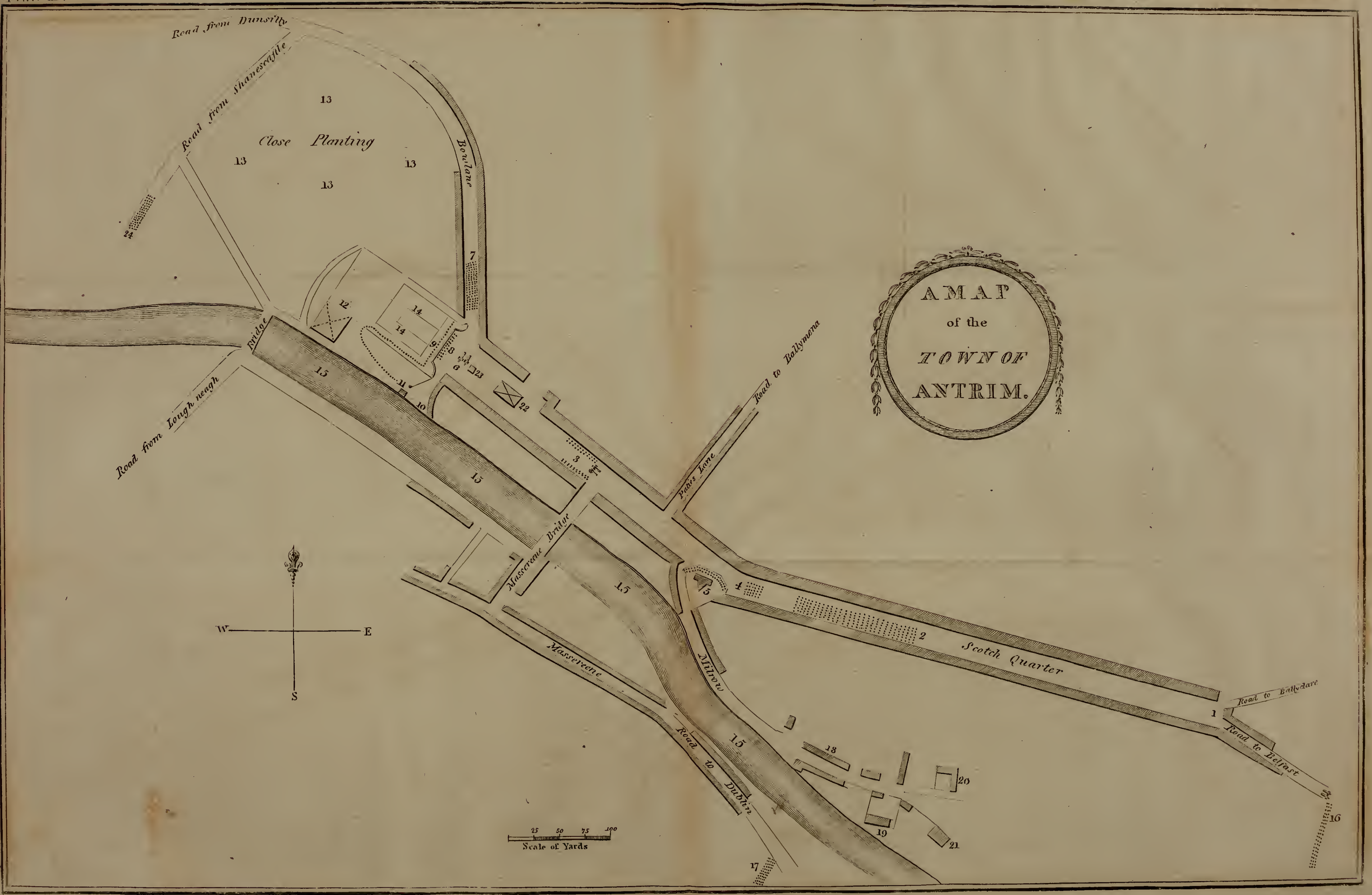
* I heard this from the general, when many perſons were preſent.
† Plate III. 5.

Plate IX.


A MAP
of the
TOWN OF
ANTRIM.
Road from Dunsilly
Road from Shanescastle
Close Planting
13
13
13
13
Bowlane
7
24
12
14
14
9
8
6
23
11
10
22
Road from Lough neagh
Bridge
15
15
3
Road to Ballymena
Pates Lane
Massereene Bridge
15
5
4
2
Scotch Quarter
Millrow
Massereene
Road to Dublin
15
18
20
19
21
17
1
Road to Ballyclare
Road to Belfast
16
W
E
S
25 50 75 100
Scale of Yards

poſe of taking poſſeſſion of Roſs, which is ſix miles diſtant from it.

BATTLE OF ROSS.

Roſs † is a corporate, a poſt, and a borough town, which returned two members to parliament. It is ſituated on a large river, formed by the junction of the Nore and Barrow, ‡ which unite about one mile above it, and, meeting the river Suir at Dunbrody, runs in a ſouth-eaſt direction by Paſſage, and diſcharges itſelf into the ſea at Hook-tower, from which it is about twenty-five miles diſtant. The navigation to it is very good, and veſſels of near four hundred tons burthen can lie cloſe to the quay; for which reaſon it was a place of conſiderable trade ſo early as the reign of Henry V. and large quantities of corn and proviſions are now annually exported from it. It obtained charters from Henry IV. Richard II. Henry V. and VI. James I. and II.

It was formerly a place of great ſtrength, being ſurrounded with high walls, with towers and baſtions, of which there are conſiderable remains: However, it made but little reſiſtance to Cromwell; though it was defended by lord Taaffe, an able general, who had a numerous garriſon in it. It had many religious houſes, of which there are ſome remains. The whole of the town, except Friary-ſtreet, South-ſtreet, North-ſtreet, the quays, and the ſpace between them and the river, is on a very ſteep deſcent. It is ten miles from Waterford, nineteen from Wexford, and ſixteen from Enniſcorthy.

In conſequence of the encampment at Carrickbyrne, the Donegal, Clare, and Meath regiments of militia, detachments of the Engliſh artillery, the 5th dragoons, and Mid Lothian fencibles, marched into Roſs; and on the fourth of June, the county of Dublin regiment afforded a very ſeaſonable reinforcement to the garriſon, as the rebels on that evening, with dreadful yells, moved from Carrickbyrne to Corbet-hill, an eminence about a mile and a half from the town, and from which there is a gradual and uninterrupted deſcent, after having driven in our out-poſt, which had been ſtationed on Lacken-hill.

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† Plate III. 5.

‡ Ibid. II. 5.

A perſon, who was forced to attend them in their march, informed me, that they moved by pariſhes and baronies, each having a particular ſtandard; and that in their way they ſtopped at a chapel, where maſs was ſaid at the head of each column, by prieſts who ſprinkled an abundance of holy water on them.

The garriſon, conſiſting of about twelve hundred effective men, and about one hundred and fifty yeomen, under the command of general Johnſon, continued on their arms all night. The infantry and artillery were moſtly in a line outſide the walls of the town, to the eaſt and ſouth ſide of it; the cavalry on the quay, the yeomen infantry on the bridge.

About four o'clock, one of the centinels at an out-poſt ſhot a man who was galloping towards him with a white handkercrchief, which he waved in the air as a flag of truce. On examining him, it appeared that his name was Furlong, and that he was ſent by Bagenal Harvey, the rebel general, to propoſe to general Johnſon to ſurrender the town to him, as the following ſummons was found in his pocket:

"Sir,

"As a friend to humanity, I requeſt you will ſurrender the town of Roſs to the Wexford forces, now aſſembled againſt that town; your reſiſtance will but provoke rapine and plunder, to the ruin of the moſt innocent. Fluſhed with victory, the Wexford forces, now innumerable and irreſiſtible, will not be controled, if they meet with reſiſtance. To prevent, therefore, the total ruin of all property in the town, I urge you to a ſpeedy ſurrender, which you will be forced to in a few hours, with loſs and bloodſhed, as you are ſurrounded on all ſides. Your anſwer is required in four hours. Mr. Furlong carries this letter, and will bring the anſwer.

Camp at Corbet-hill, I am, Sir,
half paſt 3 o'clock morning, B. B. HARVEY,
June 5th, 1798. Gen. commanding, &c."

I give the reader a copy of Bagenal Harvey's appointment as commander in chief, which fortunately fell into my hands:

" At a meeting of the commanders of the united army held at Carrickbyrne camp, on the firſt of June, 1798, it was unanimouſly agreed, that Beauchamp Bagenal Harvey ſhould be appointed and elected commander in chief of the united army of the county of Wexford, from and after the firſt day of June, 1798.

Signed by order of the different commanding officers of the camp,
NICHOLAS GRAY, ſecretary."

" It was likewiſe agreed, that Edward Roche ſhould, from and after the firſt day of June inſtant, be elected, and is hereby elected, a general officer of the united army of the county of Wexford.

Signed by the above authority,
N. GRAY."

About five o'clock in the morning, not leſs than thirty thouſand of the rebels approached the town, ſome in columns, others in intermediate lines, with terrifick yells, having four pieces of cannon, beſides ſwivels.

A great number of prieſts, with their veſtments on, and crucifixes in their hands, by moving through the ranks, and animating them by their harangues, kindled a degree of enthuſiaſtick ardour in them, which nothing but fanaticiſm could inſpire.

They moved with ſlow but irreſiſtible progreſs, like an immenſe body of lava, which, iſſuing from the bowels of Veſuvius, ſpreads deſolation over the plains of Campania, and from which man alone can eſcape, and that by flight only.

It is ſuppoſed that one-fourth of them had muſkets, the remainder were armed with pikes. Their ſuperior force ſoon made our advanced guard retire to the main body, and they took poſſeſſion of our alarm-poſts. The ſtruggle there became ſerious, and matters wore a very unfavourable aſpect, particularly at the Three-bullet gate, which poſt was at laſt forced by an immenſe column of rebels, who, regardleſs of danger from fanaticiſm and ebriety, made a moſt formidable attack, and carried one of our guns, which they immediately turned againſt us.

In the firſt onſet which they made at the Three-bullet * gate, they were repulſed; on which general Johnſon ordered captain Irwine to advance and charge them with a detachment of the 5th dragoons, in a field where they ſeemed doubtful whether to advance or make good their retreat. Seeing the cavalry advance briſkly on them, they fled precipitately, leaped over ſome very high ditches, and fired from behind them on the dragoons, who had approached very cloſe to them, and attempted to leap over them, but in vain. The very ſame circumſtances happened in two other fields where they charged. They loſt in the courſe of theſe charges cornet Dodwell, one ſerjeant, one corporal, twenty-four privates, and twenty-ſix horſes. The gallant general Johnſon was in each field where theſe charges were made.

When captain Irwine was approaching the Three-bullet gate from the laſt field, a twelve-pounder poſted there was fired, and killed his horſe, which fell on his leg, and prevented him from moving, at the ſame time that our troops in that quarter had retired within the gate, and were retreating towards the bridge; and the rebels had advanced within a few yards of him, and would have killed him, but that they were engaged in taking poſſeſſion of the gun. In that critical moment an artillery horſe happened to paſs by, and ſo near him, that he laid hold of

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* Plate VII. 5.

of one of the traces, and was dragged into the town, by which his life was ſaved.

The rebels, in great numbers, having entered the town in that point, part of them were engaged in ſetting fire to the houſes, in which ſome of the popiſh inhabitants aſſiſted them, whilſt others puſhed for the bridge.

General Johnſon, perceiving this, planted guns at the ſeveral croſs lanes, leading from Church-lane * and Neville-ſtreet, and one at the old market place, † to which for ſome time he attached himſelf. By theſe the rebels were repulſed with great ſlaughter. Such was their enthuſiaſm, that, though whole ranks of them were ſeen to fall, they were ſucceeded by others, who ſeemed to court the fate of their companions, by ruſhing on our troops with renovated ardour.

One rebel, emboldened by fanaticiſm and drunkenneſs, advanced before his comrades, ſeized a gun, crammed his hat and wig into it, and cried out, "Come on, boys! her mouth is ſtopped." At that inſtant the gunner laid the match to the gun, and blew the unfortunate ſavage to atoms. This fact has been verified by the affidavit of a perſon who ſaw it from a window.

The main body of our troops, overpowered and terrified by the immenſe body of rebels who entered the town at the Three-bullet gate, fled over the bridge to the Kilkenny or Roſbergen ſide of the river, and the enemy being in poſſeſſion of the greater part of it, (except where they were checked by one gun at the old market-place, ‡ and two more ſupported by ſerjeant Hamilton, at the main guard, which ſtood at the croſs formed by the junction of Mary-ſtreet, Quay-ſtreet, North and South-ſtreets) proceeded to plunder and burn. The gallant general Johnſon (whoſe ardour and activity could be equalled by nothing but his cool preſence of mind,) ſeeing them

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* Plate VII. 5. † Ibid.

‡ It was ably ſerved and defended by captain Bloomfield.

them in that ſituation, followed our troops to the Kilkenny ſide of the river, rallied and brought them back to their reſpective poſts, by which the rebels within the town were completely ſubdued. He often exclaimed to the fugitives whom he rallied, "Will you deſert your general?" without any effect; but when he added, "and your countryman?" they gave three cheers, and followed him. Having ſucceeded in rallying the fugitives, he rode before them to a part of our troops, who, much to their honour, had kept their poſt near the Three-bullet gate, and informed them that a reinforcement of freſh troops had arrived from Waterford, which deluſion produced a very good effect in animating them; however, he reinforced them with ſome of thoſe whom he had rallied, as there was a rebel column oppoſite to them, which ſeemed by its advancing towards them, determined to make one deſperate effort. At this moment the fortune of the day hung in a balance; but it was ſoon turned by the ſteady fire of our troops, who repulſed the rebels with great ſlaughter.

Then, by turning the rear of the rebels who had entered the town at the Three-bullet gate end of it, not one of them eſcaped; and by manning the ditches outſide, he prevented them from receiving a reinforcement.

From the arts of ſeduction practiſed on the Clare regiment, while at Waterford, where it had been quartered ſome months, the rebels, being ſure of their aſſiſtance, frequently exclaimed during the action, "Clare regiment, don't fire on your religion!" Prudence would not admit, that a handful of men, almoſt exhauſted by hunger and fatigue, ſhould purſue an enemy ſo ſuperior in number to a conſiderable diſtance. The utmoſt extent of the purſuit, and that only by a ſmall part of the army, was to a ravin under Corbet-hill and Roſſiter's ſtores, from whence general Johnſon perceived them retiring, every man making the beſt of his way to Carrickbyrne.* The enemy left dead two thouſand ſix hundred, beſides numbers whom they carried off on cars. The loſs of the king's troops was one colonel, one enſign, four ſerjeants, three drummers, eighty-one rank and file, and fifty-four horſes killed; one captain, one drummer, fifty-four rank and file, and five horſes wounded; one captain, three lieutenants, one enſign, two ſerjeants, two corporals, ſeventy-two rank and file, and four horſes miſſing. Lord Mountjoy, colonel of the Dublin regiment, who fell in the firſt onſet, at the Three-bullet gate, was univerſally lamented, as his publick and private virtues made him an object of general eſteem. He was poſſeſſed of high mental endowments, being an elegant ſcholar and a good publick ſpeaker. He had the gentleſt manners, and the mildeſt affections, warm and ſincere in friendſhip, and ſo benevolent and humane, that he never harboured revenge.

Great part of the rebels after the action encamped on Slievekilta,† a ſteep and high mountain, about four miles from Roſs, where they remained, regularly anſwering our morning-gun; and thence they went to Lacken-hill,‡ where they continued till they were diſlodged by general Johnſon, when he marched to Vinegar-hill.

It is probable that the whole province of Munſter would have been deſolated as much as the county of Wexford, if the valour and activity of general Johnſon had not preſerved Roſs; for it has been diſcovered, that the inhabitants of moſt parts of that province were to have riſen by a preconcerted plan, if that town had fallen into the hands of the rebels; and it was proved, that meſſengers were on the point of being ſent from Waterford by the treaſurers of the united Iriſhmen, to ſummon the people of the South to riſe. General Johnſon was ſeen in every part of the battle, giving orders and animating the troops. It is aſtoniſhing how he eſcaped, as he was often in the moſt perilous ſituations, and had two horſes ſhot under him. He received very material aſſiſtance from general Euſtace, whoſe valour and activity were very conſpicuous during the action. *

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* Plate VII. 6.

† Ibid. 7.

‡ Ibid. 5.

About ten o'clock in the morning of the fifth of June, the Roſcommon regiment, in two diviſions, one led by the honourable colonel King, marched from Waterford, to reinforce the garriſon of Roſs, which is ten miles diſtant from it. When the firſt had advanced about two miles on their march, they were met by ſome of the fugitive ſoldiers from that town, who informed the colonel, that our troops, overpowered by numbers, and exhauſted by fatigue, had been defeated with great ſlaughter, that they had fled to Thomaſtown, and that the town of Roſs had been burnt. However, the colonel, determined to do his duty, marched to a high hill over a deep defile, called Glynmore,† in a ſtraight line, about two miles and a half from Roſs; whence, with the aſſiſtance of a good glaſs, he ſaw a ſmoke iſſuing from the town, but could not diſcern any troops in it; from which he concluded that his intelligence had been well founded. He, therefore, thought it prudent to retreat; and the many important conſequences which flowed from his determination, (though cenſured at the time,) ſtrongly prove the vanity of human wiſhes, and how great and inſcrutable are the mercy and wiſdom of Providence!

The enemy, when repulſed, retired at firſt to Corbet-hill, whence they ſaw the Roſcommon regiment; and as they were ignorant of their retreat, and as the diſtance, obſcuring the diſcernment of the rebels, had magnified their number, they imagined that our troops

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* I cannot paſs unnoticed the valour and loyalty of Michael M'Cormick on that day. He had been formerly a quarter-maſter of dragoons, and having retired, was in the mercantile line at Roſs. Conſpicuous by his huge ſtature and a braſs helmet, he was conſtantly ſeen in the warmeſt part of the action, animating the troops, and rendered the moſt eſſential ſervice to general Johnſon.

† Plate VII. 6.

troops had received a large reinforcement, which deterred them from renewing the attack that evening as intended; and it is to be feared, that it would have been fatal to the garriſon, who were overcome with hunger and fatigue, and many of them had ſunk into a ſtate of ebriety and ſomnolency.

It was alſo very fortunate that the Roſcommon regiment returned to Waterford that night, as the rebels, who were numerous, and well organized there, meditated an inſurrection, imagining that Roſs had been taken.

Next day, colonel King marched with his regiment to Roſs, with two battalion guns and a piece of flying artillery. He found the people of the county of Kilkenny in a ſtate of general inſurrection.

When he approached Glynmore,* a deep valley, with a river which is croſſed by a bridge, he perceived great numbers of people on all the adjacent hills, who fired ſignal guns. The rebels had made the bridge impaſſable, by breaking down one of the arches; but the colonel ſoon made it paſſable, by laying beams and planks on it. He ſent before him his grenadier company, with a piece of artillery, who, with a few diſcharges of it, diſperſed a body of rebels poſted on the oppoſite hill, who meant to diſpute his paſſage.

That body had taken, the preceding day, twenty-five ſoldiers, and captain Dillon, of the Dublin regiment, who had fled from Roſs; and on the firſt diſcharge of the artillery, they maſſacred fifteen of the ſoldiers, and captain Dillon, whoſe head they converted into a foot-ball.

One Gaffney, the leader of theſe aſſaſſins, was taken and hanged next day at Roſs. He was a miller, and in very good circumſtances.

It has been diſcovered that the Kilkenny rebels were to have co-operated with thoſe who attacked Roſs, but that they miſtook the day, which was very fortunate; for they would have cut off a great part of the garriſon of that town, when they fled over the bridge, overcome with hunger and fatigue.

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* Plate VII. 6.

The following barbarous murder was committed at the Roar, § in the county of Kilkenny, about four miles from Roſs, the day before the battle. Mr. Bartholomew Cliffe, Mr. Richard Anneſley, and Mr. Richard Elliott, being unable, from bad health and the delicacy of their conſtitution, to aſſiſt in the defence of that town, retired to the Roar on a car, which was ſent for them by a tenant of Mr. Elliott, who was his foſter-brother, and to whom he had been ſingularly kind.

When they had arrived at the church of that village, three ruffians attacked them with pikes, and continued for ſome time to torture them, until they were dead, in the midſt of a number of ſpectators, who, unmoved and with indifference, beheld this barbarous ſpectacle.

Mr. Cliffe, who was univerſally loved and eſteemed for the mildneſs of his manners and the benevolence of his diſpoſition, was thrown into the gripe of a ditch, mangled and covered with wounds, where they meant to bury him. He had ſtrength enough to raiſe himſelf a little, and to cry out for mercy; when a ſavage woman, a diſgrace to her ſex and to human nature, gave him a violent blow with a large ſtone in the breaſt, and put a period to his exiſtence.

Mr. Elliott called out to his tenant, who had ever experienced the moſt ſtriking inſtances of his regard, and ſaid, " Sure, Ned, you won't ſee me murdered?" but the unfeeling ſavage replied, " No," and turned his back to him, while the ruffians continued to torture him. Mr. Elliott's tenant was a man of ſuch influence there, that he could have eaſily prevented theſe barbarous murders.

The man who led the car to the Roar, and was eye-witneſs of theſe ſhocking enormities, ſubſtantiated them by affidavit. It muſt give the reader pleaſure to learn, that Mr. Elliott's tenant, and two more of the aſſaſſins were ſoon after ſhot; and that the third has fallen a victim to the vengeance of the law. The inhabitants of the Roar and its vicinity were remarkable for their diſaffection and rebellious ſpirit, for which they were ſeverely puniſhed.

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§ Plate VII. 3, 4.

I ſhall now relate ſome of the incidents which occurred in the courſe of this very extraordinary action, which laſted from five in the morning till three in the afternoon. The main body of the rebels entered the town by the Three-bullet gate, and many alſo by the priory or ſouth-gate, where one of the field-pieces, that the rebels had taken ſome days before near the mountain of Forth, was retaken by the king's troops; but this took place after they were driven out of the town. They burnt all the thatched houſes, and many of the ſlated ones in Neville-ſtreet, which run in a direct line from the Three-bullet gate; every thatched and ſome ſlated houſes in Michael-ſtreet and Mill-lane, which are at right angles with Neville-ſtreet; all the houſes in the upper part of Mary-ſtreet, which croſſes the end of Neville-ſtreet; all the houſes in Church-lane and the Chapel-lane, both which communicated with Mary-ſtreet. On the whole, the number of houſes ſuppoſed to be burnt amounted to two hundred and eighty-ſix.

There was very great deſtruction of the ſavages in Chapel-lane, where they lay in heaps. They had poſſeſſion of it, and of the upper part of Mary-ſtreet, for a conſiderable time.

A numerous body of them, ſuppoſed to amount to five hundred, went down a great part of Mary-ſtreet, which is on a declivity, to attack the main guard, ably defended by ſerjeant Hamilton of the Donegal, and ſixteen men only, with two ſhip-guns, which were very badly mounted, and yet they were ſerved with ſuch effect as to occaſion a prodigious ſlaughter. He had a large quantity of ammunition under his protection, and as he remained almoſt entirely unſupported, when the troops were driven over the bridge, an officer, from an idea that he muſt be overpowered, recommended to him to remove it to the Roſsbergen ſide of the water; but he replied, "That he never would quit the ſpot whilſt he had life." He made lanes through the body of five or ſix hundred with diſcharges of grape-ſhot, and completely repulſed them. This was the laſt great effort which they made to overpower him.

Parties of from twenty to thirty made different attacks on him, but they were always knocked down by the Dowſeley family. William Dowſeley, his brother Samuel, both very old, two of his ſons, and three other men, took poſt in the houſe of the former, which is in Mary-ſtreet, oppoſite to a lane called Bakehouſe-lane, and near the main-guard, at the lower end of Mary-ſtreet. As the ſavages were perfectly ſecure in that lane from the guns of ſerjeant Hamilton, they made many attempts to collect there in great numbers, for the purpoſe of ſurpriſing and ſtorming his poſt; but Dowſeley's party plyed them ſo well with conſtant vollies, and were ſo near them, that every ſhot took place, and they killed no leſs than ſixty in one ſpot. They had an old ſoldier with them, who charged for them with great celerity, and put in each cartridge one large and four ſmall balls. The lane was filled up with the dead.

A party of rebels got into a very good ſlated houſe at the upper end of Mary-ſtreet, which the ſoldiers having ſet fire to, the ſavages were roaſted alive; and when their bodies were brought forth, preſented a moſt hideous and diſguſting ſpectacle.

Half the houſes in the Croſs-lane, and almoſt every one in the Friary-ſtreet were conſumed. Three of them had been recently built and were very commodious.

Great numbers of the ſavages were killed outſide the town, between the Three-bullet gate and the Bunnion gate, which lies at the upper end of it.

Mr. Tottenham, the proprietor of Roſs, employed ſix carts and a great many men for two entire days, in collecting the bodies of the ſlain. Moſt of thoſe found in the town were thrown into the river, and were carried off with the tide. The remainder were thrown into a foſſe outſide the town wall, and were buried there.

The main body that entered at the Three-bullet gate, and contiguous to it, having divided, ſome went down the Croſs-lane, others down Michael-ſtreet, and others down Neville-ſtreet and Mary-ſtreet, ſetting fire to the houſes in their progreſs. Another body burnt half of Iriſhtown,* which was near half a mile long; both ſides having been burnt as far as they went. But there were not many employed in that ſervice, as a party of ſoldiers that were ſtationed at the end of a lane called Boreenaſlane, that communicates directly with Iriſhtown from Corbet-hill, killed a great number in the lane, and prevented them from getting into Iriſhtown in any conſiderable force. Major Vandeleur, of the Clare, was of very great ſervice there.

The rebels brought one of the field-pieces, which they had taken at the mountain of Forth, as far into South-ſtreet as major Cliffe's houſe, and one of the artillery-men, taken at the ſame time, was tied to it for the purpoſe of ſerving it. A fellow, of the name of Forreſtal, made him diſcharge it, once with grape and twice with round-ſhot, at the main-guard. The poor artillery-man, whoſe loyalty was unabated, elevated the gun in ſuch a manner as not to do execution; for with the laſt ſhot he knocked off the quoin of a houſe (but almoſt cloſe to the eaves), oppoſite to the court-houſe, where the main-guard was ſtationed. The poor fellow boaſted of what a fine ſhot he had made; but Forreſtal drew out a piſtol, and ſhot him through the head, ſaying, "That is a much better ſhot."

This was related by two perſons who were in a window over where the tranſaction happened. Forreſtal was convicted of having committed fourteen murders,

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* Plate VII. 3.

murders, for which he was hanged. The two loyaliſts, who were witneſſes of this tranſaction, had but one piſtol, and but one charge for it, which one of them would have fired at Forreſtal, but that the other prevented him; for if he had not ſucceeded in killing him, he would have demoliſhed his houſe with the cannon in a few ſeconds. It is very ſingular that the rebels never ventured to ſend a force round to penetrate at the north-gate* end of the town, where they muſt have ſucceeded, as the main body of our troops were employed in defending it in the oppoſite direction.

The following curious incident occurred in the town of Roſs: When the rebels entered the town, they dragged a man of the name of Dowſeley, a proteſtant, from his houſe, and his next door neighbour, a Roman catholick, denounced him as ſuch, for the purpoſe of having him aſſaſſinated; on which the rebels gave him three ſtabs of a pike. A woman of the name of Catherine Whelan, a Romaniſt, his neighbour, and, as he thought, his friend, clapped her hands with joy on ſeeing the rebels enter the town, and welcomed the boys (as ſhe called them) to Roſs, and ſaid, "They ſhould kill Dowſeley, as he was a proteſtant." They had at that time left him, as he had ſaid that he was a Romaniſt; but on her ſaying the contrary, they returned to him while lying on the ground on his ſide, and having turned him on his back, deſired him to bleſs himſelf, and on not doing it right, they ſtabbed him again, which was occaſioned by her malevolent obſervation; on the whole, he received ſixteen pike wounds. A woman, of the name of Mary Foley, ſaw the rebels approach him again, take him up by the hair of the head, and aſk him to ſay ſome popiſh prayers; ſhe then humanely whiſpered ſome of them into his ear, which he repeated, on which the rebels pardoned and left him. A young man of the name of Richards, who ſaw this barbarous tranſaction, carried Dowſeley into his houſe, and he afterwards recovered by medical aſſiſtance. All theſe circumſtances were proved by the concurrent teſtimony of Dowſeley, Mary Foley and Richards, before a court-martial, held at Roſs the eleventh of Auguſt, 1798, by order of lieutenant-general Hulſe, for the trial of Catherine Whelan, who was caſt for tranſportation.

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* Plate VII. 6, 7.

A gang of aſſaſſins, armed with pikes, and headed by Richard Long, was ſent in queſt of proteſtants the firſt of June, 1798, from Carrickbyrne camp; and they ſeized Francis Plunket and his ſiſter, both proteſtants, between Robinſtown and Palace, and conveyed them to the camp. Long ſtationed a great number of male and female rebels on the road leading to Roſs, with orders to intercept any proteſtants that they might find going there, as numbers of that perſuaſion ſought an aſylum in it from rebel vengeance. Plunket's ſiſter beſought the rebels in the camp to permit her to go home to her children; but they refuſed, having ſaid, ſhe was taken there to ſuffer death. Long aſſigned as a reaſon, why he was ſo active againſt him and his ſiſter, that he was an orangeman's ſervant, and his ſiſter was an orange-woman. Long's brother deſired Francis Plunket to deny that he was related to his ſiſter, who was to ſuffer death for being a proteſtant, and that probably he might eſcape; this poor unfortunate woman died of fear.

Theſe circumſtances were proved before a court-martial held at Roſs the ſeventeenth of Auguſt, 1798, by order of lieutenant-general Hulſe, when Richard Long was caſt for tranſportation.

When the rebels got poſſeſſion of the town, one of them, who entered the houſe of a proteſtant woman, gave her twenty-four wounds of a pike, notwithſtanding which ſhe leaped out of a window, and in doing ſo broke her leg; yet ſhe recovered, and is now living.

Notwithſtanding the complete overthrow of the rebels at Roſs, and the ſlaughter of them which took place on the fifth of June, they, encouraged by the thinneſs of the garriſon, which conſiſted of but one hundred and fifty of the Dublin militia, formed a ſecond conſpiracy for attacking and burning the town, and murdering all its loyal inhabitants, and then marching to Waterford, for the purpoſe of taking it. The leaders of the conſpiracy uſed to aſſemble at the houſe of one Malone, a publican, where they made different attempts to ſeduce the ſoldiers of the Dublin militia. One of them, who was very loyal, pretended to accede to and promote their deſigns, and informed them that many of his comrades would co-operate with them; but he communicated the whole of what had paſſed between them to captain La Touche, who, the better to develope their ſchemes, aſſumed the habit of a common ſoldier, and was introduced by the loyal one to the band of traitors at Malone's, as one of the fraternity, and pretended to be warmly attached to it.

In the courſe of converſation he diſcovered, that they were quite ſure of the co-operation of many of his ſoldiers, who were to deliver up the ammunition to them; and that the maſs of the people from all the adjacent country, aided by a numerous band of well-armed traitors who frequented the woods of Killoughrin, were to attack the town on the Friday following. They then attempted to adminiſter an oath to him, on which he had them arreſted and committed.

Malone, at the head of the conſpiracy, had lived twenty-five years with the father of Mr. Tottenham, had become rich, and kept a publick houſe. Major Cliffe's ſervant, another of the conſpirators, had long enjoyed his eſteem and confidence; and two of Mr. Deane's ſervants, deeply implicated in the plot, had been reputed men of good character. Such was the return which government received for the mild and conciliatory conduct, which the rebels had ſo recently experienced!

The rebels having ſecured the navigation of the Slaney, by getting the towns of Wexford and Enniſcorthy into their hands, their next object, for the purpoſe of gaining the town of Roſs, which they reckoned certain, was to ſecure the navigation of the river on which it ſtands, by which they would have opened a complete communication between the rebels of the counties of Wexford, Waterford, and Kilkenny, have procured a conſtant and copious ſupply of proviſions, and have had the moſt opulent and populous part of the county of Wexford completely in their power; and they would have prevented any ſupply of ammunition from being brought up from Duncannon fort, the chief depôt of the king's army in that quarter: They would alſo have cut of all communication between Roſs and Waterford, which was the chief place where general Johnſon could expect to procure proviſions for his army.

As all the inhabitants of the county of Wexford were in a ſtate of inſurrection, and conſequently the general could not ſend any intelligence to or receive any orders from government, he would have been completely inſulated with his ſmall army, if the rebels commanded the navigation of the Roſs river. He would alſo have been prevented from ſending the ſick ſoldiers to Waterford, as the inhabitants of the country between Waterford and Roſs, ten miles aſunder, were for many days on the point of riſing.

To obviate this, general Johnſon, who ſhewed as much ſagacity as courage during the rebellion, ordered captain Hill of the navy, with ſome gun-boats, which he commanded, to deſtroy all the boats on that river, which he accordingly did, to the number of one hundred and ſeventeen. Though the gun-boats employed in that ſervice were well barricadoed, and had on board each of them a party of ſoldiers, who were commanded by the brave ſerjeant Hamilton, the rebels never ſuffered one of them to paſs without keeping up a conſtant and ſevere fire upon them; for which purpoſe, they kept ſtrong piquet guards along the banks of the river; and they uſually began this practice at Camlin wood, only a mile from the town. As it happened that one of the gun-boats ran aground, an immenſe body of rebels ruſhed down from Slieve Kilta,* where they were encamped, and made ſeveral daring attempts to take poſſeſſion of her; and it was not without the greateſt difficulty that the other gun-boats, who ſeaſonably came to her aſſiſtance, reſcued her from them. In this conflict, four men belonging to the gun-boats were killed, and ſeveral of them were wounded.

Another great object of the rebels, after they had got poſſeſſion of Wexford, was to eſtabliſh a naval force upon the coaſt.

They had already manned and armed two or three veſſels in that port, one of them a Liverpool letter of marque, which mounted ten guns. By theſe means they ſecured lord Kingſborough, and ſeized ſome veſſels freighted with proviſions, which might otherwiſe have eſcaped.

When our frigates arrived on the coaſt, they completely put an end to that practice.

The rebel leaders, for the purpoſe of making their eſcape, had aſſembled a number of ſmall craft on that part of the coaſt near Feathard; of which general Johnſon being aware, ſent a revenue cutter, and ſome gun-boats, under the command of captain Hill, for the purpoſe of deſtroying every veſſel that might be found in that harbour; which was done as effectually as the nature of the ſervice would admit; for thirteen veſſels were either burned or rendered uſeleſs. The rebels maintained a very heavy fire upon the gun-boats, during the performance of this ſervice, and there appeared a very large force ready to reſiſt any further attempts, which, however, were not intended. They were ſaid to be under the command of father Edward Murphy.

Very few, if any proteſtants, were murdered in the pariſhes of Old or New Roſs; captain Tottenham,

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* Plate VII. 7.

ham, of the town of Roſs, having informed them of the taking of Enniſcorthy by the rebels, deſired them to make their eſcape into the garriſon, and they providentially followed his advice. Two perſons only, that I could hear of, of the pariſh of Old Roſs, fell into their hands, when they were endeavouring to make their eſcape into that town, and were murdered by them. They were of the name of James, a father and ſon, the former near eighty years old.

The reverend William Glaſcott, rector of the pariſh of St. James or Ballyhack,* which lies on the Roſs river, above Duncannon fort, and oppoſite to Paſſage, having received the earlieſt intelligence of the rebel encampment formed on the mountain of Forth, and the defeat of the Meath militia there, critically alarmed his pariſhioners, ſome of whom ſought an aſylum in the fort of Duncannon;† and others croſſed the river at Ballyhack, and were treated with very great humanity by captain Forbes of the Ravenſworth tranſport, who received as many of them as he could accommodate in his veſſel, and provided them with neceſſaries. Two only fell into the hands of the rebels, who poſted piquets on all the roads leading to Roſs, Ballyhack and Duncannon, to intercept ſuch proteſtants as might attempt to eſcape.

William Hore, of Harperſtown,‡ eſquire, nephew of the earl of Courtown, had appointed a day for the prieſt and the congregation of the pariſh of Doncormuck,§ to aſſemble and take oaths of allegiance; but the rebellion broke out the day preceding it. He endeavoured to make his eſcape to Duncannon fort, on foot, by the moſt ſecret and by-ways; but he was ſeized by a body of pikemen, who were poſted to prevent orangemen from retreating to that garriſon. Mr. Hore requeſted to be carried before father Edward Murphy, pariſh prieſt of Bannow;‖ with which they complied. But that reverend gentleman, though his will was a law, would not liberate him. He was therefore taken to Wexford, and ſuffered on the bridge in that ſcene of carnage ſo diſgraceful to human nature. William-Allen Cox, eſquire, captain of the Taghmon * yeomen cavalry, lived at Coolcliff, † in the ſame pariſh, and on a navigable river called the Bannow, but which is extremely narrow till it reaches Clonmines. He endeavoured to make his eſcape in a ſmall boat, in hopes of geting to ſea; but he was ſo beſet by pikemen, that he was under the neceſſity of landing in the midſt of a horde of thoſe ſavages; however, he derived great conſolation from the ſight of father Edward Murphy, whoſe protection he implored; but he briefly replied, "That his ſtay there would be but ſhort;" and he left him in the hands of thoſe merciless wretches. He then took to his boat, and was ſoon after ſeized by the pikemen at the Scar-paſs of Barrietſtown, ‡ and conveyed to Wexford, where he ſuffered on the bridge.

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* Plate I. 10.
† Ibid. III. 9.
‡ Plate III. 7.
§ Ibid. 8, 9.
‖ Plate III. 9.

The pariſh of Bannow, of which Edward Murphy was prieſt, is ſo populous and extenſive, as to require two chapels; one called the chapel of Carrig, about two miles from Bannow, where he generally officiates; the other, at Ballymitty, is not far from Taghmon. This reverend father was the perſon who preached the ſermon at Vinegar-hill, which Richard Grandy was preſent at, and made affidavit of before George Ogle, eſquire, and three magiſtrates more. §

A proteſtant of the firſt authority declares, that ſhe heard him preach, at Carrig, a ſermon, in which he ſaid, "That God Almighty beſriended them in all their operations, for the attainment of liberty; and that the whole of the buſineſs was as viſibly his work, as that of dividing the red ſea by Moſes." He aſſured ſome female proteſtants, ‖ in his neighbourhood,

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* Plate III. 6. † Ibid. 7. ‡ Plate III. 8.

§ Appendix, No. XX. 7.

‖ The male fled, or were taken priſoners by the pikemen.

bourhood, whom he occaſionally viſited, that he had foreſeen and foretold to numbers this ſtruggle for liberty, as he termed it, fourteen years before it took place; and he aſſerted very frequently, that the whole force of England, even if ſhe were twice as powerful as ſhe is, would not be able to re-conquer Ireland, as Providence fought their battles.

During the ſhort exiſtence of the Iriſh republick, he regularly inſtructed the proteſtants in his neighbourhood in his catechiſm, telling them, that there were four hells, and a great deal more of ſuperſtitious nonſenſe. A proteſtant lady, whoſe ſon was confined in Wexford gaol on account of his religion, applied to his reverence to interfere for his liberation; but he gave her a ſhove from him, ſaying, "He would never ſave a heretick; and that he had other buſineſs to mind."

While this falſe prophet was celebrating maſs at Carrig, on a Sunday during the rebellion, he heard the report of a cannon; on which his congregation, known by the name of the Bannow corps, were immediately under arms, and by his order proceeded in great force to Bannow, to oppoſe ſome gun-boats, and a revenue-cutter, ſent into the bay of Fethard,* to deſtroy ſome boats and the ſtores of a Mr. Lynn there, containing a great quantity of malt, which the rebels were taking away to brew for their camps. This reverend gentleman ſoon followed his troops, and drew them up with ſome ſkill on the beach of that place, at a ſhort diſtance from Fethard, on which the gun-boats were then firing; and it is ſaid by perſons of veracity, who were forced into the rebel ranks that day, that Murphy ordered a number of women to march from his chapel, and join the rebel troops with hats on, that they might aſſume the ſemblance of men, in order to intimidate the ſailors by their numbers. The gun-boats ſucceeded in deſtroying ſome fiſhing-ſmacks; but as the fire which had been communicated to the ſtores was extinguiſhed, this ſacerdotal hero returned in triumph to Carrig, at the head of the Bannow corps, with colours flying and muſick playing. He diſtributed a great quantity of ſcapulars in his pariſh; and he frequently told ſuch female proteſtants as happened to remain there, that doctor Caulfield would be primate of Ireland, and that he would be archbiſhop of Dublin.

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* Plate III. 10.

Agreeable to the proclamation iſſued by government, offering pardon to ſuch repentant rebels as ſhould take oaths of allegiance, and ſurrender their arms, Mr. Tottenham, the proprietor of Roſs, and other magiſtrates, continued in the months of July and Auguſt to extend the benefit of it to great numbers of that deſcription, who carried in a few bad pikes and muſkets, merely for the purpoſe of obtaining protections; from which, and from ſubſequent events, it was unqueſtionable that they harboured their rebellious deſigns as ſtrongly as ever. But what ſignified oaths to ſuch wretches, when the multitude had been guilty of the moſt flagrant violation of them? None of them would confeſs the names of their officers, except ſuch of them as had been killed or hanged. One ſanguinary ruffian was very candid in his confeſſion; he ſaid, that general Harvey ordered him to attack and burn the town of Roſs; that he fired a great many ſhots, and never without effect; that he entered Roſs by Neville-ſtreet and Mary-ſtreet, but could not proceed farther than the main-guard. That poſt had been bravely defended by ſerjeant Hamilton of the Donegal regiment, with two ſhip-guns, and ſixteen men, who never abandoned their poſt. Mr. Tottenham aſked this intrepid rebel, " Whether he would have fired at him, if he had ſeen him? and he anſwered, that he would have been very proud to have had him under his eye. He aſked him alſo how many he had killed? to which he replied, that he could not tell, as he had taken his ammunition out of a pouch; but that he was ſure he never fired without killing or wounding a ſoldier.

MASSACRE AT SCULLABOGUE.

I contemplate with horror, and relate with reluctance, an occurrence which took place on the day of the battle of Roſs, which will remain a laſting diſgrace to human nature, and an indelible ſtain on the county of Wexford. During the encampment of the rebels on Carrickbyrne-hill, * a party of them were poſted at Scullabogue, † within half a mile of the camp, where a barn was converted into a priſon for the confinement of proteſtant priſoners. Bands of aſſaſſins were ſent round the adjacent country in queſt of proteſtants, whom they meant to extirpate, when they accompliſhed their final purpoſe of overturning the government. For the manner in which this barbarous buſineſs was conducted, and the circumſtances of cruelty and atrocity which accompanied it, ſee Appendix, No. XX. 4, 5, 6, 7, 8.

On the eve of the thirtieth of May, captain King, the proprietor of Scullabogue, was adviſed to abandon his houſe, and to carry off what valuable effects he could, as a camp was to be formed the day after on Carrickbyrne-hill, which is within half a mile of Scullabogue.

Next day he made his eſcape, and the rebels took poſſeſſion of his houſe. It appears, on the evidence of different perſons, that one hundred and eighty-four proteſtants were burned in the barn of Scullabogue, and that thirty-ſeven were ſhot in the front of it.

The following circumſtance appeared by the evidence of Richard Silveſter, a witneſs on the trial of Phelim Fardy, one of the wretches concerned in that horrid affair: That when the rebels encamped on Carrickbyrne-hill marched towards Roſs, on the fourth of June, the proteſtant priſoners were left at Scullabogue,

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* Plate III. 5.

† Ibid 6.

bogue, under a guard of three hundred rebels, commanded by John Murphy of Loughnageer, a rebel captain, Nicholas Sweetman and Walter Devereux, who both held the ſame rank: That when the rebel army began to give way at Roſs, an expreſs was ſent to Murphy, to put the proteſtant priſoners to death, as the king's troops were gaining the day; but Murphy refuſed to comply without a direct order from the general: That he ſoon after received another meſſage to the ſame purpoſe, with this addition, that the priſoners, if releaſed, would become very furious and vindictive: That ſhortly after a third expreſs arrived, ſaying, the prieſt gave orders that the priſoners ſhould be put to death: That the rebels, on hearing the ſanction of the prieſt, became outrageous, and began to pull off their clothes, the better to perform the bloody deed: That when they were leading the priſoners out from the dwelling-houſe to ſhoot them, he turned away from ſuch a ſcene of horror; on which a rebel ſtruck him with a pike upon the back, and ſaid, he would let his guts out if he did not follow him: That he then attended the rebels to the barn, in which there was a great number of men, women, and children; and that the rebels were endeavouring to ſet fire to it, while the poor priſoners, ſhrieking and crying out for mercy, crowded to the back-door of the barn, which they forced open for the purpoſe of admitting air: That for ſome time they continued to put the door between them and the rebels, who were piking or ſhooting them: That in attempting to do ſo, their hands or fingers were cut off: That the rebels continued to force into the barn bundels of ſtraw to encreaſe the fire. At laſt, the priſoners having been overcome by the flame and ſmoke, their moans and cries gradually died away in the ſilence of death.

It was proved on the trial of John Keefe, convicted by a court-martial on the fourteenth of April, 1800, on the evidence of Robert Mills, that, after the bloody work began, he ſaw the priſoner with a pike, the point of which was broken, and the top of the ſhaft or handle was bloody; that he carried it to an adjoining forge, whetted it on a ſharpening-ſtone, and then proceeded to the front of the dwelling-houſe where they were ſhooting the priſoners. Among the perſons moſt conſpicuous, we find the names of Fardy, Sinnott, Michell or Miſcally, who trampled on the dead and wounded bodies, and behaved otherwiſe in ſuch a ferocious manner, as to obtain from the rebels the appellation of the true-born Romans.

William Ryan a farmer, about three miles from Scullabogue, had a daughter who was kept by a proteſtant gentleman at Duncannon. The rebel guards at Scullabogue, thinking that they might extract from her ſome important information relative to the plans of the loyaliſts, as her paramour was of that deſcription, and dreading that ſhe and her friends, who were Roman catholicks, might betray ſome of the rebel ſecrets to her keeper, ſent a body of pikemen in queſt of her; but not being able to find her, they were of opinion that her ſiſter Eleanor, who lived at Mr. Roſſiter's, would anſwer equally well. They therefore led her to the barn, and her father having ſhortly after gone there to ſolicit her liberation, they committed him and his poor old wife, who went there alſo, in hopes of being able to move their compaſſion; but ſhe ſhared their fate, having been thruſt into the barn, where they were all burnt.

No leſs than twenty-four proteſtants were taken from the village of Tintern, about eight miles diſtant, many of them old and feeble, and were led in one drove to the barn, where they periſhed. *

Thomas Shee and Patrick Prendergaſt were burnt in the barn, both Romaniſts, becauſe they would not conſent to the maſſacre of their proteſtant maſters.

William Johnſon, a very old man, though of the ſame perſuaſion, ſhared a ſimilar fate. He gained a livelihood by playing on the bagpipes, and was ſo unfortunate

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* Appendix, No. XX. 4.

unfortunate as to incur the vengeance of the rebels, by playing the tune of, 'Croppies, lie down!'

William Neil, another Romaniſt, who ſuffered there, was by trade a tailor, and had worked for ſome time in the garriſon of Duncannon. Having occaſion to return to Camolin, of which he was a native, he procured the paſs of general Fawcett for his protection, but it turned out to be the means of his deſtruction; for having been intercepted by the rebels, who conſidered the paſs as an emblem of loyalty, they committed him to the barn, with his ſon Daniel, who happened to accompany him, and they both periſhed in the flames. †

Some perſons have contended that the perſecutions in the county of Wexford were not excluſively levelled againſt proteſtants, becauſe a few Romaniſts were put to death in the barn and at Wexford; but the ſanguinary ſpirit againſt them was ſo uniform at Vinegar-hill, on the bridge of Wexford, and Scullabogue, and indeed in every part of the county, as to remove any doubt on that head.

The witneſs, during this dreadful ſcene, ſaw a child who got under the door, and was likely to eſcape, but much hurt and bruiſed; when a rebel perceiving it, darted his pike through it, and threw it into the flames. While the rebels were ſhooting the priſoners in front of the dwelling-houſe, a party of men and women were engaged in ſtripping and rifling the dead bodies; and the priſoner, Phelim Fardy, called out to them to avoid the line of his fire, (as he was buſily employed in ſhooting the priſoners,) and in ſaying ſo, he fired at a man who was on his knees, and who inſtantly fell and expired.

The barn was thirty-four feet long, and fifteen wide, and the walls were but twelve feet high. Suffocation then muſt have ſoon taken place, as ſo great a number of people were compreſſed in ſo ſmall a ſpace; and, beſides the burning of the thatched roof of the barn, the rebels threw into it, on their pikes, a great number of faggots on fire.

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† They burned the wives and ſome of the children of the North Cork militia in the barn, who were Roman catholicks; but it was ſufficient to provoke their vengeance, that they were connected with the ſoldiers of an heretical king.

Richard Grandy, who was preſent, ſwears, that the priſoners in front of the houſe were led out by fours to be ſhot; and that the rebels who pierced them when they fell, took pleaſure in licking their ſpears. *

A gentleman preſent, who had a narrow eſcape, aſſured me, that a rebel ſaid he would try the taſte of Orange blood; and that he dipped a tooth-pick in a wound of one of the proteſtants who was ſhot, and then put it into his mouth.

Whenever a body fell on being ſhot, the rebel guards ſhouted, and pierced it with their pikes.

Samuel and John Jones, two brothers, were put to death in front of captain King's houſe in the following manner: When they were on their knees, the wife of one of them ſtood between them, took each of them by the hand, and cloſed her eyes; and when they fell, in conſequence of being ſhot, ſhe implored the rebels, as an act of mercy, to put her to death, but they refuſed to do ſo. She then got a car, and put on it the two bodies which the rebels had ſtripped quite naked. She covered them with her cloke and petticoat; but when ſhe had led the car to ſome diſtance, ſhe was ſtopped by a party of rebel women, who led it back, and compelled her to return with them. They urged the rebels to put her to death, and ſhe appeared to rejoice at the idea of reſigning that life which they had embittered by murdering her huſband. They ſeemed well diſpoſed to kill her, and would have done ſo, but that John Murphy, their captain, prevented them, having ſaid, that ſuch a horrid deed would kindle a bluſh on the cheeks of the Virgin Mary.

The Jones's, who lived at Abbey Brainey, were in good circumſtances. Murphy took out of one of their

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* See his affidavit in Appendix, No. XX. 7

their pockets a pocket-book, which, it was ſaid, contained notes to a conſiderable amount. The father of the Jones's, who was very old, died in a few days after of a broken heart, and he and his ſons were interred in the ſame grave.

One Sleater, an opulent man from Wales, who came to Ireland every year to buy cattle for the Engliſh market, in which buſineſs he dealt very extenſively, was picked up by the rebels, and ſhot among the thirty-ſeven priſoners. He had a pocket-book, which contained (it was ſaid) notes to the amount of 1000 l. which fell into the hands of the rebels.*

On moſt occaſions, they did not offer any violence to the tender ſex; but at Scullabogue, they burned a great many women and children.

It has been ſaid, and indeed proved, that John Murphy, the rebel captain, who commanded the guard at Scullabogue, refuſed to maſſacre the priſoners, till he had received the orders of a prieſt of the name of Murphy, for that purpoſe. Brien Murphy, pariſh prieſt of Taghmon, is ſuppoſed to be the perſon alluded to. The affidavit of Michael Aſkins, which the reader will find in Appendix, No. XX. 9. throws great light on it.

The following occurrence, relative to a prieſt, happened on the ſame day, and ſhews what great influence the ſacerdotal order had over the miſguided multitude: Patrick Dobbyn, and his three ſons, William, Richard and Samuel, were taken priſoners at Old Court, in the pariſh of Adamſtown, where they reſided, by Thomas Cavenagh, and ſome more popiſh banditti, who committed them to priſon at Scullabogue; the former on the ſecond, the latter on the firſt day of June. Elizabeth, the wife of Patrick Dobbyn, went to father Shallow, pariſh prieſt of the union of Adamſtown and Newbawn, who reſided at

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* The perſon who led him out to execution, was a ruffian of the name of Cowman, whom he had employed in buying cattle, and who had gained conſiderably by his kindneſs and generoſity.

Ballyſhannon, one mile from Scullabogue, and implored him to have her huſband and ſons releaſed; but he refuſed, and informed her, that he ſhould be in as much danger as they, if he went near the rebel camp;* and yet the ſame prieſt liberated from the barn, and ſaved a young man of the name of Lett, the ſon of a Mr. Lett of Kilgibbon, within three or four miles of Enniſcorthy; and it appears alſo by affidavit ſworn before general Fawcett, that father Shallow took an active part in the rebel camp at Carrickbyrne.†

William Fleming, a proteſtant, and a yeoman in the Taghmon cavalry, having the protection of a prieſt, went to the barn on the ſeventh of June, to look for the body of one Robert Cooke, a friend, for the purpoſe of interring it; but the bodies were ſo much injured by the fire, that he could not diſtinguiſh one from the other. I ſhall refer the reader to his affidavit in Appendix, No. XX. 8. containing many curious particulars relative to the rebellion, particularly the exhortation of father Roche, the general, in the camp of Slievekilta,‡ to extirpate orangemen and diſaffected perſons, and in which he aſſured the rebels, that they were fighting for their religion.

The life of Fleming was often ſaved by the paſs of father Brien Murphy, a prieſt of Taghmon, of which I give an exact copy:

"Mr. Wm. *Flemmon* has complied with every condition required of him, and therefore is to be *ſtopted* by no man.

June 2d, 1798. Revd. BR. MURPHY."

On the trial of Thomas Clooney, a rebel leader, at Wexford, the fifth of June, 1799, it was proved, that, while the camp was at Carrickbyrne, he at the head of three hundred rebels went to Old Roſs to burn the proteſtant church, and the houſes of ſome proteſtants

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* Appendix, No. XX. 5.

† Ibid. 10.

‡ Plate VII. 7.

proteſtants there; and that while the former was burning, he ſaid, "The Devil's houſe is on fire."

The ferocity of the rebels was ſuch, that they often murdered each other with impunity in their camps, or during their marches.

A boy of the name of Bennett, about fourteen years old, entered the lawn of Mr. King, at Scullabogue, on horſeback, the day preceding the maſſacre. One Hanlon, a ſchoolmaſter, inſiſted on getting his horſe; and on being refuſed, he ran the boy through the body with his pike and killed him. Bennett's brother, a young man, having arrived next day, aſked permiſſion to get revenge for the death of his brother; and having obtained it, inſtantly killed the ſchoolmaſter. He was buried in a place ſeparate from the proteſtants; for the rebels were heard to declare, that they would not inter him with hereticks.

The bodies of the proteſtant priſoners were buried by a ſubſcription, raiſed by the rebel chiefs; Bagenal Harvey, who was filled with horror and ſhame at the maſſacre, having ſet it on foot.

One Templeton, a yeoman, was taken priſoner at the battle of Roſs, by the rebels, and carried to Scullabogue, where he ſaw one Walter Devereux, a farmer, ſitting on the wheels of a car, within ten paces of the barn; and Devereux pointing to it, ſaid, "That all proteſtants and loyaliſts ſhould be ſerved in that way." On entering the barn, he ſaw the bodies in the ſame ſituation as deſcribed by William Fleming.

Walter Devereux was taken at the cove of Cork, when attempting to make his eſcape to America, and the protections of five different general officers were found on him; though he was afterwards charged with the murder of ſome of the Wexford regiment at Newbridge, beſides that at Scullabogue, which was proved by informations ſworn before colonel Ram at Cove, and on the trial of Devereux at Cork. Mr. King, the proprietor of Scullabogue, has not ventured to reſide there ſince the rebellion. Such is the ſtate of the country!

Bagenal Harvey, who was a man of honour and humanity, though deluded by abſurd political ſpeculations, was filled with the greateſt horror on hearing of the maſſacre at Scullabogue; and, therefore, the day after, he iſſued general orders,* denouncing the penalty of death againſt ſuch perſons as ſhould murder their priſoners; for which humane effort to check that ſanguinary ſpirit, which now for the firſt time began to appear, he was depoſed; and that inhuman ſavage, father Philip Roche, was elected in his ſtead, at the camp at Carrickbyrne; and it appears that Edward Roche, who had been elected ſecond in command of the republican army at Wexford, then became commander in chief, as appears by a paper † ſigned by him, dated the ſeventh of June, 1798. The reverſe of fortune which general Harvey experienced in the courſe of ſeven days, was no leſs rapid than unexpected, and convinced him of his folly and temerity.

A reſpectable proteſtant, who was taken priſoner by the rebels, and compelled to ſerve in the camp at Carrickbyrne, informed me, that father Roche, in a publick harangue, denounced all proteſtants as hereticks, and that they could not have luck or grace while any of them were permitted to ſerve in their ranks: That on the ſame day, he met Roche in a tent, and that he, with ſingular diſſimulation, aſſured him, that they made no religious diſtinctions, and never regarded a man's religion, provided he was loyal and true to their cauſe: That Bagenal Harvey, on hearing Roche's harangue, lamented to him, that the war unexpectedly turned out to be purely religious: That the prieſts had got abſolute ſway: That he ſeemed quite diſtracted, and wiſhed he could make his eſcape.

On the eighth of June, the day after Bagenal Harvey's depoſition, Francis Glaſcott, eſquire, of Pilltown, his intimate friend, wrote to him for his protection; but he wrote in anſwer, that he was unable to protect himſelf. This letter marked ſtrongly the diſtreſs and perturbation of mind which he at that time ſuffered. *

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* Appendix, No. XX. 13. † Ibid. 14.

He lamented in this letter, that Mr. Tottenham, of Roſs, refuſed to ſpeak to Furlong, whom he ſent with a flag of truce to general Johnſon, on the morning that the rebels attacked Roſs; and ſome perſons have been ſo weak and abſurd as to condemn general Johnſon for what happened on that occaſion; but which human wiſdom could not prevent.

A ſoldier, at an out-poſt, ſhot Furlong, a man of mean appearance, when in full gallop towards the town, and without any other emblem of his being a herald, or a meſſenger of peace, than his having a white handkerchief in his hand; and the letter, which was found in his pocket, contained nothing but a peremptory requiſition to general Johnſon, to ſurrender the town to Bagenal Harvey, commander in chief; with which that brave officer would not have complied.

It has been ſaid, that Bagenal Harvey was depoſed, becauſe he ſhewed a want of courage in this action; but this is ſcarce credible; for he diſplayed very great firmneſs in various duels which he had fought in the courſe of his life.

Bagenal Harvey, on his depoſition, was appointed preſident of the council at Wexford, conſiſting of a few leading members of the newly-eſtabliſhed republick, which ſat for the regulation of their affairs; and we find his name, with that of Nicholas Gray, his ſecretary, to many orders iſſued by them. See the oaths preſcribed by the council for the rebel officers and privates to take. †

Some days after the taking of Enniſcorthy, father Kearns, Patrick Sutton, and William Barker, all rebel chieftains, marched a body of rebels from that town towards Lacken-hill. They ſtopped at St. John's, the ſeat of doctor Hill, cloſe to Enniſcorthy, and took him

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* Appendix, No. XX. 15.

† Ibid. 16.

him and his brother with them, in order to leave them as hoſtages, at Slievekilta camp, to ſecure the lives of any of their leaders who might fall into the hands of the loyaliſts. They remained at Scullabogue, twelve miles off, the firſt night, under the guard of fifteen ſavage pikemen, who ſlept in a ſmall room with them. A hogſhead of whiſkey was carried on a car, in the midſt of the rebel column. Impatient at not having it drawn faſt enough for them, one of the ſavages knocked in with a ſtone a ſtave of the caſk, in conſequence of which the liquor was loſt.

One of the rebels led Mr. Hill to the barn, which had been burnt two or three days before, and he ſaw a great number of the guard turning up the bodies, in queſt of money and watches, and who afterwards owned that they had been ſucceſsful in their ſearch.

Father Kearns returned in the morning, and deſired them to prepare to march to Lacken-hill, near Roſs. He made them halt at Newbawn chapel, about a mile from Scullabogue, where he ſaid maſs for them, having a broad croſs belt, and a dragoon's ſabre under his veſtment. The rebel chiefs knelt round the altar, from which Kearns, when maſs was over, endeavoured to exhort the rebels, in the ſame ſtrain that Murphy and Roche uſed at Vinegar-hill and Carrickbyrne; but the current of his eloquence was ſoon ſtopped by ebriety, his illiterateneſs, his groſs ignorance and vulgarity.

Some readers may regard theſe anecdotes as trifling and unintereſting; but it ſhould be conſidered that it would be impoſſible to depict the ſpirit of the rebellion, and the true character of the ſavages concerned in it, without giving a circumſtantial account of the events which occurred in the courſe of it.

Mr. Stephen Ram, of Ramsfort, informed me, that many of his popiſh tenants, who had been in the rebellion, were very communicative, and owned that they had entered into it at the inſtance of their prieſts. They alſo declared, that it was uſual in the rebel camps for each prieſt to call over his pariſhioners, and that the coadjutor acted in his ſtead, if he was prevented by age or infirmity from doing ſo. Thoſe who appeared reluctant were liable to cenſure.

When father Roche, the commander in chief, was encamped on Lacken-hill, he wrote the following letter to father Doyle:

"Rev. Sir,

"You are hereby ordered, in conjunction with Edmund Walſh, to order all your pariſhioners to the camp on Lacken-hill, under pain of the moſt ſevere puniſhment; for I declare to you and to them, in the name of the people, if you do not, that I will cenſure all Sutton's* pariſh with fire and ſword. Come to ſee me this day.

Lacken-hill, June 14th, 1798. ROCHE."

To the Rev. James Doyle.

It was given out in general orders, that the commander in chief ſhould ſend out guards to compel ſuch perſons as they ſhould find loitering at home, and that ſuch guards ſhould puniſh with death thoſe who ſhould reſiſt them. Thoſe who were found loitering ſhould alſo be tried by a court-martial, and puniſhed with death. See Appendix, No. XX. 13.

This is according to the French ſyſtem of terror.

The next memorable action which took place in the rebellion was the battle of Arklow, which happened on the ninth of June.

The rebel leaders knew, that if the metropolis fell, there would be a general inſurrection of the popiſh multitude all over the kingdom. They reſolved therefore to make one deſperate effort to gain it, knowing that immenſe numbers would flock to their ſtandard in their progreſs thither, and that the maſs of the people in it would riſe, as ſoon as they approached it. Fluſhed with the victory which they had gained at Tubberneering near Clough, they were ſure that their efforts would be crowned with ſucceſs.

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* It is preſumed that Doyle was coadjutor to Sutton.

The melancholy intelligence of colonel Walpole's diſaſter ſpread a general gloom through the metropolis, where it was received the evening of the day it happened. The conſequences that might have reſulted from it were not eaſily to be foreſeen. The hopes of the diſaffected were raiſed to the higheſt pitch. Plans of inſurrection were formed by the rebels in Dublin, as they had the moſt ſanguine hopes of being joined by their brethren in arms, who had given ſuch an extraordinary and unexpected inſtance of prowesſs againſt the king's troops. Reports were induſtriouſly propagated, magnifying the numbers of the rebel force; and ſerious apprehenſions were entertained by many for the ſafety of the capital.

The following letter was written by the rebel general, father Michael Murphy, at Gorey, on the ſixth inſtant, to Thomas Houſton, of Thomas-ſtreet, Dublin, which ſufficiently proves the determination of the rebel chieftains to march to and attack the metropolis. Soon after the battle of Arklow, general Skerrett met a ſoldier, who had ſome plunder in his hands; among other things, a watch, a crucifix, and the following letter which he had found on the body of father Murphy:

"Friend Houſton! Gorey, 6th June.

"Great events are ripening. In a few days we ſhall meet. The firſt fruits of your regeneration muſt be a tincture of poiſon and pike, in the metropolis, againſt hereticks. This is a tribunal for ſuch opinions. Your talents muſt not be buried as a judge. Your ſons muſt be ſteeled with fortitude againſt hereſy, then we ſhall do; and you ſhall ſhine in a higher ſphere. We ſhall have an army of brave republicans, one hundred thouſand, with fourteen pieces of cannon, on Tueſday, before Dublin; your heart will beat high at the news. You will riſe with a proportionable force.

Yours ever,
Decipher, B. I. K. M. Q. Y.*** M. MURPHY."

Father Murphy, in the conſtant hurry and confuſion in which he had been kept in preparing for the attack of Arklow, had not time or opportunity to forward this letter, which remains as a proof of the bold and malignant deſigns of the ſacerdotal hero and his fanatical ſectaries. *

So great was the conſternation in Dublin, that the counteſs Camden ſailed for England, and many females, not only of rank and faſhion, but even of middling and mean ſituations, followed her example. The regular military force in the capital was ſmall, but the loyal citizens enrolled as yeomen, to the amount of about four thouſand, well-armed and diſciplined, nobly ſtood forward to ſave their country, completely overawed the diſaffected within the city; and enabled government to detach from the garriſon the Cavan battalion of militia, and a ſmall party of the Rea fencibles, who were ſent off on the day following, in carriages impreſſed for the purpoſe, to Wicklow, to join there the debris of colonel Walpole's column, and to endeavour to recover the town of Arklow. The honourable general Needham was appointed to the command of theſe troops, and reached Wicklow on the evening of the fifth of June. On the ſixth, the column moved forward without oppoſition to Arklow, but found the country altogether deſerted by the male inhabitants, who had, almoſt to a man, gone off to join their friends at Gorey.

The arrival of freſh troops from Dublin revived the drooping ſpirits of thoſe who had been defeated under colonel Walpole; though moſt of them were in a deplorable ſtate, having thrown away their packs, containing all their neceſſaries, to lighten them in their march; and the ſhoes they had were completely worn out. On the march the column was joined by the Arklow corps of yeomanry, all loyal proteſtants. As their houſes and property had been deſtroyed by the rebels, they formed themſelves into ſmall parties, before they joined general Needham; and ſet fire to many houſes, of which the male inhabitants were known to have joined the rebels at Gorey; but theſe acts of revenge were completely put an end to by the general, and all the ſtraggling yeomen were called in. When the column approached within three miles of Arklow,* a ſtrong party of dragoons was ſent forward to reconnoitre. They puſhed on to the town, and on their appearance, ſome few fellows who had committed acts of violence and rebellion, after the retreat of the king's troops to Wicklow, made their eſcape to Gorey.

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* From this letter, the reader may conceive to what a ſtate of plunder, carnage and conflagration, the metropolis would have been reduced on the night of the twenty-third of May, if the pikemen had riſen and occupied the ſtreets before the yeomen were alarmed, as they would have been joined by many thouſand rebels from the country, who were waiting for the ſignal to ruſh into it.

The town was taken poſſeſſion of by the dragoons without any oppoſition; and about four o'clock, on the ſixth of June, the main column marched in. It is impoſſible to deſcribe the joy which their arrival diffuſed through the town, as moſt of the proteſtant inhabitants had deſerted their houſes, and fled to the beach, to avoid the deſtruction which ſeemed to impend over them and their families, and made their eſcape in boats; but on ſeeing the column enter the town, they returned. The ſeventh and eighth, the troops remain unmoleſted; though they were in conſtant expectation of being attacked. Patroles were kept conſtantly in motion, and every precaution was adopted that prudence could ſuggeſt. Some fences were levelled, to clear the only poſition which it appeared adviſable to occupy in caſe of an attack. The diſpoſition of the forces for that event was reſolved on; and ground was marked out for encamping the entire body outſide the town,* that on any alarm they might turn out and form with greater promptitude.

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* Plate II. 1.

THE BATTLE OF ARKLOW.

On the morning of the ninth, about eleven o'clock, intelligence was brought that the enemy were at hand. The garriſon inſtantly turned out, and a cavalry patrole advanced two miles towards Coolgreny,† where they ſaw at ſome diſtance a mounted patrole of the enemy, which immediately retired. It happened very fortunately that a detachment of the Durham fencibles, a very fine regiment, amounting to three hundred effective men, arrived about one o'clock that day, without whoſe aſſiſtance the little garriſon would not probably have been able to withſtand the ſuperior numbers of the enemy.

Effective

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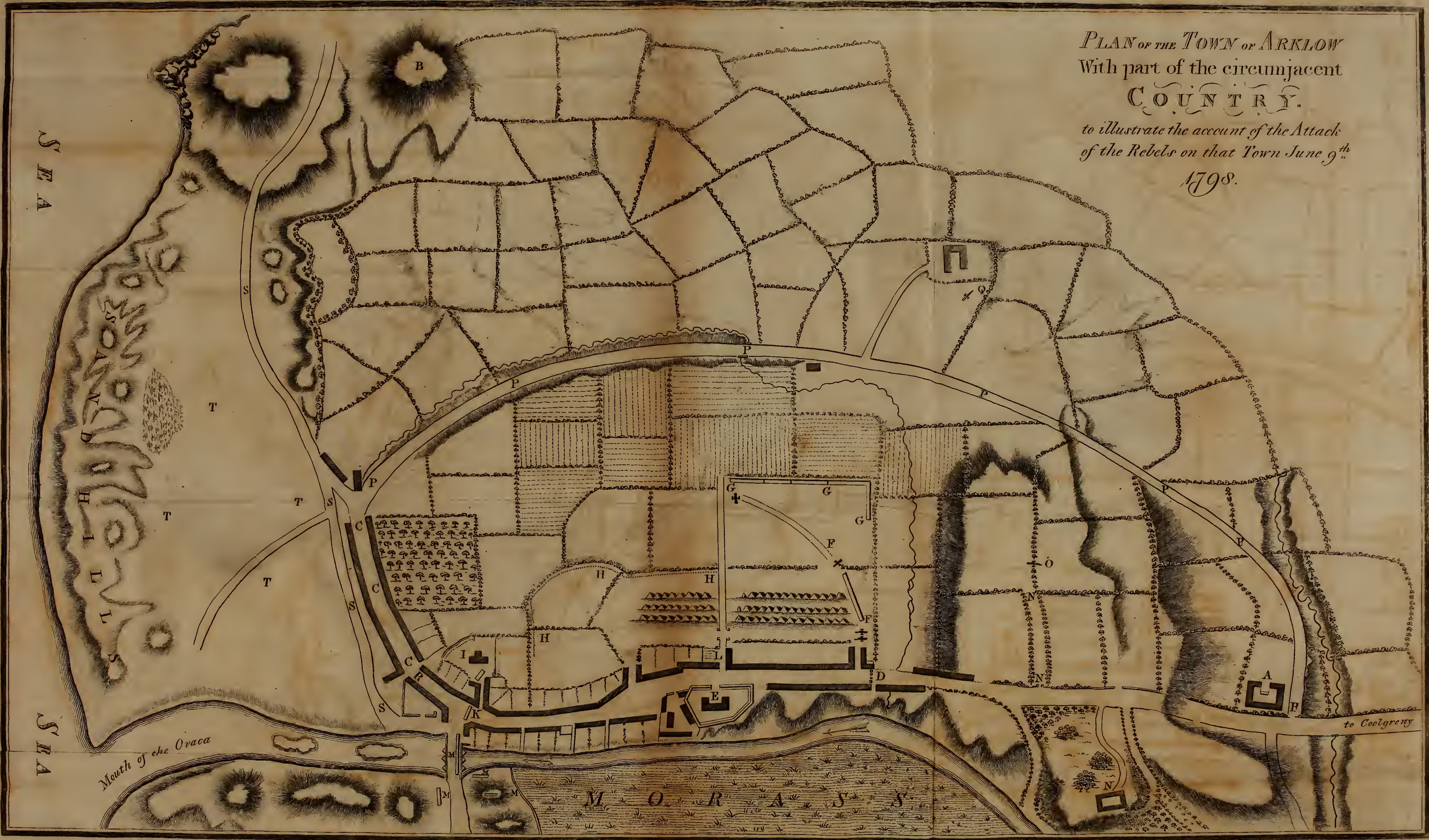
* Plate VIII.

† Ibid. II. 2.



Plan of the Town of Arklow
With part of the circumjacent
COUNTRY.
to illustrate the account of the Attack of the Rebels on that Town June 9th 1798.

About four o'clock in the afternoon, the out-poſt at the charter-ſchool A was ordered in; and another cavalry patrole was ſent there, and they obſerved at ſome diſtance, the enemy deploying the immenſe maſs which had marched by the Coolgreny road from Gorey, and extending themſelves into a kind of irregular line of great depth; the right being at the little rock of Arklow B, where a very ſtrong column was formed, which marched by the ſea-ſide road, and was deſtined to attack the lower end of the town, or fiſhery, C. On the Coolgreny road another immenſe column was formed to attack the right of our poſition, at the upper end of the town D. When theſe arrangements were made, which took up half an hour, the enemy ſent forward a numerous patrole of cavalry and infantry, which attempted to ſurround the patrole which we had ſent to the charter-ſchool, and obliged them to fall back to the garriſon. In the mean time the king's troops prepared for action, having made the following diſpoſition: A part of the Antrim, with ſome ſupplementary yeomen, commanded by captain Rowan, were deſtined for the defence of the barrack E, and lined the walls on a temporary banquette erected for the purpoſe.

Another detachment of the Antrim, under the command of lieutenant-colonel O'Hara, was poſted at the upper end of the town at D, with a barricado ſuddenly formed of cars and boxes in their front, and having one of their regimental field-pieces with their own gunners. The line of the king's forces was formed with the Durham on the right, in the circular poſition FFG, which gave ſome advantage in point of ground; but after the firing began, the troops on the left of the Durham moved forward, under cover of the hedges, their front GGG, where they remained during the reſt of the action. The Suffolk fencibles and the Tyrone light companies, with ſome of the ſupplementary yeomen, lined the very ſtrong hedges HHH; a ſmall party was poſted in the church-yard I, and another at the end of the ſtreet K, for the defence of the lower end of the town.

The main object of the rebels was to outflank and ſurround our little army, by which they muſt have overpowered it by their immenſe ſuperiority of numbers; which the excellent diſpoſition made by general Needham was well calculated to prevent.

The cavalry, with the exception of one troop of the Ancient Britons, and the Arklow cavalry poſted at L, were ſtationed at the bridge, and on the ſands outſide the town MMM, where they were perfectly under cover.

The rebels firſt appeared on the tops of hedges, in a great circular line, extending from the Gorey or ſea-ſide road to the ſand-banks near the ſea, and was very deep. They put their hats on their pikes, and gave moſt dreadful yells. The enemy now moved forward to the attack, and in their progreſs ſet fire to Lamberton, the beautiful ſeat of the reverend Mr. Bayly, rector of the pariſh of Arklow N, which was entirely conſumed. The party on the Coolgreny road, was warmly received on their firſt appearance by colonel O'Hara, with his gun and party at the barrier D; and they ſuffered very ſeverely from the two guns on the right of the Durham's. One of the enemy's ſix-pounders was now dragged off the road by the lane N, and advantageouſly poſted on the ſummit of an hill O, commanding the poſition of the king's troops, but which was ſo extenſive that they could not with their ſmall numbers occupy the whole of it. The other gun which the rebels brought with them was drawn by the Yellow-lane P, and poſted not injudiciouſly on an eminence at Q.

On the trial of William Byrne, a rebel leader, it was proved, that they muſtered thirty-one thouſand men before they left Gorey. In their march they plundered the houſes of all proteſtants of every thing valuable, and put in ſtrict requiſition all the ſpirits and proviſions that could be ſupplied. Under the influence of intoxication and fanaticiſm they were led on by their prieſts, who inſpired them with ideas of their own invincibleneſs; becauſe, as they informed the miſguided wretches, they were engaged in the cauſe of heaven, and againſt the enemies of God. To maintain that religious phrenzy, which was the only ſource of their courage, they, at the end of every mile during their march, ſaid maſs for them, and uſed every mode of exhortation, and every ſuperſtitious device that prieſtcraft could invent. They advanced in an irregular line, which was frequently broken by their running out to file along the hedgerows lying parallel to the poſition of the king's troops, of the cover of which they endeavoured to avail themſelves. Their front rank was compoſed of thoſe who had fire-arms, and who were moſtly from the barony of Shelmalier, on the Wexford coaſt, where they ſubſiſt during the winter by ſhooting barnacles and other ſea fowl, which makes them expert markſmen. They were covered in the rear by the pikemen many deep, and at certain intervals their line was ſtrengthened by numerous maſſes of men, who were ready to ſupply the places of thoſe who fell, or to act as occaſion might require. Each company had a green flag or colour about two feet ſquare, with a yellow harp in the centre. Some, however, were party-coloured, and equal in ſize to the king's colours. Their leaders were diſtinguiſhable riding through the ranks, marſhaling them, and giving orders.

During the engagement the rebels frequently repeated their dreadful yells, which heightened the terrifick appearance of this numerous hoſt of barbarians, who ſeemed confident, from their ſuperior numbers, that they could eaſily overwhelm our ſmall army.

The column on the right of the enemy's line, which formed at the rock B, and marched by the ſea-ſide road S, attacked the lower end of the town with great fury, ſetting fire to the houſes, and advancing under cover of the ſmoke, with the moſt determined perſeverence. The flames were fortunately interrupted by the interval between C and R, and did not communicate to the reſt of the town.

The rebels, notwithſtanding their moſt deſperate efforts, were unable to withſtand the heavy and well-directed fire kept up by the party poſted at K; and never ſucceeded in paſſing the point R, at which multitudes of them were killed, but who were inſtantly replaced by others; and they were plainly obſerved throwing their killed, and, it is believed, many of their wounded, into the flames, where they were conſumed or buried under the ruins of falling houſes. The attack was ſupported with the utmoſt obſtinacy on this point for two hours and a half, when the enemy began to deſiſt from an attempt which had proved fatal to ſo many, and to retire along the ſtreet of the fiſhery C, and by the ſea-ſide road S.

This being obſerved, the cavalry on the bridge, under colonel ſir W. W. Wynne, was ordered to charge, and that officer led them on with his uſual gallantry againſt the enemy, many of whom were cut down on the ſands TT, and the reſt made their eſcape up the Yellow-lane P, and into the encloſures, where the cavalry could not follow them.

While this warm conflict was maintained at the lower end of the town, the attack was ſupported with ſtill more obſtinacy againſt the barricade at D; by which the rebels were in hopes of making their way to the rear of our little army. This column was led on by father Michael Murphy, the prieſt, of Ballycanew, who endeavoured to animate them by every argument and exhortation that could work on their bigotry. Many of their chiefs, who led them on to ſucceſſive attacks, were killed within a few yards of our guns.

Murphy, who had hitherto eſcaped, headed the column at the charter-ſchool, which was ſtill very great; but as they ſhewed a reluctance to advance, he took out of his pocket ſome muſket-balls, which, he ſaid, were fired by the enemy, and ſome of which had hit him without wounding him ; and others he had caught in his hands. He aſſured them at the ſame time, that the balls of hereticks could not injure them, as they were under the protection of the Almighty, in whoſe cauſe they were fighting, provided they were ſtedfaſt in their faith. By that ſtratagem, he prevailed on many of the deluded wretches to follow him ; and they ſucceſſively became victims of their ſuperſtition and temerity. Father Murphy, after many eſcapes, fell himſelf by a cannon ſhot, within a few yards of the barricade D, while ſhouting to his followers, and waving in his hand a fine ſtandard with a croſs, and Liberty or Death inſcribed on it. The fall of this church militant hero had an immediate effect in damping the ardour of the enemy, which from that moment began to abate.

About eight o'clock, when it was almoſt dark, they began to retreat towards Coolgreny, in an irregular and diſorderly manner. They carried off nine cart-loads of dead and wounded. If the cavalry had but one hour's day-light, they would have purſued them, and have cut off great numbers in their retreat. The loſs of the rebels was ſaid to be one thouſand killed, and great numbers wounded.

The rebel cannon were worked by ſome of our artillery-men, who were taken near Wexford on the thirtieth of May, and as they levelled them too high, their fire was in a great meaſure ineffectual ; for during the whole engagement, but two ſhots had any effect. One of them paſſed through the ammunition-box of one of our guns, the other broke the carriage and killed three of the gunners.

When our troops got poſſeſſion of Gorey, on the nineteenth of June, a yeoman of the name of Sharwood, found a popiſh confeſſion of faith * in the box of a prieſt, the original of which is now in the poſ-

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* See a copy of it in Appendix, No. XX. 25.

ſeſſion of the reverend Mr. Bayly of Arklow. It has been publiſhed in a pamphlet, entitled, VERIDICUS; and in another written in defence of the orangemen, in reply to Theobald Mc. Kenna, eſquire; and as an anonymous writer has treated it as an impoſture, from its monſtrous abſurdity, I think it right to obſerve, that various productions of the ſame nature, but infinitely more abſurd and ridiculous, are conſtantly publiſhed in Dublin, and circulated among the beſotted multitude. Of theſe, Fifty Reaſons, the book on the Scapular or Carmelite order, the Funiculus triplex, or triple cord of St. Francis, and the Revelations of father John Murphy, the traitor, hanged at Tullow, ſtand foremoſt.

Another of theſe confeſſions of faith was found at Carlow; one was dropped by a drunken prieſt of the name of Fitzſimons, at the houſe of a gentleman in the county of Meath; and another was found in the pocket of a robber, who was killed in the Liberty, in the year 1795.*

I forgot to mention that ſome weeks before the rebellion broke out, popiſh children at Wingfield, and in the vicinity of Gorey and Arklow, and in many other places in the county of Wexford, wore red tape; and that ſome proteſtant children who did ſo, wiſhing to imitate them, were ſeverely reprimanded by popiſh ſchoolmaſters. George Taylor, in his narrative, mentions it; and tells us, what I have heard from many reſpectable perſons, that the pretext for uſing it was, that all the Roman catholick children, under the age of fifteen, were to be viſited by a dreadful plague; and that this piece of tape, which was endued with ſupernatural powers, by the benediction of a prieſt, would ſecure thoſe, who wore it, from infection; but it was believed, that the intent of it was to diſcriminate popiſh from proteſtant children, when the general maſſacre was to take place in the month of May. The country ſhopkeepers brought immenſe quantities of it from Dublin, which they readily diſpoſed of. George Taylor, who lives near Gorey, mentions this circumſtance in his narrative of the Wexford rebellion.

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* This confeſſion, it is believed, was compoſed ſoon after, and alluded to the maſſacre of 1641.

Captain Grogan Knox, who commanded the Caſtletown yeoman cavalry, and two privates in it, fell in this action. It is ſuppoſed that they advanced too far in purſuit of the enemy, after they had been driven out of the fiſhery, and that by doing ſo, they got within the range of our ſhot. This loyal gentleman was brother of Mr. Cornelius Grogan, who was hanged at Wexford.

I will now proceed to relate the principal occurrences which took place in the town of Wexford, from Wedneſday the thirtieth day of May, when the rebels got poſſeſſion of it, till the twenty-firſt day of June, when they were expelled from it. Some time after it was evacuated by the king's troops, the rebels approached it, headed by Edward Roche, a farmer, who had been permanent ſerjeant in colonel Lehunte's corps of yeomen cavalry, and having deſerted from them on Whitſunday, became a rebel general. When they came to a place called the Spring, * within two hundred yards of the town, they knelt down, croſſed themſelves, and prayed for ſome time. A perſon in the van of their army, when advanced to the middle of the town, having by chance fired a ſhot, the rear, who were outſide, fled with precipitation, from motives of fear. † As they paſſed through the ſtreets, they uttered the moſt dreadful yells, and for three days, after their arrival, they continued to plunder, every rebel gratifying his revenge againſt thoſe towards whom he bore any enmity. They appointed a committee of ſeven, inveſted with ſupreme command, in which Bagenal Harvey was appointed preſident, after having

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* Plate VI. P.

† See in Appendix, No. XXI. 3. a deſcription of their camp, and their entry into Wexford.

having been depoſed, and a ſubordinate committee for the government of the town, which they divided into wards, in each of which they appointed and armed a company with officers of different degrees.

On entering the town, they, by acclamation, appointed general Keugh governor, or commandant of it, and bore him on their ſhoulders to the court-houſe. This extraordinary man, who had been a private in his majeſty's ſervice, roſe to the rank of captain-lieutenant in the 65th regiment, in which he ſerved in America. He was about five feet nine inches high, and rather robuſt. His countenance was comely, his features were large, and indicative of an active intelligent mind. Joined to a very happy and perſuaſive manner of expreſſing himſelf, he had an engaging addreſs, and great affability of manner. He married a widow, with whoſe jointure and his own private fortune, he lived very comfortably in Wexford. Proud and ambitious, he thought that his own abilities, which he appreciated too highly, were not ſufficiently rewarded; and envying thoſe who were his ſuperiors in rank and fortune, he hoped to riſe in that chaotic ſcene which a revolution would effect. In clubs and coffee-houſes he conſtantly cenſured the form of our conſtitution, and ſaid it might be meliorated; but under the maſk of a reformiſt, he concealed the dark deſigns of a rebel. His diſaffection became at laſt ſo conſpicuous, that the lord chancellor deprived him of the commiſſion of the peace in the year 1796.

The rebels choſe certain perſons to diſtribute proviſions, and for that purpoſe to give tickets to the inhabitants to entitle them to a rateable proportion of them, according to the number of inhabitants in each houſe. The habitations of all the proteſtants who made their eſcape were plundered, many of them were demoliſhed, and but few of thoſe who remained in the town were ſpared. All the proteſtant men were immediately committed to priſon, except a few leaders who were really attached to their cauſe, or who affected to be ſo, to ſave their lives, or thoſe who concealed themſelves.

The day they entered the town, Mr. John Boyd, brother of Mr. B. member for the town, Thomas Sparrow, and one Hadden, a porter, were maſſacred; Henry Box, a ſhoemaker, and a man of the name of Cook, contiguous to it.

Thoſe who could obtain written protections from the popiſh clergy, whoſe influence was unbounded, or from the rebel leaders, were not moleſted.

The perfidious and cruel conduct of the rebel captains and ſailors to their proteſtant paſſengers, who paid them large ſums of money to convey them to Wales, will ever remain a ſtain on human nature. As ſoon as the rebels entered the town, a large green flag was hoiſted on the barrack,* which is on an eminence; but thoſe who had put to ſea before it appeared, were ſo fortunate as to eſcape.

I give an extract from the letter of a proteſtant clergyman, Mr. Handcock, (part of which I already quoted,) who retreated with his family from Enniſcorthy, to ſhew the perilous and diſaſtrous ſtate of the proteſtant fugitives. "On the morning of the thirtieth of May, the day after our arrival at Wexford, in compliance with the earneſt and irreſiſtible adjuration of my wife, I determined on going to ſea, careleſs whither; but ſo traitorous were the boatmen, and ſo reſolved (as appeared in many inſtances after) to deliver up the gentry to the rebels, that after bargaining with ſeveral of them for a boat to Waterford or Dublin, or a ſloop to Wales, and being in the moſt ruffianly manner inſulted by the boatmen, and pelted with ſtones from the ſhore, I could not prevail on one of them to put off, until with a piſtol in each hand, and deſperation in my heart, they ſaw me heſitating, whether to blow out their brains or my own."

The treatment of a party of gentlemen and ladies, who embarked on board a large ſloop, belonging to the bloody Thomas Dixon, the thirtieth of May, will ſhew the reader the ferocious cruelty of the rebel ſailors to their paſſengers. After having exacted a very large ſum from them, he refuſed to put to ſea till the veſſel was lightened, as, he ſaid, ſhe was heavily laden with coals; on which the gentlemen and their ſervants aſſiſted in throwing overboard a large quantity of that article. As an excuſe for further procraſtination, Dixon ſaid, he muſt go on ſhore to know what ſignal to hoiſt; as he had friends among the rebels, and no veſſel but his would be ſuffered to ſail. Having repaired in his ſmall boat to the country ſide of the bridge, where the rebels were in great force, he returned in about an hour and a half, and informed them, that the united Iriſhmen were in poſſeſſion of the town; and with the ſemblance of friendſhip, he adviſed them to conceal their arms and their uniforms, as many of them were yeomen. He went on ſhore a ſecond time, and returned with two boats full of men, well armed, and who immediately deprived the paſſengers of their arms. Thoſe with captain Dixon then proceeded to the barrack, from whence having made a ſignal, the rebel ſailors in the ſloop informed the paſſengers that they were priſoners, and that their captain had obtained the command of the barrack.

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* Plate VI. A, B.

Thus this party of gentlemen and ladies, obnoxious for their loyalty, were betrayed into the hands of the ferocious rebels, after having been defrauded of their money. They were landed and lodged at the poſt-office, where they remained till the firſt of June.

Mr. Crump, Mr. Bland and Mr. Kellet, and their wives, who were of the party, repaired to the houſe of the former, but as it had been plundered of all its furniture, and materially injured by the rebels, they could not occupy it. They therefore repaired to Clonard, the houſe of Mr. Kellet, two miles from the town, which was not in the ſmalleſt degree injured, becauſe he was married to a lady of the popiſh perſuaſion; and for that reaſon they remained there unmoleſted, till Monday the fourth of June, except that they daily received three or four domiciliary viſits from rebel parties, who ſaid they were ſearching for orangemen.*

On Sunday the third of June, Mr. Cornelius Grogan, of Johnſtown,† within three miles of Wexford, viſited them, and aſked them, what part they would take in the preſent civil war? They anſwered that they would continue neuter. He told them that they would not be ſuffered to remain inactive, and aſſured them that they would be taken to the camp if they perſiſted in doing ſo, and put to death if they attempted to make their eſcape. He ſaid, that the united Iriſhmen had waited on him that morning, and compelled him to take their oath: That at firſt he was averſe to it; but having conſulted one O'Connor a ſchoolmaſter on the propriety of taking it, he removed his doubts, by aſſuring him that the moſt loyal of his majeſty's ſubjects might ſafely ſwear it: That he was determined to go through with the buſineſs, as it was the only means of preſerving his property; for, that the people had riſen in great force in different parts of the kingdom, and had been victorious in different engagements. Being inveſted with the office of commiſſary to the republick, he took an inventory of all the proviſions at Clonard, from Mr. Kellet's ſteward; and afterwards went out and examined whether it was correct. He evinced his authority by giving a protection to a woman whom Mr. Kellet was ſending to Wexford for bread. This unfortunate gentleman was ſeized of an eſtate of 8000 l. a-year, in the county of Wexford, and lived at Johnſtown, in a rude but plentiful hoſpitality; attended by a few paraſites, who flattered his prejudices, and paid the moſt obſequious deference to his opinions. From their daily exceſſes at the table,

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* From whatever poſt the rebels occupied, they, as a matter of courſe, ſent out bands of pikemen in queſt of proteſtants, under the denomination of orangemen.

† Plate III. 7.

Mr. Grogan was ſeldom free from the gout. On moſt occaſions he evinced the moſt decided diſapprobation of the meaſures of the Iriſh government, in which he was encouraged by his needy and dependent aſſociates, who hoped to acquire riches and conſequence from general combuſtion. In him it probably aroſe from envy, becauſe, from the want of mental excellence (for he had but mean talents) and of proper exertion in publick concerns, he did not enjoy that weight and reſpect in ſociety, which gentlemen of much ſmaller fortunes poſſeſſed. It is ſcarce to be doubted, but that he was not privy to the conſpiracy which ended in a rebellion, though his conduct afforded ſtrong ſuſpicions of it, as he was fond of the ſociety of Keugh, Bagenal Harvey, and other diſaffected perſons; and his paraſites were notoriouſly diſloyal.

It is much to be feared that this unfortunate gentleman fell a ſacrifice to his credulity, his avarice, and want of firmneſs. He retreated with the king's troops from Wexford, about two miles, and then turned off to his own houſe, where he was circumvented by the rebels, who either compelled or ſeduced him to join them. Some are of opinion, that he repaired to his houſe, in hopes of preſerving it from being plundered; others, that he imagined he could not preſerve his property but by embarking in the rebel cauſe, which he was convinced would prevail, from the falſe and exaggerated accounts which he had received of their ſucceſſes and their numbers: However, it is moſt certain, that this unfortunate gentleman had not been privy to the conſpiracy previous to the irruption of the rebellion, and that he fell a victim to his fears and the miſtaken hope of preſerving his eſtate.

On Monday the fourth day of June, meſſieurs Bland, Crump and Kellet, were conveyed to the gaol of Wexford, by a ſerjeant and twelve rebels, and were committed to a long narrow paſſage, which was ſo filthy and offenſive (as numbers of proteſtant priſoners were crowded into it) that Mr. Bland, who had been well acquainted with general Keugh, wrote him a note, repreſenting their deplorable ſituation. On his arrival in the priſon Mr. Bland aſked him, whether they could not be liberated on their parole? He replied, “ By no means, as the wiſhes of the people muſt be indulged;” however, he had them removed to an apartment at the other ſide of the gaol-yard, where there was no furniture, but a wretched bed, without clothes. When they were going out, the rebel centinel, who guarded the door, ſtopped them in a rude and peremptory manner; on which general Keugh ſaid, “ Do you know whom you ſpeak to? Who placed you there?” To which the centinel replied, in an angry tone, and with a ſtern look, “ It was the people that placed me here.” This incident affords an inſtructive leſſon to factious demagogues, who hope to riſe on the deſtruction of ſocial order; as it proves, even in the outſet of rebellion, how precarious their power is over the giddy multitude, whom they hope to make the inſtruments of their inordinate ambition.

Mr. Kellet aſſured me, that the day after the committal of him and his two friends, the ſailors attempted to break open the gaol, and to maſſacre all the priſoners in it; when fathers Corrin and Broe prevented them, but not without ſome difficulty.

On Wedneſday the ſeventh of June, they were committed to a priſon-ſhip,* with many other reſpectable gentlemen. They were ſurrounded by a multitude of pikemen as they marched to the quay, where they embarked. They were confined ſixteen days in the hold of a ſmall ſloop, covered with an iron grate, and had no other bed but a light covering of dirty ſtraw over the ballaſt, which conſiſted of ſtones. Six rebel guards were placed over them. Their breakfaſt conſiſted of a ſmall barley loaf, which was almoſt black, and half a pint of milk: Their

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* Plate VI.

dinner of coarſe boiled beef, with ſome potatoes, let down in the dirty bucket of the ſhip; without a knife or fork; for they were deprived of their knives as ſoon as they were committed. Their drink was bad beer or whiſkey. Two days in the week their only food was potatoes and rancid butter, let down in the ſhip's bucket. Such was the barbarous treatment which a number of reſpectable gentlemen received, for no other reaſon than becauſe they were known to be attached to the beſt of kings, and to the only conſtitution in Europe which affords any degree of rational liberty!

From the ſufferings of the paſſengers on board a large ſloop called the Lovely Kitty, (and many of them were ladies of rank and fortune,*) one may form ſome idea of what the proteſtant fugitives endured from the ſavage ſpirit of the rebel ſailors. Having embarked at three o'clock, on the morning of the thirtieth of May, they ſailed as far as the fort of Roſslare,† where the ſailors caſt anchor, under the pretext of taking in ballaſt. In the evening they were ſurrounded by a number of boats, the crews of which, being well armed, boarded them, and were ſo brutal and ferocious, as to fill them with ſerious apprehenſions for their lives. Mrs. Gill, one of the paſſengers, imagining that they were on the point of murdering her huſband, threw herſelf overboard and floated to ſome diſtance from the veſſel; but was purſued and ſaved. Having been carried on deck, ſhe appeared lifeleſs for ſome time, and on being recovered, ſhe exclaimed, "Ah! why did you bring me back to ſcenes of miſery?" Mr. Stringer, who had eſcaped from Enniſcorthy, having been aſked by a ruffian how he came to burn his town, replied, "It was done by the rebels;" on which the ſailors exclaimed, "Over with him!" and inſtantly threw him overboard. After ſwimming ſome time, part of the crew, more humane than the reſt, followed him with the long-boat, and ſaved his life, but he continued inſane; and his wife, a beautiful young woman, was ſo much affected, as to be deſpaired of. As the veſſel, from its ſmallneſs, could afford accommodation for but few of the paſſengers, moſt of them remained all night on the deck, among the ſailors, who were brutally drunk, and were conſtantly uttering treaſon, blaſphemy, and obſcenity.

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* Mrs. Ogle and her ſiſter were among them.

† Plate III. 8.

Sometimes they held ſwords or piſtols to the breaſts of the women, uttering the moſt horrid threats. They often ordered them on deck, during the courſe of the night, ſaying, "That they had buſineſs below with the gentlemen;" and they deſired them not to be alarmed at piſtols going off. They heard them fire many ſhots, and were informed afterwards, that they killed eight or ten men in the hold.

Some of the females, dreading that they would offer brutal violence to them, reſolved on drowning themſelves, ſhould ſuch an attempt be made. The ſailors often declared that they would exterminate all orangemen, and that there ſhould be but one religion.

On Thurſday morning, the thirty-firſt of May, a party of the paſſengers, twenty-ſix in number, and all women, except ſix boys and girls, were conveyed to Wexford as priſoners, and lodged in the houſe of one Heron a chandler, and in a very ſmall room, where they had but one ſmall pallet-bed to repoſe on, and where they ſuffered much from fetid air, bad food, and the want of ſleep.

Heron and his wife were very kind to them, though the rebels conſtantly threatened that they would demoliſh their houſe, if they entertained orangemen or orangewomen, and they often ſearched the houſe for the former.

Mrs. Pounden, of Enniſcorthy, who did not diſembark till the firſt party landed, aſſured me, that when ſhe was going from the veſſel into a ſmall boat, one of the ſailors ſhot Mr. Dowſe, a paſſenger, cloſe by her ſide, for no other reaſon than becauſe he was a member of captain Richards's yeomen cavalry at Enniſcorthy, and was a proteſtant of diſtinguiſhed loyalty. The firſt object theſe ladies beheld on their landing, was the naked body of Mr. John Boyd, which lay bleeding on the quay, disfigured with many a ghaſtly wound, and writhing with agony of pain. When he was aſſaſſinated, a number of rebel women exclaimed with ſavage joy, "Well done, boys! ſerve all the hereticks ſo." Mr. John Boyd was brother to Mr. James Boyd, member for the town of Wexford; and becauſe his family were noted for their loyalty, this unfortunate gentleman was murdered as ſoon as he landed on the quay. He continued dying for above twenty hours, and often aſked for a draught of water, to quench his inſatiable thirſt; but the rebel mob would not ſuffer any perſon to relieve him. While in that deplorable ſituation, a rebel lad of about fourteen years old ſhot him with a piſtol, which encreaſed his pain, without putting a period to his exiſtence.

On the ſame day they murdered Mr. Sparrow, a yeoman of Enniſcorthy, and dragged his naked body through the ſtreets, and tied it to one of the piers of the bridge, where it remained buoyant, (a woeful ſpectacle!) till the king's troops arrived.

A gentleman of great reſpectability, in the county of Wexford, aſſured me, that he was carried as a priſoner by a body of pikemen into a houſe, where he was confined for the night: That he found there ſome gentlemen to whom father Corrin, a prieſt, was granting protections; but he previouſly required that they ſhould ſwear that they had not taken the orangeman's oath; the printed form of which lay on the table. It was infamouſly ſanguinary, containing an obligation to deſtroy and extirpate Roman catholicks: This gentleman offered to take the oath, to entitle him to protection; but father Corrin refuſed to adminiſter the oath, having ſaid, "We know you too well to regard what you would ſwear in that way;

alluding to his noted zeal and activity, as a magiſtrate and a yeoman.

A very amiable and reſpectable lady * and her children, who had embarked on board the ſloop of the ſanguinary Thomas Dixon, was treacherouſly relanded by him; and having repaired to the houſe of Mr. Hatchel, ſon-in-law of doctor Jacob, near the bridge, where, with the doctor, his family, and ſome other proteſtants, ſhe was protected. While the town remained in poſſeſſion of the rebels, ſhe wrote a very exact diary of every material event during that period, which I ſhall quote occaſionally.

She tells us, " That Thomas Dixon went on ſhore in his ſmall boat, and at his return declared, that no woman or child ſhould be killed; but that no man, except three, whom he named, ſhould eſcape. The ſavage ſailors, intoxicated with victory and whiſkey, arrived with boats to carry them on ſhore, and a female heroine among them, ſiſter of Mrs. Dixon, and wife to a miller at Altramont, brandiſhed a ſword, and, boaſting of her exploits, ſaid, " That the paſſengers of no boat would be ſaved, except thoſe of Thomas Dixon, as he was brother-in-law to Roche the commander of the rebel army." Another boat full of ruffians, more furious than the former, arrived, and ſwore they would burn the boat, if they found one gun or a man concealed under deck. More ruffians arrived drunk, and, boaſting of their murders, would not drink unleſs Mrs. —— drank firſt, leſt, as they ſaid, they ſhould be poiſoned.

" At dawn of day, on the thirty-firſt of May, Dixon returned, ſaid many horrible things, boaſted of various murders, and made her ſtand on deck, and ſee the dead body of Mr. John Boyd on ſhore.

" When ſhe landed, ſhe found the ſtreets crowded with rebels, who were conſtantly firing ſhots. The boatmen aſked her, if ſhe knew ever a Roman catholick? and ſhe ſaid, ſhe was acquainted with Mrs. Talbot; he

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* Her name is concealed at her own deſire.

he then led her the back way to her houſe; but ſhe then reimbarked, having found it ſhut. He aſked her, if ſhe knew doctor Jacob? and having ſaid ſhe did, he recommended to her to go there, as it would be a ſafe houſe. * They landed her oppoſite to his door, and ſhe was well received there. The hall was full of ruffians, who brought faggots to ſet the houſe on fire, but ſome of them humanely prevented it.

"She was then without food or ſleep from Sunday night the twenty-ſeventh, except that ſhe got a little tea from Mrs. Dixon. She was diſtracted, and felt more the enthuſiaſm of deſpair than inſanity. She took her daughter by the hand, and went to Bagenal Harvey, who did not know her, being covered with coal-aſhes, and convulſed with miſery. She reminded him of their acquaintance; he gave her a protection, but ſaid he had no real command, and that the rebels were a ſet of ſavages exceeding all deſcription. She aſked him, when this was to end? He anſwered, probably not for ſome time, as government would not ſend a force into the country till they had collected a proper one. He ſaid, he muſt get the people out of the town, and form a camp, for otherwiſe it would be deſtroyed in a few hours. Shortly after, they conſented to go to camp, and ſhe ſaw many thouſands of them going there. They were led by many prieſts. They often ſtopped, knelt down, kiſſed the ground, croſſed themſelves; and then ſet up the moſt hideous yells, and followed their prieſts. All that time ſhots were conſtantly fired. Small parties of them entered and ſearched the houſe. The firſt of June paſſed in the ſame manner.

"J. R. a Roman catholick of great humanity, came and told me with candour, how much the proteſtants

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* She took this for doctor Jacob's, but it was his ſon-in-law's, Mr. Hatchel's; and the rebels, availing themſelves of the doctor's ſurgical ſkill to dreſs their wounded men, ſhowed a regard for, and protected him and ſuch of his friends as ſought an aſylum in Mr. Hatchel's houſe.

teſtants were ſpoken againſt; but ſaid, he truſted that the women and children would be ſpared.

"In the evening, doctor Caulfield, the Roman catholick biſhop, came, and was very kind to me, J. R. having told him who I was. The doctor ſaid, he was cautioned in the ſtreet, to beware how he protected proteſtants. He gave me a protection, but, like B. Harvey, ſaid, "He had no influence: That the people could not be deſcribed: That in reality, the devil was roaming at large amongſt them: That their power never could hold: That they were making it a religious war, which would ruin them: That government was too ſtrong, and muſt conquer: That this rebellion had been hatching four years." I think he might have given government notice of it. *

"Second of June, the mob were conſtantly talking in the ſtreet of puniſhing proteſtants. Colonel Lehunte, and many others, went to the chapel, and renounced their religion; were chriſtened; and then marched in proceſſion through the ſtreets.

"Third of June, they made three proteſtants ſhoot a man in the Bullring. We received conſtant domiciliary viſits from the rebels, who we thought would murder us ere they departed. The rebels paraded twice a-day oppoſite our door, having fifes, fiddles, and drums. It was a kind of regular tumult; every one was giving his opinion. My little boy liſtening one day ſaid, "Mamma, are they all kings?"

On Trinity Sunday, the third of June, a ſermon was preached in the chapel, to a large congregation, conſiſting of a numerous body of pikemen, and ſome proteſtants, who aſſumed the ſemblance of ſincere converts to ſave their lives, and who went there to be chriſtened for the ſame purpoſe. Father Roche, the preacher, and chaplain to the popiſh biſhop doctor Caulfield, inveighed from the altar againſt the errors of proteſtants, whoſe religion he repreſented as an abominable hereſy. He then explained and enforced

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* This is her obſervation.

enforced the doctrines of popery, particularly that of excluſive ſalvation. He deſired them to perſevere with firmneſs, as they were fighting in the cauſe of God againſt hereticks. When the ſermon was over, father Broe, a friar, proceeded to chriſten the proteſtants, in which ceremony he uſed much water, having almoſt waſhed their faces.*

Some papiſts who were connected with, or attached to proteſtants, ſtrenuouſly urged them to change their religion, and even taught them how to croſs themſelves, and to ſay popiſh prayers, from a thorough conviction that the preſervation of their lives depended on their converſion.

This happened to Mr. Gibſon, while in priſon, to whom ſome papiſts lent maſs books, and pointed out to him the prayers which he ſhould learn by heart.

The rebels, in their domiciliary viſits in ſearch of orangemen, arms or ammunition, in the houſes of proteſtants, never failed to carry away with them any articles of wearing-apparel, or valuable furniture, that pleaſed them. The women were much more active in plundering than the men, not only in Wexford, but in the country. They conſtantly entered and plundered the houſes of their proteſtant neighbours, without ſhame or remorſe.

The wives of the country rebels often made a fantaſtick appearance, with the elegant apparel of proteſtant ladies of Wexford, put over their own homely dreſs. Some of them were ſeen mounted on horſeback, with handſome veils, having at the ſame time pikes in their hands.

At firſt there were ſerious apprehenſions of a famine, as no proviſions were carried to market, except butter and milk; and they were ſold for one-fourth of the uſual price, from the ſcarcity of ſpecie, the paucity of bidders, and the fears of the farmers that they would be ſeized by force for the uſe of the republick, if they were not ſpeedily ſold.

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* Some time after the rebellion was ſuppreſſed, he demanded payment from ſome of thoſe whom he had chriſtened. See Appendix, No. XX. 17.

Officers to regulate the price of proviſions were inſtituted in every pariſh in the county. They alſo appointed armed veſſels to cruize in the channel, which were to intercept ſuch as they found laden with coals, or any of the neceſſaries of life.

For this reaſon, a committee was formed, to ſupply the town with proviſions, and they appointed commiſſaries in every pariſh, who plundered the adjacent country.

William Devereux of Taghmon, commiſſary of his own pariſh, was ſolicited by a rebel to give him a pair of ſhoes; and he ſaid, "Have you killed a ſoldier?" and he anſwering in the negative, Devereux ſaid, "You ſhall not have the ſhoes till you have done ſo." This the rebel proved on Devereux's trial at Wexford.

The governors of the newly-eſtabliſhed republick prohibited the circulation of bank notes, with a view of injuring the credit of government, which tended materially to diſtreſs the inhabitants of Wexford.

A perſon of the utmoſt veracity aſſured me, that in his preſence a rebel, who had been concerned in the plunder of Mr. D'Arcy's houſe, pulled out of his pocket a large quantity of bank notes, in the ſtreets of Wexford, and tore them; ſwearing at the ſame time, with much vehemence, that he would ruin all the banks in Ireland.

The narrow eſcape of Mr. Milward, an officer in the Wexford militia, and Mr. Richard Newtown King, a magiſtrate of the county, will ſhew the reader with what malignant zeal the rebels ſearched for proteſtants, whom they denominated orangemen.* Theſe gentlemen lay concealed at the houſe of Mr. Hatchel,† ſon-in-law of Dr. Jacob.

One Herring, a rebel captain, in the courſe of making domiciliary viſits in queſt of orangemen, entered Mr. Hatchel's houſe with a drawn ſword, at the head of an armed band of rebels. On finding

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* See James Beaghan's confeſſion in Appendix, No. XIX. 8.
† Plate VI.

Mr. Milward, he conveyed him to priſon; but firſt informed Mr. Hatchel's family, that he would burn the houſe, if they concealed any more orangemen. On this Mr. King, who happened to be in the only room which they did not ſearch, declared that no perſon ſhould ſuffer on his account. He therefore retreated backwards to another houſe at ſome diſtance, and in doing ſo, was obliged to ſcale ſome walls, and to wade through a ſmall ſtream, much ſwollen with the tide. He lay concealed ſome days in a wretched out-office, not better than a pig-ſty, and was ſupplied with food by Mrs. Jacob. His wife, though ſhe lodged near him, would not venture to approach him, leſt the place of his retreat ſhould be diſcovered. At length the rebels, who were active and inceſſant in their reſearches, diſcovered and committed him.

Theſe two gentlemen were on the point of being maſſacred the twentieth of June, on the bridge of Wexford, when Mr. Eſmond Kyan, a rebel chieftain, ſaved their lives, by telling the rebel bloodhounds, that the king's troops muſt finally ſucceed, and that they would take ample vengeance of them for putting ſo many proteſtants to death in cold blood, and without any provocation whatever.

Eſmond Kyan, who had been wounded at the battle of Arklow, was coming to Wexford to get medical aſſiſtance, and happened to be croſſing the bridge when the maſſacre was going forward.

Thoſe who obtained a certain quantity of proviſions from the committee who diſtributed it, expected to have the excluſive enjoyment of it; yet the rebels would enter their houſes, and take it out of their pot and carry it off, or ſit down at their table and eat ſhare of it; and while ſitting at the tables of proteſtants, they would often ſay, "That they loved liberty and equality, and that they liked to ſee maſters and ſervants aſſociate together."

> "They led their wild deſires to woods and caves,
> "And thought that all but ſavages were ſlaves."

On Trinity Sunday, the third of June, a man of the name of Murphy, of the popiſh perſuaſion, was ſhot in a ſmall place, formerly called the Bull-ring, now Fountain-ſquare,* for having proſecuted a prieſt of the name of Dixon, for being an united Iriſhman. Mr. Middleton Robſon, a gauger, and meſſieurs Pigott and Julian, ſurveyors of exciſe, all proteſtants, and priſoners in the gaol, were brought forth and compelled to ſhoot him. By way of encreaſing the ignominy of his death, they had him executed by hereticks. Previous to the execution, the rebel pikemen, who acted as guards, croſſed themſelves, knelt down and prayed ſome time for his ſoul. As ſoon as the victim fell, the bloody Thomas Dixon, firſt couſin of the prieſt, drew his ſword, ran it through his body, and having held it up to publick view, reeking with blood, exclaimed, "Behold! the blood of a traitor;" and then he ordered the ſurrounding pikemen to plunge their pikes into the body. Dixon, the prieſt, convicted on his evidence, was condemned to be tranſported. This execution took place ſoon after the celebration of maſs, at the publick chapel; and previous to it father Corrin, the pariſh prieſt, adminiſtered the rites of his church to him; yet he, or any of the prieſts in Wexford, could have ſaved the life of Murphy without any difficulty. Theſe facts were proved on the trial of Michael Mc. Daniel, one of the aſſaſſins, held at Wexford the eighteenth of June, 1799.

On Monday morning the fourth of June, another man of the name of Murphy, a papiſt, was ſhot for having given information againſt rebels. His executioners were three proteſtant priſoners, Charles Jackſon, Jonas Gurley, and Kennet Matthewſon.† Edward Fraine, a man of ſome opulence, and who was ſuppoſed to gain 300l. a year as a tanner, was officer of the guard. When the executioners were brought into

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* Plate VI. K.

† Theſe men were much eſteemed in Wexford. Gurley and Matthewſon were afterwards murdered by the rebels on the twentieth of June.

into the yard, Fraine addreſſed Charles Jackſon, and had the following converſation with him: "Mr. Jackſon, I believe you know what we want of you." He anſwered, "Yes; I ſuppoſe I am going to die." He then fell upon his knees, and begged that he might be allowed to go to ſee his wife and child. Fraine ſwore he ſhould not, and informed him, that a man was to die that evening at ſix o'clock, and that he did not know any more proper perſons to execute him, than he and the two others. He added, that he ſuppoſed he could have no objection to the buſineſs, as the culprit was a Roman catholick. Jackſon replied, "Sir, ſhould I have no objection to commit murder?" Fraine ſaid, "You need not talk about murder; if you make any objections, you ſhall be put to death in ten minutes; but if you do your buſineſs properly, you may live two or three days longer; ſo I expect you will be ready this evening at ſix o'clock." Another rebel captain inſultingly addreſſed him in the following manner: "If you could get a few orange ribands to tie round your neck during the execution, it would, I think, have a pretty appearance." The executioners were remanded to their cells, where they remained praying till ſix o'clock in the evening, when they were brought again into the gaol-yard, where they found the priſoner Murphy ſurrounded by about a thouſand armed rebels.

The proceſſion to the place of execution, which was about a mile and a half off, at the other ſide of the bridge, was in the following order: A large body of pikemen, who formed a hollow ſquare; a black flag; the drum and fifes; Murphy, the condemned man, next, followed by Jackſon, with Gurley and Matthewſon behind him. When this arrangement took place, the dead-march was ſtruck up, and beat till they arrived at the ſpot where the victim was to fall a ſacrifice to their fanatical vengeance. He was placed on his knees, cloſe to the river, and with his back to it. Previous to the execution, the rebels knelt down and prayed for about five minutes; which ceremony was adopted as in the former inſtance. The rebels were ordered to form a ſemicircle, with an opening towards the water. Charles Jackſon aſked permiſſion to tie his cravat about the poor man's eyes; but they deſired him not to be nice about ſuch matters, as it would be his own caſe in a few minutes. When the muſkets were called for, it was ſuggeſted, that if they gave three at once to the executioners, they might turn about and fire at them: It was therefore reſolved, that they ſhould fire one at a time. Matthewſon, the firſt perſon appointed to ſhoot, miſſed fire three times. They gave him another muſket, with which he ſhot Murphy in the arm. Jackſon was next called upon; and as they ſuſpected that he would turn and fire on them, two men advanced at each ſide of him, with cocked piſtols, and two more with cavalry ſwords were placed behind him, who threatened him with inſtant death if he miſſed the mark. He fired, and the poor man inſtantly fell dead; after which Gurley was obliged to fire at the body, while proſtrate on the ground. It was then propoſed that Jackſon ſhould waſh his hands in his blood, but it was overruled, as ſome of the rebels ſaid he had done his buſineſs well. A ring was then formed round the body, and a ſong in honour of the Iriſh republick was ſung to the tune of, "God ſave the king."

This dreadful buſineſs took up about three hours, after which the executioners were marched back to priſon. Theſe circumſtances relating to it are to be found in Charles Jackſon's narrative, and they were confirmed by the evidence given on the trial of Matthew Greene of Wexford, who was tried, condemned, and executed there, for having acted as a rebel officer at this atrocious ſcene.

Charles Jackſon informs us, and I have been aſſured by different perſons of veracity, that proteſtants were frequently taken out of the Wexford priſons, and conveyed to the different camps, and in particular to Vinegar-hill, to be executed there. This was done whenever they were at a loſs to ſupply the ſacrifice of proteſtant victims, which was daily made, as a regale to the rebels when on parade.

James Lett, chandler, Richard Leech, maſter ſhoemaker, William Mooney, who kept the Fox-inn at Enniſcorthy, and John Hawkins, were taken from Wexford, by a rebel guard, who was to convey them to the grand ſlaughter-houſe, Vinegar-hill. Finding that they were to die near their own homes, they prevailed on a rebel, who was attached to them, to go before them with ſpeed, and to prevail on their neighbours to come forward, and to uſe their friendly interceſſion for preſerving their lives. The rebel guard, dreading that they might poſſibly eſcape through the humane interference of their friends, diſpatched them at a place called Lacken, threw them into one grave, and covered them lightly with ſods. They were all, except Hawkins, half alive, when buried, and groaned and ſtruggled a great deal while the rebels were interring them.

On the morning of the twentieth of June, four proteſtants, of the names of Cavenagh, Willis, Furlong, and Priſcott, were conveyed from the gaol of Wexford to Vinegar-hill, and ſhot there.

The defeat of the rebels at Roſs ſublimated their vengeance againſt proteſtants in moſt parts of the county, but particularly at Scullabogue, Vinegar-hill, and Wexford. Charles Jackſon tells us, that on the day it was announced, fifteen of the Wexford, and ten of the Enniſcorthy people, were ordered out of the gaol, to revenge the loſs which the rebels had ſuſtained at Roſs. He ſays, "When this notice was given, I ran into my cell, got upon my knees in a dark corner, and pulled ſome ſtraw over me; but a man of the name of Prendergaſt * came in, and drew me out, uttering ſhocking threats againſt me. He dragged me into the yard, where I found my unhappy comrades on their knees. One of them, who

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* An opulent ſhopkeeper and malſter, who was hanged ſoon after.

who had been a proteſtant, but had become a catholick, and who was now impriſoned on a charge of being an orangeman, requeſted to have the prieſt with him before he died. This was immediately granted; and a meſſenger was ſent to father Corrin, the Roman catholick prieſt of Wexford. He preſently came; and to give effect to his admonition and interceſſion, had dreſſed himſelf in his cowl, and bore a crucifix in his hand: He held up the crucifix, and all preſent fell on their knees: He exhorted them in the moſt earneſt manner: He conjured them, as they hoped for mercy, to ſhew it: He made every poſſible exertion to ſave all the priſoners; but it was in vain: He ſaid he could witneſs that the Wexford people had never fired upon them, or done them any injury; and that he could not ſay maſs to them, if they perſiſted in their cruel reſolutions. At laſt he influenced them ſo far, as to prevail upon them to return into the gaol the fifteen Wexford men; but for thoſe from Enniſcorthy, he could obtain no remiſſion for them." They were conveyed to Vinegar-hill, and executed there. It was conſidered as a great crime in the proteſtants to have defended their town againſt father John Murphy and his aſſaſſins.

It will reflect eternal ſhame and diſhonour on the popiſh prieſts of the county of Wexford, of whom numbers were conſtantly in the town, beſides thoſe who reſided there, for having ſuffered ſuch atrocities to be committed by their ſanguinary flock, over whom they had unbounded influence, and by whom they were not only revered as men, but adored as Gods. The ſavage pikemen never met them in the ſtreets, without bowing low to them with their hats off, and continued ſo while they were in their ſight; and they never met doctor Caulfield, the popiſh biſhop, without falling on their knees, and receiving his benediction.

Now it will appear by the following protection, that doctor Caulfield, the popiſh biſhop, could protect the Enniſcorthy as eaſily as the Wexford people, however odious they were. Two perſons of the former were confined in the gaol of Wexford, and dreading that they might be maſſacred, applied to two prieſts of Enniſcorthy to protect them; and having obtained a recommendation from them to doctor Caulfield, he gave them a protection, in conſequence of which they were liberated, and were never afterwards moleſted. I give the reader an exact copy of the recommendation and protection.

Reverend Doctor Caulfield, Wexford.

"My Lord!

"If poſſible you'll have the meſſieurs ——— liberated, or removed to ſome more comfortable lodging: They are well diſpoſed, and have never injured any one individual. Your compliance will oblige your affectionate friend,

Enniſcorthy, JOHN SUTTON, prieſt."*
June 15th, 1798.

"The meſſieurs ———, I am ſure, are free from any party buſineſs, orange, or any thing inimical to any ſociety of people, as is mentioned above. I remain, my lord,

Yours moſt ſincerely,
W. SYNNOTT, P. P."

"From the excellent characters of the above gentlemen, I beg leave, in the name of Jeſus Chriſt, to recommend them to be protected.

Wexford, JAMES CAULFIELD."
June 15th, 1798.

Richard Grandy, though a proteſtant, obtained a paſs from a prieſt, merely becauſe he was ſuppoſed to have ſome ſurgical knowledge; and the rebel magiſtrates who preſided at Taghmon, viz. John Breen, James Harper, Joſeph and Matthew Commons, gave it as their opinion, that Grandy would be perfectly ſafe in paſſing through the country with ſuch a protection, and accordingly he never was moleſted, though he traverſed a great part of it. *

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* He conſtantly viſited the camp at Vinegar-hill.

"Mr. Richard Grandy is hereby allowed to paſs and re-paſs, to and from any part of this diſtrict, whenever he thinks proper; and will be of great uſe in the neighbourhood, to dreſs the wounds of any neighbour who may be wounded.

EDWARD MURPHY, pariſh prieſt of Bannow
and Ballymutty, &c.

To the different guards of Ballymutty and Bannow, &c."

This prieſt anticipates the wounds that his neighbours, whom he knew to be rebels, might eventually receive; and he addreſſes the rebel guards, conſcious of his influence over them. Father Collins granted the following paſs to the ſame perſon:

"Pray allow the bearer, Mr. Richard Grandy, to paſs.

JAMES COLLINS, pariſh prieſt of Duncormuck."

On the trial of general Edward Roche, at Wexford, Mr. Goodall, a yeoman who had been led to execution on the bridge, declared upon oath, that no perſons but the prieſts could have prevented the effuſion of blood.

The following certificate was given by father Broe, a friar, to a perſon whom he had chriſtened, in order to ſave his life:

"I hereby certify, that A. B. of C. in the pariſh of D. has done his duty, and proved himſelf a catholick.

F. JOHN BROE."

Dated Wexford, June 21ſt, 1798.

Mr. Meadows, who was a priſoner in the gaol, informed me of the following incident which occurred while he was there: A papiſt, who had been committed in a miſtake, ſent for a prieſt, and remonſtrated to

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* See his affidavit containing this paſs, and the exhortation of father Murphy to extirpate hereticks, Appendix, No. XX. 7.

to him on the injuſtice of confining him: "For," ſaid he, "you know as well as I do, that we are fighting for the maſs, the croſs and the lamb. It was I that led on the Ballaghkeene men at the battle of Oulart." On ſaying this, the prieſt had him releaſed. *

It was reſolved at the rebel camp near Roſs, immediately after the victory obtained by the king's troops, to put all the proteſtants to death. Mr. Meadows was at that time in the priſon-ſhip in the harbour of Wexford. A rebel, who had a warm regard for him, having made his eſcape from the camp, repaired to Wexford, and told Mr. Meadows's brother, who was not in confinement, that the priſon-ſhip would probably be ſunk that night; and he urged him to prevail on Mr. Corrin, the prieſt, who, he ſaid, had more influence than any other individual in the town, to have his brother releaſed.

As the taking and captivity of lord Kingſborough, now the earl of Kingſton, by the rebels, is an important and intereſting incident, I will give a circumſtantial relation of it. The head quarters of the North Cork regiment, which he commanded, was at Wexford, and on the breaking-out of the rebellion, he reſolved to join them. From Dublin to Arklow, † he travelled by land, but as the roads were infeſted by a rebellious banditti, he took a boat there, manned by ſailors of approved fidelity, who had been recommended by the reverend Mr. Bayly of Lamberton. Having ſtopped at Courtown, on the coaſt, to get ſome refreſhment, it is believed that ſome diſaffected perſons there conveyed intelligence of his lordſhip's intention to the rebels at Wexford. At Ballymaſker, about three or four miles from the harbour's mouth, they perceived a number of armed men

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* A reſpectable and loyal Roman catholick of Waterford, who was there while it was in poſſeſſion of the rebels, aſſured the late lord mayor, (now alderman Thomas Fleming) and me, that the prieſts could have prevented the effuſion of blood by a turn of their finger.

† Plate II. 1.

men on an eminence, from whence one of them having fired a muſquet, the ball paſſed over their heads. When they arrived at the entrance of the bay, they were met by a veſſel ſailing faſt before the wind, the paſſengers in which they took for women; but when they cloſed each other, fifty rebels variouſly armed, ſtarted up and threatened to ſhoot them if they did not ſurrender. They at the ſame time hoiſted a green flag, with a harp, but without a crown. They wore white bands round their hats, with Unity and Liberty inſcribed on them. They made priſoners lord Kingſborough, captain O'Hea, lieutenant Bourke, of his own regiment, and the boat's crew. Generals Keugh and Harvey were ready to receive them on the quay where they landed. For two days his lordſhip was lodged at the houſe of general Keugh; he was then removed to an inferior kind of inn, called the Cape of Good Hope, thence to the priſon-ſhip, where he remained but eight hours, having been afterwards lodged in a private houſe, where a guard was placed over him. Keugh aſked him, how he thought government would treat him and his party, if they had them in their power? Lord Kingſborough replied, "That they would hang every one of them." On which Keugh obſerved, "We know that we fight with halters round our necks." The day of his lordſhip's arrival, Bagenal Harvey ſet out for the camp at Carrickbyrne, where the rebel army that attacked Roſs was ſtationed. Keugh told lord Kingſborough, "That he would permit him to write to lord Caſtlereagh, the lord lieutenant's ſecretary;" but ſaid, "He expected he would inform him how well he and his fellow-priſoners were treated;" and he added, "That he expected his friends, meſſieurs Sheares, Bond, Emmett, Jackſon, M'Cann, &c. would receive ſimilar treatment." He informed lord Kingſborough, that the members of the Iriſh union had no confidence in the oppoſition party in the Iriſh parliament, becauſe they conſidered them as inſincere; and that they had propounded catholick emancipation, and reform of parliament, merely to promote their own ambitious deſigns.

Mrs. Snowe, the wife of captain Snowe of the North Cork regiment, informed me, that lord Kingſborough aſked her ſoon after his capture, "Whether ſhe thought the rebel chieftains would have him put to death?" She replied, "She was ſure they would not, becauſe they regarded him as a very good hoſtage, ſhould they enter into any ſtipulations for their own ſafety; and that by preſerving his life, they might conciliate him, and obtain his influence and intereſt to ſecure their own;" and to ſuch motives, I am ſorry to ſay, we muſt impute the ſafety of lord Kingſborough. This lady heard general Keugh upbraid his lordſhip for not having treated doctor Caulfield with ſufficient reſpect, when he waited on him; and to make an atonement for it, he, with the permiſſion of lord Kingſborough, wrote a note to the doctor, to requeſt he would call on him again; and he aſſured him of the neceſſity of conciliating him, as his countenance and protection were abſolutely neceſſary for the ſafety of his perſon; and in compliance with Keugh's requeſt, doctor Caulfied waited again on lord Kingſborough. Keugh was ſolicitous of obtaining the doctor's protection for his lordſhip, becauſe he was convinced of the perilous ſituation in which he ſtood, from the following event: "After Murphy had been ſhot in the Bull-ring, on the third of June, Thomas Dixon, who had preſided at the execution, proceeded to Keugh's houſe, at the head of a band of ſavage pikemen, and clamorouſly inſiſted on having the bloody orangeman, lord Kingſborough, delivered up to him. Keugh ſucceſsfully oppoſed his atrocious deſign, but not without conſiderable difficulty. Keugh aſſured lord Kingſborough, that the attention which he ſhewed his lordſhip, and the zeal which he diſplayed for his preſervation, had leſſened his authority ſo much among the people, that he could no longer be accountable for his ſafety if he remained in his houſe, for which reaſon he left it. Keugh ſeverely rebuked lord Kingſborough for having received a viſit from the officers wives of his own regiment. Robert Carthy, a rebel of ſome property and conſiderable influence, happened to enter his lordſhip's lodgings while the ladies were there; and declared, in oppoſition to Keugh, that they ſhould go there as often as they choſe, and that Keugh had no right to interfere. On which Keugh ſaid, "I am governor of the town." Carthy. "Who appointed you?" Keugh. "The people." Carthy. "No, they would not truſt ſuch a fellow; I am one of them, and I never gave my conſent." He then grappled at Keugh, but lord Kingſborough interfered, and put an end to the altercation; however Carthy, on retiring, challenged Keugh to fight. Some days before the king's troops arrived at Wexford, he aſſured a lady of my acquaintance that his life was conſtantly in imminent danger, as he had loſt all his authority, and there was no ſubordination among the rebel ſoldiers: That one day while he attended the committee,* the bloody Thomas Dixon, attended by two fuſileers, went to the door of the committee-room, and ſent in for Keugh, under the pretext of having ſome buſineſs to tranſact with him; but very fortunately for him, he could not go to them, having an indiſpenſable engagement; and having been afterwards aſſured, that they meant to aſſaſſinate him, he accuſed the fuſileers of it, who declared that they bore him no ill-will, but that they were perſuaded to murder him by Thomas Dixon.

Dixon and his wife were two ſanguinary monſters, who were inceſſantly endeavouring to incite the people to acts of violence and bloodſhed. He kept an inferior kind of inn in the town of Wexford, which was very much reſorted to by rebels who held their clubs and conſpiracies there. He was proprietor of two large ſloops, and was bred to the ſea, which gave him very great influence among the ſailors, whom he frequently inſtigated to commit carnage and plunder.

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* It was proved on the court-martial that tried him, that he was preſident of it; but that his engagements as governor prevented his regular attendance.

At one time the rebel ſoldiers threatened Keugh's life in the ſtreets; and to appeaſe them, he gave them the moſt ſolemn aſſurance, that he had been warmly attached to their cauſe ſix years, and their ſworn friend more than three. * A few days before the king's troops expelled the rebels from Wexford, Keugh found a party of them going to put a pitch-cap on lord Kingſborough, and afterwards to aſſaſſinate him. He was ſo fortunate as to prevent them from perpetrating their nefarious deſign, but not without very great danger, as a ruffian preſented a muſket at him, and was with difficulty reſtrained from firing it. I have heard from the concurrent teſtimony of different perſons, who reſided in Wexford at that time, that nothing but the humane and active interference of generals Keugh and Harvey prevented that indiſcriminate ſlaughter of proteſtants there which took place in many other parts of the county, particularly at Vinegar-hill; but when they loſt their authority, the bloody work began. When that was completely loſt, Keugh invented and told the rebels the following ſtory, in order to check their thirſt for blood: "That twenty-five thouſand northern preſbyterians were armed and embodied under a Scots general, and would march to the South immediately, and take ample vengeance of them, if they maſſacred any more proteſtants." At one time the rebel ſoldiers inſiſted on bringing him to trial. Some days before the town was relieved by the king's troops, he told a reſpectable gentleman of my acquaintance, then reſident at Wexford, that his life was in imminent danger; and that though he might eſcape aſſaſſination, the anxiety and agitation

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* This was proved on his trial.

tion of his mind would ſoon put a period to his exiſtence.

Some of the gentlemen confined in the priſon-ſhip aſſured me, that the rebel guards frequently inveighed againſt Keugh, and vowed vengeance againſt him, becauſe he would not indulge the people, that is, becauſe he did his utmoſt to reſtrain their deſire for carnage; to ſuch a deplorable ſtate was that unfortunate man reduced in a very few days after he had attained the height of his ambition, and by that very rabble who had elected him unanimouſly, and by acclamation, to be governor of the town!

Soon after he was arreſted by the king's troops, on the twenty-firſt of June, he told an officer of my acquaintance, that he was convinced, the period of his life could not exceed forty-eight hours, even if his party had gained the aſcendency; and if the king's troops ſucceeded and entered the town, his fate would be determined in twenty-four.

"On the evening of the fourteenth of June, a party of the rebels ruſhed into the committee or council-room, and nearly killed Keugh. The charge againſt him was his being an orangeman. The reſt of the members who were Roman catholicks, reſcued him; but he, and all the proteſtant leaders had embraced that religion, and went regularly to maſs, at the head of the rebels: but they never could forget their having been proteſtants, and they treated them accordingly. She heard ſome of the rebels ſay, all their policy and chriſtianity ſhall not ſave them; and it was at laſt avowed, that no proteſtant ſhould live, much leſs command them." *

On Sunday the tenth of June, while the rebels were on parade, at the cuſtom-houſe quay, governor Keugh informed them, that doctor Caulfield the popiſh biſhop had ordered a ſermon to be preached that morning from the altar, ſuited to the times, and that they muſt repair to the chapel to hear it. They accordingly

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* Lady's diary.

accordingly marched thither, with fifes and drums playing. After maſs was celebrated, the reverend father Roche, chaplain to doctor Caulfield, pronounced the following diſcourſe from the altar:

"I am very much diſpleaſed at ſeeing a practice among you of trying to convert the proteſtants to our communion, becauſe their converſion cannot be ſincere, and ariſes merely from a hope of ſaving their lives. Let there be no more of it, as they never will become true catholicks." After a diſcourſe of ſome length, to his own flock, he addreſſed the proteſtants who were in the gallery, in the following words: "You are come here under the impreſſion of fear, to profeſs yourſelves catholicks; you are not ſo in your hearts; you do it to ſave your lives. Now, I tell you, my good people, don't deceive yourſelves; if you are not ſincere in what you profeſs, I tell you you will all be murdered. I tell you to a certainty you will all be murdered!" This was repeated ſeveral times, with long pauſes, and great emphaſis. Then addreſſing himſelf to the pikemen, he pointed out to them the grievances they and their anceſtors had groaned under, for a hundred years paſt, by the oppreſſion and cruelty of the proteſtants; and after having wrought them up to the higheſt pitch of religious phrenzy, he ſaid, "Notwithſtanding the variety of ill treatment you have received from the proteſtants, and are ſtill ſuffering, avoid the ſpilling of blood. I recommend to you, to be merciful to theſe poor people, as you hope yourſelves for mercy: for God's ſake, be merciful to them. You are contending for your holy religion and your rights. The glorious ſucceſs which you have obtained ſhews, that you are under the protection of the Almighty, in whoſe cauſe you are fighting. Continue your ſpirited exertions then. You have put your hands to the plough, and you muſt not look back. Be aſſured that you will all be murdered unleſs you ſucceed and get the upper hand." This prieſt was very active at the battle of Foulkes's mill, in exhorting and ſtimulating the rebels to enter into the action; nay, he was ſeen horſewhipping thoſe who betook themſelves to flight.

On the ſame day that this ſermon was preached, a proclamation was read from the altar,* requiring all perſons to apprehend and convey to the gaol of Wexford the following gentlemen, becauſe they had been active magiſtrates and zealous loyaliſts: James Boyd, repreſentative for Wexford, Hawtrey White, Archibald H. Jacob, and Hunter Gowan. Printed copies of it were diſperſed in moſt parts of the county.

George Taylor, a printer at Wexford, was compelled, though a proteſtant and a loyal ſubject, to print all the proclamations, orders and edicts of the republick, which commonly ended with theſe words, "God ſave the people!" I am well informed that he was obliged to put up a label in his ſhop, announcing him as printer to the republick.

On Sunday the ſeventeenth day of June, notice was given from the altar, that the following Saturday was to be obſerved as a faſt, for the ſucceſs of the war.

A gentleman of the utmoſt veracity aſſured me, that father Murphy wrote on many doors in Wexford, a Latin inſcription, with his name, and the ſign of the croſs annexed to it. This, it is ſuppoſed, was ſome mark of religious diſtinction.

A party of reſpectable ladies, who lived together in a houſe, to which the rebels frequently paid domiciliary viſits, and under whoſe windows they often aſſembled and converſed, heard them making the following obſervations: One ſaid (while they were drinking whiſkey in their parlour), "This is a religious war;" another, "I ſay it is not." At laſt, they grew warm, and gave the lie to each other; on which a third rebel interfered, and ſaid, "Sure we received orders not to ſay it was a religious war,

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* See Appendix, No. XX. 18.

leſt we ſhould bring down upon us the vengeance of the Northerns," meaning the preſbyterians. They frequently boaſted of their barbarities, and ſaid, "They would not ſuffer any perſon to live who was not of their faith, as there was only one true religion."

They often ſaid, when the ſucceſs of the king's troops began to make them deſpond, that the failure of their cauſe aroſe from having proteſtants at the head of their armies, and that they could not have luck or grace while any of *their ſort* were in their ranks.

The following circumſtances occurred to a party of reſpectable female proteſtants, who reſided in the ſame houſe: They daily received three or four domiciliary viſits from the pikemen, who treated them with brutal inſolence: They frequently preſented piſtols at them, and ſometimes preſſed the muzzle of them againſt their breaſt, or their ſide, with ſo much violence, as to give them exquiſite pain; ſaying, at the ſame time, with fanatical fury in their countenance, "You muſt die!" and on being aſked, why they treated them ſo cruelly, they replied, "You are orangewomen, and bigots to your religion." They would then aſk them, "Were we ever known to wrong or offend any perſon? Have we not given to the poor as much as we could afford? And in the diſtribution of alms have we ever made any difference between the members of your church and our own?" "That is all true; but you are orangewomen. You have *the drop* * in you. For generations in your family, you cannot name, on either ſide, a ſingle catholick. One branch of your family came to Ireland with Cromwell; the other with king William, and therefore you muſt die."

The 13th regiment, commanded by lieutenant-colonel Bradſhaw, was quartered for above a year at Wexford, where he and his lady were very much eſteemed and reſpected. They marched to Waterford a ſhort time before the rebellion broke out, and left their firſt-born child at nurſe with the wife of one Wreck, who lived within a mile of Wexford. The rebels often threatened to burn his houſe, unleſs he would put the young heretick to death; but he, with becoming fortitude, mingled with humanity, reſiſted their menaces; and he was confirmed in this generous reſolution by the reſpectable females whom I have now mentioned, and who often viſited the child.

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* This was a common expreſſion among the rebels, meaning of proteſtant blood.

The rebels frequently attempted to force the gaol, and to murder the priſoners; but the guards, I preſume, influenced by their officers, ſucceſsfully oppoſed them.

A number of proteſtant priſoners were marched from Gorey, and committed to the gaol of Wexford, on the fourteenth day of June. As they marched through the town, the houſes were hung with green emblems, and the mob expreſſed their ſavage joy by ſhouting aloud. The rebels ſtripped the priſoners almoſt naked, and put pitched caps on their heads before they left Gorey.

The reverend Roger Owen, a proteſtant clergyman and rector of Camolin, was among them, without ſhoes, and having a little ragged jacket. *

A reſpectable lady, who ſaw from a window the priſoners paſſing through the ſtreets, aſſured me, that the wife of Thomas Dixon, ſo remarkable for the ferocity of her diſpoſition, headed the rebels who eſcorted them; and ſaid, with much violence, mingled with contempt, and pointing to Mr. Owen, who was barefooted, "There's a proteſtant clergyman! behold the proteſtant clergyman!"

The ſufferings of Mr. Lehunte, a reſpectable gentleman of large landed property, who lived at Artramont, † near Wexford, merit a circumſtantial relation. He commanded the Shelmalier corps of yeomen

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* See Appendix, No. XX. 2, 3.

† Plate III. 5.

men cavalry, who amounted to fifty-two, of whom twenty-four were papiſts; and of that number twenty deſerted to the enemy at Oulart; and two were diſmiſſed, becauſe they gave ſtrong indications of diſaffection. It was remarkable that numbers of Roman catholicks ſhewed great zeal to join that and other corps in the county of Wexford, a ſhort time before the rebellion broke out; though they had previouſly ſhewn a great repugnance to do ſo. Mr. Lehunte, on the evacuation of Wexford, was too late to get on ſhipboard, and therefore fell into the hands of the rebels. Being a gentleman of a mild and humane diſpoſition, he was allowed to remain in a private lodging at firſt.

Thomas Dixon and his wife, whoſe thirſt for proteſtant blood was inſatiable, contrived the following device to incite the rabble to aſſaſſinate him: They repaired to Artramont, about two miles from Wexford, and at their return, proclaimed in the ſtreets that there was an apartment there furniſhed with orange colour, in which plots and conſpiracies had been formed by orangemen, for the extirpation of the Roman catholicks. Dixon alſo produced a fire-ſkreen, which had been innocently decorated with orange ribands, and on which there were many curious devices, the work of female ingenuity. He diſplayed it through the ſtreets as a flag, and ſtopping now and then, he, with a loud voice, put the following malignant conſtruction on the figures which it contained, to a numerous body of ſailors and pikemen: That Hope, reſting on an anchor, was emblematick of a ſailor burning on it, as the orangemen would heat it for that purpoſe: That Hebe and the Eagle indicated that they would give the children of Roman catholicks to birds of prey to be devoured: That the lance of Minerva was ſuch an inſtrument as they would uſe for their deſtruction. By ſuch tortuous and malignant ſuggeſtions he wound the populace to ſuch a pitch of phrenzy, that, headed by Dixon, they flew to Mr. Lehunte's lodgings, forced him with violence into the ſtreet, and dragged him to the gaol, where they committed him to a condemned cell; on which Dixon informed him, that he ſhould have but fifteen minutes to live.* In his progreſs to the gaol they buffeted him very much, tore his hair, and gave him two ſlight wounds. They would inſtantly have put him to death, but that Bagenal Harvey, Cornelius Grogan and Keugh, informed the populace who ſurrounded him, that the obſervations of Dixon were falſe and groundleſs; but their authority, being proteſtants, did not continue long.

The artillery men, whom the rebels took when a detachment of the Meath regiment was defeated, on the thirtieth of May, were impriſoned in ſeparate cells in the gaol of Wexford, where they were almoſt ſtarved from the bad quality and the ſcantineſs of their food.

Andrew Sheppard, a proteſtant, and a corporal of that corps, was taken into a ſmall court, within the gaol, to be ſhot. The executioner having burned priming four times at him, father Murphy, who had entered the gaol, cried out, "He has longer days to live; let the heathen go back to priſon;" having imputed his eſcape to the Divine interference.

While theſe men were in priſon, many attempts were made by the rebel guards to force it, and put the priſoners to death, having ſaid, "that they would not ſtand guard over hereticks."†

General Roche, the layman, and Thomas Dixon, urged them to ſerve in their army as artillery men, having promiſed them commiſſions, and in ſome time eſtates, if they would comply. As they had no other means of making their eſcape, they conſented, and were led firſt to Gorey, and thence to the battle of Arklow, where they ſerved as artillery men.

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* See in Appendix, No. XX. 2. Taylor's affidavit who was in goal.

† Ibid. 1.

A Roman catholick of the utmoſt veracity, who reſided in Wexford, aſſured me, that the rebel ſoldiers began to be envious of their ſuperiors, and to expreſs the warmeſt indignation againſt the council and the committee, for living in great luxury and abundance, while they were wretchedly fed; and he was decidedly of opinion, that they would have maſſacred them, if the republick had laſted a few days longer.

A ſhort time before the king's troops were victorious, and entered the town, the committee intended to have made a requiſition of plate, and to have inſtituted a mint.

To animate the rebels, reports were conſtantly propagated by their leaders, that Dublin was in the poſſeſſion of their friends; and when they were undeceived, they aſſured them that it was blockaded by five republican camps, and that it muſt ſoon ſurrender, as the inhabitants were labouring under the preſſure of famine.

From the very great ſcarcity of proviſions which took place in conſequence of the waſteful conſumption of ſo many ſavages, the embryo republick muſt ſoon have fallen to the ground, if the king's troops had not put an end to it.

So completely deluded and deceived were the rebels in Wexford, that it was univerſally ſaid, and believed there, that they were conſtantly ſucceſsful; and that the very days that they were beaten, they frequently huzzaed in the ſtreets, to expreſs their joy on the taking of Roſs; and one man rode with ſpeed into the town, waving a piſtol, and crying out, "Roſs is taken!"

Mr. William Hughes, a reſpectable inhabitant of Wexford, of the proteſtant religion, and a rigid loyaliſt, generouſly entertained in his houſe ſome of the wives of the officers of the North Cork regiment, after their huſbands had retreated. Governor Keugh frequently preſſed him to join his party, but he peremptorily refuſed. One day he ſaid to him,

" Though your wife is nearly related to mine, and to Bagenal Harvey, and though you have protections, you cannot expect to eſcape, unleſs you enrol yourſelf in one of our corps ;" but he ſternly refuſed. Keugh ſaid, " I will give you two days to conſider of it ;" and he replied, " If you gave me ſeven years, I would give you the ſame anſwer :" And this in the preſence of his wife and ſix children. Mrs. Snowe, one of the officers wives, who was preſent, ſaid to Mr. Hughes, " Conſider ſeriouſly what you are about, for your life belongs to your wife and your ſix children ;" whoſe preſence were ſufficient to ſhake his firm reſolution, and inſpire him with a love of life ; but he continued ſteady in his principles.

A prieſt ſometimes attended Mr. Hughes's houſe, and urged the officers wives to embrace his religion ; aſſuring them, that no perſon could be ſaved who was not within its pale, but he could not ſucceed.

Robert Carthy, a leader in the rebellion, who uſed to call at Mr. Hughes's houſe, often aſcended to the top of it with a ſpy-glaſs, to ſee whether the French frigates, which they daily expected, were approaching.

Before I deſcribe the maſſacre at Wexford, and the evacuation of it by the rebels, it will be neceſſary to give the reader an account of the battle of Vinegar-hill, and the very judicious diſpoſition which general Lake made of the troops who were to attack that ſtrong poſt, which was the citadel and the grand rendezvous of the rebels, as the victory obtained there preceded that dreadful event.

END OF VOL. I.